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A

Compendious Martyrology,

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

THE SUFFERINGS AND CONSTANCY

OF

CHRISTIANS,

IN THE

DIFFERENT PERSECUTIONS WHICH HAVE

RAGED AGAINST THEM UNDER

PAGAN AND POPISH GOVERNMENTS.

BY RICHARD REECE.

"THESE ARE THEY WHICH CAME OUT OF GREAT TRIBULATION, AND HAVE WASHED THEIR ROBES, AND MADE THEM WHITE IN THE BLOOD OF THE LAMB." Rev. xi. 14.

VOLUME I.

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Preface.

FOX'S Martyrology is entitled, "Acts and Monuments of the Church," and is extended through three large Folio Volumes, containing many ancient records, which may gratify the Antiquarian, and assist the future writers of History, but which are not adapted to this work, as they would afford no gratification to the generality of our readers.—Old Sermons, which no one would have patience to peruse, and which would not repay him for his trouble if he had: and syllogistical disputations on subjects no longer interesting, are omitted; whilst many circumstances, connected with the Sufferings of the first Martyrs, and their trials before the Magistrates, not to be found in Fox's book, are inserted. For these circumstantial relations the reader is indebted to the Abbè Fleury, whose profound researches into Ecclesiastical History, conducted by a nicely discriminating judgment, are an honour to the country to which he belonged. Of the plan he has adopted, he thus expresses himself: "I have not contented myself with saying in general terms, that there was a great number of Martyrs, or with relating their names, and the principal circumstances of their martyrdom, but I have set them before your eyes, and have recounted the acts, that is, the particulars of their trials and execution." Some Writers multiply the number of Primitive Sufferers beyond all bounds of probability; others diminish it in an opposite extreme: but all admit, that the true ground of their persecution lay in the nature of their religion. It could not coalesce with any form of Paganism, in its worship; it could not unite any part of its morality with any modification of vice, gross or refined: therefore, they who persecuted no other form of religion, persecuted this. The infinite wisdom of God in revealing this religion, appears eminently in the inflexibility of it. Had it admitted of coalition, it would have been entirely sunk, and for ever lost in that enormous mass of iniquity, the Roman Empire, to the size of which the Church bore no proportion. Christianity itself was a system of perfect justice. It was therefore naturally and necessarily subversive of injustice existing any where. Christianity is not subversive of trade, or learning, or government, but of the injustice which mankind incorporate with them; and yet it may impoverish a merchant, or subvert the throne of a monarch. Should

Christianity gain admittance into a trading Company, conducting traffic on principles of iniquity, it would subvert the house and fortune of the Company, by annihilating the maxims by which their affairs had been conducted; and this would be the glory of it, for what is the fortune of a few individuals compared with the general benefit of universal justice! In the same manner in a Government. But Christians had no such object in view as disturbing government, by forming factions in the State; they sought to save themselves from an untoward generation. Writers of all denominations affirm, and a strict adherence to truth compels them to do so, that the Churches of the earliest times were small societies, which assembled, at least once a week, on the first day, each in its own place, to worship God. That in these assemblies prayer and praise were offered to Christ, by one at a time, in the name of the rest; that the holy Scriptures were read, expounded, and enforced, and that giving instruction was open to all; that the doctrines taught were few, plain, and simple, taken immediately from the New Testament; that the ceremonies were Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and that the morals of the people, in general, were irreproachable. What was there in this injurious to Society, or likely to provoke persecution? Had innocence been security against malice, or goodness against oppressive power, christians had been safe. But they were forewarned by their divine Master, who had told them, "the time cometh when whosoever killeth you, will think that he doeth God service." And he himself "was led as a lamb to the slaughter."

Several editions of Fox, have been published at different periods since the Reformation, professedly with the design of keeping up in the minds of our countrymen an abhorrence of Popery, which the various scenes of cruelty and injustice here represented are calculated to excite. This is worthy of praise, if a proper distinction be made between Popery, and Papists, who embrace and are governed by this system. But this has not been always attempted; hence, subjects of the same empire, and professors of the same Christianity, have been stirred up to hate, and to "devour one another." Whilst we detest Popery as a vile corruption of Christianity, as the mother of abominations which maketh desolate wherever her influence extends, we pity the Papist, as deluded by her sorceries, and reduced to the most wretched state of mental degradation.

In this Work, the reader will see the spirit of intolerance producing the fruits of misery and death, wherever it has had dominion; whether in Pagan, Jewish, or Christian countries. It is Antichrist every where. "At Rome," says a modern writer, "it is Antichrist sitting in judgment upon the liberty and lives of men. In the meanest dissenting meeting-house it is a beggar's baby at the breast;" but possessing the same nature, and should it arrive at maturity, and acquire influence, it would be as deaf as the dead to the cries of pity, and cruel as a bear bereaved of her whelps.

He will also see the truth of Divine revelation confirmed. Of old time it was said to the serpent, "I will put enmity between thy seed and her seed; he shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." This not only refers to Christ and the old Serpent the devil, but also to the Church and the World. For "the spirit that ruleth in the children of disobedience" loveth darkness, and incites them to persecute the children of light; which has been the case in the different ages of the Church from the beginning.

The insufficiency of speculative notions, and ritual ceremonies, which leave human nature as they find it, is every where apparent. Pagans have had their temples, their altars, their sacrifices, and their priests; but still human nature was not improved. "Their feet were swift to shed blood, destruction and misery were in their ways, and the way of peace they knew not."

The Jews, in addition to their temple, their altar, &c. had a ritual service of Divine appointment, and a revelation of the Will of God, well authenticated; yet were they the persecutors of prophets and righteous men; yea, of their own Messiah and his followers, and thus verifying the maxim of the apostle, "That which is born after the flesh will persecute that which is born after the spirit."

Christianity laid the ax to the root of the tree, and whilst it subverted the empire of sin, by supplying new and holy principles; it enjoined mutual forbearance in the spirit of brotherly affection. Whatever tendency there is in the nature of man to indulge the spirit of intolerance, this divine System is opposed to it, and refers the complainant to a future day, when all shall be finally settled by infallible wisdom! "Why "dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at nought "thy brother? for we shall all stand before the judgment-seat

"of Christ." But when spoiled by the addition of worldly pomp and power, the outward forms were magnified into undue importance, and the genuine spirit evaporated, and was lost; then, professing christians began to persecute with cruelty, those who dared to differ from the ruling party, till the Church of Rome completed the infernal work, by reducing persecution to a system, and instituting an order of men, whose business it was, to ensnare, torment, and destroy their brethren; and all this for the glory of God, and the good of the Church! In the Inquisition we see human nature in its lowest stateof depravity; for cannibals are innocent compared with Inquisitors.

But turning from objects which can only excite disgust and horror; we see here the excellence of the Gospel displayed, in the constancy and patience of the sufferers, who did not count their lives dear unto themselves, so that they might glorify Christ. Such examples had not till then been heard of, except in the Jewish Church, where the true God was worshipped. The Greeks and the Romans could die for their country, but not for their religion, or only in defence of the truth. But here is an efficacious agency, elevating human nature above the *love of self*, the pains of suffering, and the dread of death; so that frail men and delicate women could glory in tribulation, and boldly confess Christ, with the prison, the rack, the flames in view. Their faith had respect to the joy that was set before them, and now they are reaping an ample recompence in the kingdom of their Father. Shame is exchanged for glory—suffering for enjoyment, and toil for rest. Compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and endure the cross; remembering the grace which sustained them is free for us, and in due time we shall reap if we faint not.

This Work was undertaken by order of the Book-Committee, and the Editor has no personal interest whatever in the profits arising from the sale of it. It is a labour of love, which he dedicates to that body of Christians with whom he has been long, and affectionately united, and for whose advantage, principally, it has been compiled; satisfied, if it be the mean of increasing their gratitude for the Liberty and Security enjoyed under the mild and tolerant British Government, and of conveying good to the mind of any reader.

Canterbury-Place, Lambeth, Oct. 3, 1812. R. R.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

REV. JOHN FOX,

AUTHOR OF

"*Acts and Monuments of the Church.*"

THIS excellent man left two sons, Samuel and Thomas. Samuel became Demi, and afterwards, Fellow of Magdalen College, in Oxford. In 1610, he wrote the following memoirs of his father, and prefixed them to his "Acts and Monuments of the Church." Thomas was Fellow of King's College in Cambridge, and he became afterwards an eminent physician in London.

JOHN FOX was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, in 1517, where his parents are stated to have lived in respectable circumstances. He was deprived of his father at an early age; and notwithstanding his mother soon married again, he still remained under the paternal roof. From an early display of talents and inclination to learning, his friends were induced to send him to Oxford, in order to cultivate them, and bring them to maturity. At this seminary of learning, he was intimate with Dr. Nowel, who was afterwards appointed dean of St. Paul's, in London: hence the great similarity in the manners and habits of these two great men. During his residence at this place, he was distinguished for the native excellence and acuteness of his wit, which was rendered the more available by the frequent emulation of his fellow-collegians, united to an indefatigable zeal and industry on his part. These qualities soon gained him the admiration of all; and as a reward for his exertions and amiable conduct, he was chosen fellow of Magdalen College; which was accounted a principal honour in the university, and seldom bestowed, unless in cases of great distinction. It appears, that the first display of his wit was in poetry; and that he composed some Latin comedies, which are still extant, the stile of which, however, is rather too redundant. But he soon directed his thoughts to a more serious subject, to the study of the sacred Scriptures: to the study of divinity, indeed, he applied himself with more fervency than circumspection, and discovered himself in favour

of the Reformation, which had then commenced, before he was known to its supporters, or to those who protected them; a circumstance which proved to him the source of his first troubles. It was at this period that king Henry VIII. was uncertain what line to adopt; being at variance with the pope, and dissatisfied with the affairs of the Church, on account of its overbearing power and pride, though without wishing wholly to alter them. His aim was to show moderation in both, by which means, he prevailed in neither, and thus, by an unprofitable indifference, obscured the most glorious act that ever took place since the creation. The distraction among the people was unexampled; neither their lives nor property being secure, in consequence of the abundance of contradiction in the laws. For though the pope's supremacy had been renounced, yet the doctrine was still retained.

The first news of the abolition of the pope's supremacy, was as prosperous as welcome to the reformers; and numbers joined them out of love to the truth, being farther assured of the king's intentions, by the punishment inflicted on the opposite part, and especially when the abbeys were dissolved; nor was their hope a little increased, when they perceived the nobility more or less to rise in the good opinion and favour of the king, as any of them most opposed the pope's dominion. In the mean while, the act of the six articles was still in force, and if any were found guilty of a breach thereof, they were sure of punishment. So that, as long as the king held the middle way between his own genius, and the advice of his counsellors, feeding them with favours, upon which they could build no assurance, and pleasing himself in his own severity, fear and hope alternately prevailed.

But no sooner were the protectors and pillars of the reformed religion removed, the duke of Suffolk, by an untimely death, the lord Cromwell, by the sword, and the archbishop Cranmer and his friends, borne down by the opposite party, and it was evident that neither the laws nor peers afforded the least assistance, than all, with redoubled violence, hurried back to their former abuses, because the conquests seemed to be a kind of revenge. The universities and schools were alone exempt from any open change or innovation, though from what reason, is unknown.

Such was the state of the affairs of the church, when Mr. Fox began attentively to inquire into the nature of the controversy then in agitation. He found the contention to have been of great antiquity, though, at first, it was rather for dominion and increase of territory, for which purpose, every species of craft and fraud was resorted to by the Romans, in order to retain,

under a high priest, the ancient honour of the city, which, by open force, they could not defend. In the sequel, the pope, grown bolder by success, began to assume to himself all power and authority, nor contented to have weakened the Roman empire alone, now longed to be wielding the sceptres of other princes; and to compass his design, did not hesitate to violate all human and divine right: while the clergy little considered how great the injury was which religion sustained, by frequently choosing men of spotted character to the papacy, by whose example, the strictness of life, used by their forefathers, was exposed to scorn, and their poverty to reprobation. The industry of the priesthood became remiss; and, on the other hand, ambition, riot, and avarice, began to be their ruling passions. At length, the practices of the churchmen were brought to light, and their delusions laid open. It was then known why the ceremonies and rites in the Church had been brought to that excessive multitude, namely, that the number of the clergy might be increased to perform them: these, of necessity, were to be maintained; and to that end, such opinions were broached, as seemed most likely to draw money from all places: particularly the opinions of the dignity of works; of purgatory; of the power of absolution, and the pope's indulgencies; all which, being in themselves false, and soon subject to decay, were thought fit to be cemented together with that new and subtle invention, the pope's infallibility in matters of faith.

By thus linking one opinion with another, the credulity of the Christians was easily ensnared. All this while, the new forged opinions yielded plentiful increase; and great sums of money, by a hundred devices extorted from the clergy and common people, came daily to the pope and court of Rome.

Mr. Fox is said to have often affirmed, that the first matter which occasioned his search into the popish doctrine, was, that he saw divers things, most repugnant in their nature one to another, forced upon men at the same time: for instance, that the same man might, in matters of faith, be superior, and yet, in his life and manners, inferior, to all the world besides. Upon this foundation, his resolution and intended obedience to that church were somewhat shaken, and by degrees, a dislike to the rest took place.

His first care was to look into both the ancient and modern history of the church; to ascertain its beginning and progress: to consider the causes of all those controversies, which, in the mean time, had sprung up, and diligently to weigh their effects, solidity, infirmities, &c.

Before he had attained his thirtieth year, he had already studied the Greek and Latin fathers, and other learned authors, the

transactions of the councils, and decrees of all the consistories, and, by this means, acquired a very competent skill in the Hebrew language. In this occupation, he frequently spent whole nights, or a considerable part; and in order to unbend his mind after much incessant study, would often resort to a grove near the college, a place much frequented by the students in the evenings after dark, on account of its sequestered gloominess. In these solitary walks, he has been heard to ejaculate heavy sobs and sighs, and with tears to pour forth his prayers to God. These nightly retirements, in the sequel, gave rise to the first suspicion of his alienated affections, and were, by his friends and acquaintances, differently interpreted, according to their good will or envy towards him. Being pressed for an explanation of the causes of this alteration in his conduct, he scorned to call in fiction to his excuse; and was, by the sentence of the college, *convicted, condemned as an heretic, and expelled.*

His friends, upon the report of this circumstance, being highly offended, and especially his father-in-law, who was now grown altogether implacable, either through a real hatred conceived against him for this cause, or pretending himself aggrieved, that he might now, with more justice, at least, with more security, withhold from Mr. Fox his paternal estate. For he both knew it could not be safe for one publickly hated, and in danger of the law, to seek remedy by it.

When he was thus forsaken by his own friends, a safe refuge offered itself in the house of Sir Thomas Lucy, of Warwickshire, by whom he was sent for, to instruct his children. In this house he afterwards married. But the fear of the popish inquisitions hastened his departure thence; as they were not contented to pursue public offences, but began also to dive into the secrets of private families. He now consulted with himself what was best to be done to free himself from farther inconvenience, and resolved either to go to his wife's father, or to his father-in-law.

His wife's father was a citizen of Coventry, whose heart was not alienated from him, and he was more likely to be well treated for his daughter's sake. He resolved to go first to him; and, in the mean while, by letters, to try whether his father-in-law would receive him or not. To these he received for answer, that it seemed to him a hard condition to take one into his house whom he knew to be guilty, and condemned for a capital offence: neither was he ignorant what hazard he should undergo in so doing: he would, however, show himself a kinsman, and neglect his own danger. If he would alter his mind, he might come, on condition to stay as long as he himself desired: but if he could not be persuaded to that, he must content

himself with a shorter stay, and not bring him and his mother into danger.

No condition was to be refused: besides, he was secretly advised by his mother to come, and not fear his father-in-law's severity; for that, perchance, it was needful to write as he did, but when occasion should be offered, he would make recompense for his words with his actions. In fact, he had better entertainment with both of them than he any way hoped for.

Though he by this means kept himself concealed, yet no time of his life passed in more obscurity to posterity than that. Afterwards he made a journey to London, but from what motives is uncertain. We think the chief cause of his going thither to have been, because about that time religion began at length a little to recover itself, and gather strength, especially about the metropolis. This happened within a few years before King Henry died; who, though the kingdom was divided into factions, yet as long as his youth and strength remained, so ordered the matter, that the power of each party was by his authority always retained in due obedience. But as he advanced in years, he began to weigh the matter seriously; to consider, at what age he should expose his son to the furious hatred of the papists, he being still a minor, and brought up in the religion which they opposed. He at last came to a resolution, and in consequence dismissed the papist officers from their authority, appointing in his will such tutors whose fidelity to him was tried, and who were likely to continue it to his son. Religion now rested on a safe basis; and though it secured to the professors their lives, yet no public benefit or profit was afforded them.

One day as Mr. Fox was sitting in St. Paul's church, exhausted with long fasting, every one shunning so ghastly a figure, a stranger took a seat by his side, and, courteously saluting him, thrust a sum of money into his hand, and cheered up his spirits. At the same time he informed Mr. Fox, that in a few days new prospects would present themselves for his future subsistence. Who this stranger was, by whose bounty his misery was relieved, he could never learn. The conjectures of his friends to dissolve the problems were various but unsuccessful. At the end of three days, he received an invitation from the duchess of Richmond to undertake the tuition of the earl of Surrey's children at her house, who, together with his father the duke of Norfolk (the most celebrated general of his time), were imprisoned in the Tower; though for what crimes is uncertain. His pupils were, Thomas, who succeeded to the dukedom; Henry, afterwards earl of Northampton, and Jane, who became countess of Westmoreland. In the performance of his duties he fully satisfied the expectations of the duchess, their aunt.

These halcyon days continued during the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. and the five years of the reign of Edward VI. till the accession of Mary to the crown, who immediately yielded to the authority of the papists; and hence arose the dreadful storm which occurred in her reign, leaving every where marks of its ravages.

At this time Mr. Fox, who was still under the protection of his noble pupil, the duke, began to excite the envy and hatred of many, particularly Dr. Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester, who, in the sequel, became his most violent enemy. It will not be foreign to the purpose here to give a sketch of the character of this man, who, at a future period, had much influence on the fate of Mr. Fox.

Of the parentage of the bishop, no accurate accounts are in existence; but nature had bestowed on him industry, wit, and eloquence; pride, craftiness, and ambition, he learned of the cardinal.

Hence his abilities were fit for any employments, which he managed with exceeding diligence, to gain new honours; and having obtained them, he then assumed boldness instead of industry, flattery for obedience, and deceit instead of fidelity. He was cruel and proud; and to regain any honour that he lost, he was able to weary any man with submission and humility. Sometimes he stood high in the favour of King Henry, having, by his pen, maintained the king's authority against the pope: afterwards, when his prevaricating was understood, he was slighted by the king, and stript of his dignity. Under Edward the Sixth he was not only neglected, but imprisoned, and in Queen Mary's reign he was set at liberty; and being again restored to his former honours, he became a perfect tyrant, till sick with envy that cardinal Pool should in dignity outshine him, having often, but still in vain, tried to cure his malady with a cardinal's hat, vexation at length killed him.

But to return to Mr. Fox, when he saw men troubled for the sake of their religion, some imprisoned and others burnt, and that the bishop of Winchester was the principal instigator of all this, he began to fear for himself, and to think of some speedy way for his departure. As soon as the duke knew his intention, he used many words to persuade him to leave all thought of going away; affirming it to be neither agreeable to honour or modesty for him to suffer his tutor, at any time of his life, to be taken from him. To this he added, that in flying, banishment, poverty, contempt, and from strangers the reproach of being a vagrant, would be his lot. The sincerity of heart with which this advice was given by the duke, made so strong an impression on his mind, that he gave up all thoughts of abandoning his asylum for the present.

At that time the bishop of Winchester was very intimate with the duke, by the patronage of whose family he had increased his dignity. Thither he often resorted, to present his service to the duke; and at several times requested that he might see his old tutor. At first the duke denied his request, at one time alleging his absence, at another time indisposition. At length it happened that Mr. Fox, not knowing that the bishop was in the house, entered the room where the duke and he were in discourse; and seeing the bishop, with a shew of timidity, withdrew. The bishop asking who that was, the duke answered his physician, who was somewhat uncourtly, as being new come from the university. "I like his countenance and aspect very well," replied the bishop, "and when occasion offers, I will send for him." The duke understood that speech as the messenger of some approaching danger; and now he himself thought it high time for Mr. Fox to quit the city, and even the same see. From that time he caused every thing necessary for his flight to be provided in silence, by sending one of his servants to Ipswich Haven to hire a bark, and prepare all the requisites for his departure. He also fixed upon the house of one of his servants, who was a farmer, where he might lodge till the wind became favourable, the duke not deeming it safe to harbour him any longer. Every thing being in readiness, Mr. Fox took his leave of his noble patron, and with his wife, who was pregnant at the time, secretly departed for the ship.

The vessel was scarcely under sail when a most violent storm came on, which lasted all day and night, and the next day drove them back to the port from which they had departed. During the time that the vessel had been at sea, an officer, despatched by the bishop of Winchester, had broke open the house of the farmer, with a warrant to apprehend him wherever he might be found, and bring him back to the city. Mr. Fox, on hearing this news, hired a horse under the pretence of leaving the town immediately; but returned the same night, and secretly agreed with the captain of the vessel to sail for any place as soon as the wind should shift, only desiring him to proceed, and not to doubt but that God would prosper so pious a work. The mariner suffered himself to be persuaded, and within two days landed his passengers in safety at Nieuport on the opposite shore.

Who can read this story without acknowledging the Providence of God which noticeth the fall of a sparrow, and who hath said, for the encouragement of his servants, "Fear not, ye are of more value than many sparrows." There is no one so great as to be above his control: no one is so insignificant as to be beneath his notice.

After spending a few days at that place, he set out for Basle,

where he found a number of English refugees, who had quitted England to escape the cruelty of the times. Here he was employed in correcting the press for Oporinus a celebrated printer; by which he supported himself and family. With these refugees he associated, and at the same time began to write his History of the Acts and Monuments of the Church, published in Latin at Basle, and shortly after in English.

In the mean time the reformed religion began again to flourish in England, and the papist faction much to decline, by the death of Queen Mary.

We dare neither affirm that Mr. Fox foresaw this sudden change in public affairs, nor deny the testimony of the reverend and famous divine, Doctor Elmare, bishop of London; who frequently asserted, that he was himself at a sermon wherein Mr. Fox, among many things which he preached to comfort the banished English, did with confidence tell them, that now was the time come for their return to England, and that he brought them that news by commandment from God. For which words he was at the time sharply reproved by several divines present, but excused afterwards by the event; when by comparing of times it was found, that Queen Mary died but the day before Mr. Fox had thus presaged. By this change of the English government the whole Christian world was benefited.

The neighbouring nations, now relieved from the exiled Englishmen, rejoiced at the good fortune of their guests, as if it happened to themselves. They who had forsaken their houses were now called home; they who had suffered imprisonment, were now released; they who had lost their property, had it repaired by gifts; they who had been thrust from places of honour, were now restored to their former dignities; the unjust laws were in the mean while abrogated, and the wholesome laws established in their places; their minds were quiet, their consciences at liberty, all degrees at peace among themselves, and every man's property secured.

The accession of Elizabeth to the throne, induced Mr. Fox to return home; where, on his arrival, he found a faithful and an active friend in his late pupil, the duke of Norfolk; who again patronized him, at his manor of Christ church, in London, till his death: after which period, Mr. Fox inherited a pension, bequeathed to him by his deceased benefactor, and ratified by his son the earl of Suffolk.

Nor did the good man's successes stop here. On being recommended to the queen, by her secratary of state, the great Cecil, her majesty granted him the prebendary of Shipton, in the cathedral of Salisbury, which was, in a manner, forced upon him; for it was with difficulty that he could be persuaded to accept of

it. Dr. Fuller assures us, that Archbishop Parker summoned him to subscribe, in hope, "that the general reputation of his piety might give the greater countenance to conformity." But, instead of complying with the command, Mr. Fox drew from his pocket the New Testament in Greek; and, holding it up, said, "To this will I subscribe." And, when a subscription to the canons was required of him, he refused, adding, "I have nothing in the church, but a prebend at Salisbury; and if you take it away from me, much good may it do you." He was, however, permitted till his death to retain it.

Mr. Fox, on his return to England, employed himself in revising and enlarging his admirable martyrology. With prodigious pains, and constant study, he completed that celebrated work in eleven years. For the sake of greater correctness, he wrote every line of this vast book with his own hand, and transcribed all the records and papers himself. But, in consequence of such excessive toil, leaving no part of his time free from study, nor affording himself either the repose or recreation which nature required, his health was so reduced, and his person became so emaciated and altered, that such of his friends and relations, as only conversed with him occasionally, could not recollect him at sight. Yet, though he grew daily more exhausted, he proceeded in his studies as briskly as ever, nor would he be persuaded to diminish his accustomed labours.—The papists, foreseeing how detrimental his history of their errors and cruelties would prove to their cause, had recourse to every artifice to lessen the reputation of his work, which had now gained him the credit of an accurate and well-informed historian, and displayed his private virtues in the most amiable light. But their malice was of signal service, both to Mr. Fox himself, and to the church of God at large, as it eventually made his book more intrinsically valuable, by inducing him to weigh, with the most scrupulous attention, the certainty of the facts which he recorded, and the validity of the authorities from which he drew his informations and accounts.

Shortly after, his fame received an additional lustre on account of the indefatigable zeal which he displayed in the exercise of charitable duties to all the distressed within his reach, whether sick in body or in mind. At last, several who laboured under diseases, desired to be carried to his house, but to this practice he immediately put a stop; for, having been brought thither, they were by some reported to be cured.

In this manner his days were spent, frequently preaching abroad, and visiting such as were not able to come to him, but still without neglecting the important duty which the office of his ministry had imposed on him; the little remaining time he spent principally in prayer and study.

As a proof of his unremitted application, we shall here present the reader with a list of his other works, according to the order in which he wrote them. Comædiarum libri 2. Syllogisticon. Admonito ad Parliamentum. De lapsis per errorem in Ecclesiam restituendis. Oliva Evangelica. De Christo gratis justificante. De Christo Crucifixo. Papa confutatus. Contra Osorium de Justitia. Meditationes supra Apocalypsim Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum Commentarii. The Acts and Monuments of the Church.

He was not very solicitous of associating with mankind for the sake of pleasure, nor does it appear that he declined the friendship of illustrious personages; but in the latter instance it was never to gain either honour or riches for himself. He was frequently presented with sums of money by persons possessed of wealth, which he accepted and returned to the poor. He would also occasionally attend the table of his friends, not so much for the sake of pleasure, as from civility, and to convince them that his absence was not occasioned by a fear of being exposed to the temptations of the appetite. In short, not a single voice was heard alleging the least against his character.

It has been already stated that, during his residence at Basle, he frequently signified to his banished brethren their return to England. We shall here relate two other facts, which afford the strongest proofs of a gift of superior knowledge from Heaven.

When lady Anne Hennage was lying sick of a violent fever, and the disease had so far increased, that the physicians had pronounced a fatal issue, Mr. Fox, whose spiritual counsel she had frequently resorted to, was sent for to be present at her last moments. After he had spent some time in reading prayers, and comforting the patient with such arguments as appeared to him to be most suitable---"Well have you done," said he, "and according to your duty, to prepare yourself for all events; but know this from me, that of this sickness you shall not die." Among those who were present was Sir Moyle Finch, son-in-law to the lady, and who, as soon as Mr. Fox was a little withdrawn from the rest of the company, told him, he could not but feel astonished, that contrary to the opinion of the physicians, he should presume to prognosticate the end of the disease, and thus hold out to a person fully prepared for her end, a delusive hope of life; he added, that he much feared he would forfeit, by that untimely word, a great part of the good opinion which men formerly had of his veracity and modesty. To this, Mr. Fox, smiling, made answer, "that for his part, he hindered not any man to think of him as he pleased; but concerning the sick lady, it had so seemed good unto God, that she should recover of that disease; and that he had said no more than was commanded him." —The lady recovered.

Similar to this, and not less true, was the circumstance respecting Mrs. Honiwood, who had nearly twenty years laboured under a consumption, which had hitherto baffled the skill of the most eminent physicians. At length she sent for Mr. Fox, who found her lying upon her bed, without any hope of life, frequently sighing, and faintly articulating some few words, the purport of which was, that she wished for her end. After attending her for a short time, during which he had gained her entire confidence, he assured her, that she should not only recover from the consumption, but also live to an exceeding great age. At these words the patient earnestly looking at him, replied, "As well might you have said, that I should throw this glass, which I now have in my hand, against the wall without breaking it to pieces." Here she flung it against the wall; but the glass accidentally fell on a little chest by the bed-side, afterwards upon the ground, without receiving the least flaw. This lady, before the 90th year of her age, (though she lived longer) had the singular happiness to reckon three hundred and threescore of her children's children and grandchildren.

Another most remarkable occurrence, testifying in the strongest light the interference of the hand of Providence in his affairs, is the following, which took place in the presence of a number of spectators, who at the time attested the fact. Mr. Fox, paying a visit to the Earl of Arundel, son of the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl, when he was going away, conducted him to the water side, at the lower end of his garden; but observing the river to be very rough from the sudden rising of the wind, he advised Mr. Fox not to trust himself in such boisterous weather upon the water: but he persisted in his resolution of going, and answered, "So, my Lord, let these waters deal with me, as I have in truth and sincerity delivered to you all that I have spoken;" and stepping into the boat, before they could put off from the bridge, the wind ceased, and the river became smoother.

Of the esteem in which Mr. Fox was held, the names of the following respectable friends and noble patrons will afford ample proof. It has been already mentioned that the attachment of the Duke of Norfolk was so great to his tutor, that he granted him a pension for life; he also enjoyed the patronage of the Earls of Bedford and Warwick, and the intimate friendship of Sir Francis Walsingham (secretary of state); Sir Thomas and Mr. Michael Hennage, of whom he was frequently heard to observe, that Sir Thomas had every requisite for a complete courtier, but that Mr. Michael possessed all the merits of his brother, besides his own, still untainted by the court. He was on very intimate and affectionate terms with Sir Drue Drury; Sir Francis Drake; Dr. Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Elmar, bishop of

London; Dr. Pilkington, bishop of Durham, and Dr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's; all of whom, except Sir Drue, were with him at Basle in exile. Others of his most intimate acquaintances and friends were, Doctors Humphrey, Whiteaker, and Fulk; Mr. John Crowly, and Mr. Baldwine Collins. Among the eminent citizens, we find he was much venerated by Sir Thomas Gresham, Sir Thomas Roe, Alderman Bacchus, Mr. Smith, Mr. Dale, Mr. Sherrington, &c. &c. From many of these he frequently received large sums of money to divide among the poor, a task which he performed with the utmost liberality and scrupulousness.

Thus, having long served both the church and the world by his ministry, by his pen, and by the unsullied lustre of a benevolent, useful, and holy life, he comfortably resigned his soul to Christ, on the 18th of April, 1587, being then in the seventieth year of his age. He was interred in the chancel of St. Giles's, Cripplegate; of which parish he had been, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, for some time vicar.

The Lord had given him a foresight of his departure; and so fully was he assured that the time was just at hand when his soul should quit the body, that (probably to enjoy unmolested communion with God, and to have no worldly interruption in his last hours) he purposely sent his two sons from home, though he loved them with great tenderness; and, before they returned, his spirit, as he had foreseen would be the case, had flown to heaven. "This to me and my brother was a most grievous affliction, as we "could neither close his eyes, nor receive his last blessing nor ex-"hortations. Perhaps we could with more patience have endured to "see the fainting approaches of his death drawing on, than to have "lost in him so good an example how to die."

Upon the report of his death the whole city lamented, honouring his funeral with a great concourse of people, all of whom appeared to bewail the loss of a father or a brother.

MARTYROLOGY.

"AND wherefore slew he him? because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous." This answer illustrates the principle of persecution in all ages of the Church of God, and may justly be applied to those men in every country, who have carried desolation and death amongst the peaceable disciples of Christ. They have been wolves entering the fold to scatter and destroy the sheep. They have been emissaries of the god of this world, attempting to overturn the empire of knowledge and goodness, and to establish that of ignorance, superstition, and vice. But he who said, "upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it," has confirmed the truth of his own declaration. The princes and rulers of this world have been its public enemies. The learned rabbies and the subtil philosophers have employed all their influence and cunning to overthrow it; whilst the beasts of the people have with savage rage and fury, inflicted all manner of tortures and indignities upon their inoffensive fellow-creatures, hoping, by that means, to exterminate them from the face of the earth. Notwithstanding this combination of malice and power, of learning and fraud, of ferocious rage, and sytematic cruelty, the church still exists. Storms and hurricanes have not shaken her foundation. Her builder is God, and his faithfulness is the tenure of her duration. For three centuries, christians were persecuted by pagans, but the more they were afflicted, the more they multiplied and grew. And the horrible sufferings they endured were so far from discouraging others, that it became an established maxim, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church."* During the three succeeding centuries, christians were honourable, for they were generally uppermost in the state, and enjoyed all the luxuries of ease and wealth. But these were fatal to the purity, simplicity, and zeal which had distinguished the primitive disciples, and now they began to assume dominion over conscience, and to bite and

* Tertull. Apo.

devour one another. However as it is not designed to write an ecclesiastical history, a very brief sketch of the subject must suffice.

These deformities, and this pretended jurisdiction over conscience, came not into the church of Rome all at one time, but with long working, and continuance by little and little crept up, and came not to full perfection till the time partly of pope Sylvester, partly of pope Gregory the seventh in 1170, partly of Innocentius the third, and finally of pope Boniface the eighth, in 1300. Of these four popes, the first brought in the title, in the year of the Lord 670, which was never in such a degree before publickly enacted, and received in the church of Rome. The second brought in jurisdiction. The third, which was pope Innocent, with his rabble of monks and friars, (amongst whom were Thomas Aquinas, Petrus Lombardus, Johannes Scotus) and such other bishops as succeeded in the see after him, corrupted and obscured the sincerity of Christ's doctrine and manners. And, lastly, pope Boniface the eighth, and Clement the fifth, besides the jurisdiction sufficiently advanced before by pope Hildebrand, added the temporal sword to be carried before them. And they decreed, that no emperor (were he ever so well elected) should be sufficient and lawful, without the pope's admission. This was in the year 1300, whereby the pope's power was now brought to its full pride and perfection. And thus arose the corruption of the Romish church in continuance of years by degrees, and not at one time, as has been declared.

Hence, the church of Rome, as it has been governed, with its title, jurisdiction, and institution of doctrine, never descended from the primitive age of the apostles, or from their succession, *nisi tantum æquivoce, et non univoce;* like as *Sancta Maria picta non est, Sancta Maria, et homo pictus non est homo:* that is, as the picture of the Holy Virgin is not the Holy Virgin, and as a man painted on the wall is not a man: so it is to be said of the church of Rome, that although it hath the name of the Church Apostolical, and doth bring forth a long genealogy of outward succession from the apostles, as the Pharisees in Christ's time brought their descent from Abraham their father: yet all this is but only *æquivoce*, that is, the name only, and not in effect or matter.

The Roman emperors made frequent attempts to curtail and check ths powers of the popes. The emperor Honorious enacted a law, that none should be made bishops of Rome through ambition, charging all ecclesiastical ministers to surcease from ambition; appointing, moreover, that if two were elected together, neither of them should be taken, but the election proceed to another, who was to be chosen by a full consent of voices.

To this may be added also the law and constitution of Justinian the emperor, ratified and renewed afterwards in the council of Paris, in the time of king Ludovicus Pius; where all bishops and priests were expressly forbidden not to excommunicate any man before his cause was known and proved to be such, for which the ancient canons of the church would have him to be excommunicate. And if any should proceed contrary to this law, then the excommunicate person to be absolved by the authority of an higher degree, and the excommunicate to be sequestered from the communion, so long as should seem convenient to him that had the execution thereof, as is expressed 24. *q.* 3. *De illicita.* Justinian also, in his Laws and Constitutions, ordained many things of high importance in church matters, such as to have a determinate number of churchmen or clerks in churches; also concerning monasteries and monks, how bishops and priests should be ordained, concerning removing of ecclesiastical persons from one church to another; also concerning the constitution of the churches in Africa; and that the holy mysteries should not be performed in private houses, so that whoever should attempt the contrary should be deprived. *Const.* 58. Also concerning the order and manner of funerals; *and that bishops should not keep from their flock.* The same Justinian granted to the clergy of Constantinople the privilege of the secular court in cases only civil, and such as touched not the disturbance of the bishop: otherwise in all criminal causes he left them to the judgment of the secular court. He also gave laws and decrees for breach of matrimony. And in his *Const.* 123, after the doctrine of St. Paul, he commanded all bishops and priests to sound out their service, and to celebrate the mysteries, not after a secret manner, but with a loud voice, so as they might not only be heard, but also that the faithful people might understand what was said and done; whereby we learn that prayers and service then were in the vulgar tongue.

Carolus Magnus decreed, that only the canonical books of Scripture should be read in the church and none other; which before was also decreed anno 417, in the third general council of Carthage. This monarch also exhorted bishops and priests, to preach the word with a godly injunction; and ordered them to dispense with the superstition which is used at certain places in the burial of the dead.

The said kings and emperors likewise forbade that any freeman or citizen should enter the profession of monkry, without licence asked of the king: and added a double cause for this regulation, first because many not for mere devotion, but for idleness, and avoiding the king's wars, do give themselves to religion; again, that many be craftily circumvented and deluded by subtle cove-

tous persons, seeking to get from them that which they have; that no young children or boys should be shaven, or enter any profession, without the will of their parents; and that no young maiden should take the veil or profession of a nun, before she came to sufficient discretion of years to discern and choose what to follow. That none should be interred or buried thenceforth within the church: which also was decreed by Theodosius and Valentinianus forty years before them. The said Carolus, two and twenty years before this emperor, enacted that murderers, and such as were guilty of death by the law, *should have no sanctuary by fleeing into the church, &c.* which also was decreed by Justinian three hundred years before Carolus.

And though I could, says Mr. Fox, here charge the new fangled church of the pope with seven or eight heinous crimes, such as blasphemy, idolatry, heresy, superstition, absurdity, vanity, cruelty, &c. yet to pass this matter with them, these two things I will and dare boldly affirm, that in this doctrine of the pope now taught in the church of Rome, is neither any consolation of conscience, nor salvation of man's soul. For seeing there is no life nor soul's health, but only in Christ, nor any promise of salvation or comfort made, but only by faith in the Son of God, what assurance can there be of perfect peace, life, or salvation, where that which only maketh all, is least made of, and other things which are of least import are most esteemed?

And, therefore, as it may be truly said that this doctrine of the pope is void of all true comfort and salvation, so likewise it seemeth that those who addict themselves so devoutly to the pope's learning, were never earnestly afflicted in conscience, never humbled in spirit, nor broken in heart; never entered into any serious feeling of God's judgment, nor ever felt the strength of the law and of death. For if they had, they would soon have seen their own weakness, and been driven to Christ: then would they have seen what a horrible thing it is to appear before God the Father, or once to think on him (as Luther says) without Christ: and, on the contrary, they would know what a glory, what a kingdom, what liberty, and life it were to be in Christ Jesus by faith.

And thus were the old Romans first taught by St. Paul. The same did Cornelius the Roman, the first that was baptized of all the Gentiles, learn of St. Peter when he received the Holy Ghost, not by the deeds of the law, but only by hearing the faith of Jesus preached. And in the same doctrine the said church of the Romans many years continued, so long as they were in affliction. And in the same doctrine the bishop of Rome with his Romans now also should still remain, if they were such ancient Catholics as they pretend, and would follow the old

mother church of Rome: but what wonder if the Romans now in so long a tract of time have lost their first simplicity, seeing that the church of the Galatians, in the very time of St. Paul, their schoolmaster, he being amongst them, had scarcely turned his back, but they all turned almost from the doctrine of faith.

And lest any one should think that we here protest against the corrupt errors and deformities of this later church of Rome from motives of any rancour, rather than necessary causes and evident demonstrations, I shall take some little pains to descry the particular branches and contents of the pope's doctrine now set forth, to the intent that all true christian readers, comparing the one with the other, may discern *what great alteration there is between the church of Rome that now is, and the church of Rome that then was planted by the apostles in the primitive time.* And to open to the simple reader some way whereby he may the better judge in such matters of doctrine, and not be deceived in discerning truth from error. First, we will mention certain principles or general positions, as infallible rules or truths of the Scripture, whereby all other doctrines and opinions of men being tried and examined, may the more easily be judged whether they be true or contrary to the holy Scripture.

Certain Principles, grounded upon the Truth of God's Word.

THE FIRST PRINCIPLE.

1. As sin and death came originally by the disobedience of one to all men of his generation by nature, so righteousness and life came originally by the obedience of one to all men regenerated of him by faith and baptism. Rom. v.

2. The promise of God was freely given to our first parents without their deserving; that the seed of the woman should break the serpent's head. Gen. iii.

3. The promise was given freely to Abraham before he deserved any thing, that in his seed all nations should be blessed. Gen. xii.

4. To the Word of God neither must we add, nor take from it. Deut. iv.

5. Accursed is he who abideth not in every thing that is written in the book of the law. Deut. xxvii. Gal. iii.

6. God is only to be worshipped. Deut. vi. Luke iv.

7. All our righteousness is like a defiled cloth. Isa. lxiv.

8. God loveth mercy and obedience more than sacrifice. Hos. vi. 1 Sam. xv.

9. The law worketh wrath, condemneth and opposeth sin. Rom. iii.

10. The end of the law is Christ, for righteousness to every one that believeth. Rom. x.

11. Whosoever believeth and is baptized, shall be saved. Mark. xvi.

12. A man is justified by faith, without works; freely by grace, not of ourselves. Gal. ii. Ephes. ii.

13. There is no remission of sins without blood. Heb. ix.

14. Whatsoever is not of faith is sin. Rom. xiv. Without faith it is impossible to please God. Heb. xi.

15. One mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus. 1 Tim. ii. And he is the propitiation for our sins. 1 John ii.

16. Whosoever seeketh by the law to be justified, is fallen from grace. Gal. v.

17. In Christ be all the promises of God, Yea, and Amen. 2 Cor. i.

18. Let every soul be subject to superior powers, giving to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and to God that which is God's. Rom. xiii.

These principles and infallible rules of Scripture, which no man can deny, prove that the doctrine of the pope's church is not apostolical, but full of errors and heresies, as in the sequel will be more expressly and particularly explained.

A summary Collection of the Errors, Heresies and Absurdities contained in the Pope's Doctrines, contrary to the Rules of God's Word.

OF FAITH AND JUSTIFICATION.

First, as to the only means and instrumental cause of our justification, whereby the merits of Christ's passion is applied to us and made ours, ye heard before how St. Paul ascribes the same only to faith, as appears by all his letters, especially to the Romans; where he, excluding all kind of works, ascribes all our salvation, justification, and peace with God only unto faith in Christ. Contrary to which doctrine the pope and his church have set up sundry other means of their own devising, whereby the merits of Christ's passion, they say, are applied to us and made ours to the putting away of sins, and for our justification; as hope, charity, sacrifice of the mass, auricular confession, satisfaction, merits of saints, and holy orders, the pope's pardons, &c. So that Christ's sacrifice, stripes, and suffering, by this teaching, doth not heal us, nor is beneficial to us, though we believe ever so well, unless we add also these works and merits above recited. This error and heresy of the church of Rome, though it seems at first sight to the natural reason of man to be of small importance; yet if it be earnestly considered, it is in very deed the most pernicious heresy that ever almost crept into the church, upon which, as the only foundation, all or the most part of all

the errors, absurdities, and inconveniencies of the pope's church are grounded. For this being once admitted, that a man is not justified by his faith in Christ alone, but that other means must be sought by our own working and merits, to apply the merits of Christ's passion unto us; then is there neither any certainty left of our salvation, nor end in setting up new means and merits of our own devising for remission of sins. Neither hath there been any heresy that either hath rebelled more presumptuously against the high majesty of God the Father, nor more perniciously hath injured the souls of the simple, than this doctrine.

Secondly, the Christian reader in the gospel, reading of the great grace and sweet promises of God given to mankind in Christ his Son, might thereby take much comfort of soul, and be at rest and peace with the Lord his God; but there comes in the pestiferous doctrine of these heretics, wherewith they obscure this free grace of God, to choke the sweet comforts of man in the Holy Ghost, and oppress Christian liberty, and bring us into spiritual bondage.

Thirdly, as in this their impious doctrine they show themselves manifest enemies to God's grace, so they are no less injurious to Christian men, whom they leave in a doubtful distrust of God's favour and of their salvation, contrary to the word and will of God, and right institution of the apostolic doctrine.

OF SIN.

Of sin likewise they teach not rightly, nor after the institution of the apostles and the ancient Church of Rome; as they consider not the deepness and largeness of sin, supposing it still to be nothing else but the inward actions with consent of will, or the outward, such as are against will: whereas, sin extends not only to these, but also comprehends the blindness and ignorance of the mind, lack of knowledge, the untowardness of man's mind, the privy rebellion of the heart against the law of God, the undelighting will of man to God and his word, &c.

OF PENANCE OR REPENTANCE.

Of penance, this later Lateran Church of Rome has made a sacrament, (contrary to the fourth principle) which penance, say they, standeth of three parts, contrition, confession, and satisfaction canonical. Contrition, as they teach, may be had by strength of free-will, without the law and the Holy Ghost, *per actus elicitos*, through man's own action and endeavour. Which contrition first must be sufficient, and so it meriteth remission of sin. In confession, they require a full rehearsal of all sins, *whereby, the priest, knowing the crimes, may minister satisfaction accordingly.* And this rehearsing of sins, *ex opere operato*, de-

serveth remission, contrary to the fourteenth principle before mentioned. Satisfactions they call *opera indebita*, enjoined by the ghostly father. And this satisfaction (say they) taketh away and changeth eternal punishment into temporal pains, which pains also it doth mitigate. *And again, these satisfactions may be taken away by the pope's indulgence, &c.*

OF FREE-WILL.

Concerning free-will, as it may, in some case, be admitted, that men, without grace, do some outward functions of the law, and keep some outward observances or traditions; so as touching things spiritual and appertaining to salvation, the strength of man being not regenerate by grace, is so infirm and impotent, that he can perform nothing, neither in doing well nor willing well; though, after he be regenerated by grace, may work and do well; but yet that there still remains, notwithstanding, a great imperfection of flesh, and a perpetual repugnance between the flesh and spirit. And thus was the original Church of the ancient Romans first instructed, from which, we may see now how far this later Church of Rome has degenerated, which affirms, that men, without grace, may perform the obedience of the law, and prepare themselves to grace by working, so that those works may be meritorious, and obtain grace. Which grace once obtained, then men may (say they) perfectly perform the full obedience of the law, and accomplish those spiritual actions and works which God requires, and to those works of condignity deserve everlasting life. As to the infirmity which still remains in nature, that they do not regard, nor once speak of.

OF INVOCATION AND ADORATION.

Besides these uncatholic and almost unchristian absurdities and defections from the apostolic faith above specified, let us consider the manner of their invocation, not to God alone, as they should, but to dead men, saying, that saints are to be called upon, *tanquam mediatores intercessionis*, as mediators of intercession; *Christum vero tanquam mediatorem salutis*, and Christ as the mediator of salvation. They affirm, moreover, that Christ was a mediator only in time of his passion, which is repugnant to the words of St. Paul, writing to the old Romans, chap. viii. where he, speaking of the intercession of Christ, "which is," saith he, "on the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us," &c. And if Christ be a mediator of salvation, what needs then any other intercession of saints for our suits? Or what does he want more of the saints, who is sure to be saved only by Christ?

Hitherto also pertains the worshipping of relics, and the false

adoration of sacraments, that is, the outward signs of the things signified, contrary to the seventh principle before stated. Add to this also the profanation of the Lord's supper, contrary to the use for which it was ordained, in reserving it after the communion ministered, in setting it to sale for money, and falsely persuading both themselves and others, that the priest doth merit both to himself who speaks, and to him who hears, *ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis*, &c. that is, only by the mere doing of the work, though the party that useth the same hath no motion in him.

OF SACRAMENTS, BAPTISM, AND THE LORD'S SUPPER.

With respect to sacraments, their doctrine is likewise corrupt and erroneous.

In the sacrament of baptism, they are to be reproved, not only for adding to the simple words of Christ's institution divers many new found rites and fantasies of men, but also where the use of the old Church of Rome was only to baptise men, *they baptise also bells, and apply the words of baptism to water, fire, candles, stocks, and stones, &c.*

But especially in the supper of the Lord, their doctrine most filthily swerves from the right meaning of the Scripture, and should be exploded out of all Christian churches. The first error is their idolatrous abuse by worshipping, adoring, incensing, knocking, and kneeling to it; in reserving also, and carrying about in pomp and procession, in towns and fields. Secondly, also in substance thereof their teaching is monstrous, leaving no substance of bread and wine to remain, but only the real body and blood of Christ, putting no difference between calling and making. Because Christ called bread his body, therefore, say they, *he made it his body*, and so, of a wholesome sacrament, make a perilous idol; and that which the old Church of Rome did ever take to be a mystery, they turn into a blind mist of mere accidents to deceive the people; and to worship a thing made, for their maker; a creature, for their creator; and that which was threshed out of a wheaten sheaf, they set up in the church, and worship for a saviour; and when they have worshipped him, then they offer him to his father; and when they have offered him, then they eat him up, or else close him fast in a pit, where, if he corrupt and putrify before he be eaten, then they burn him to powder and ashes. And notwithstanding they know well by Scripture, that the body of Christ can never corrupt and putrify, yet, for all this corruption, will they needs make it the body of Christ, and burn all them who believe not that which is against true Christian belief.

ON MATRIMONY.

Contrary to the ordinances of the Scripture, the new Catholics of the pope's church call marriage a state of imperfection, and prefer single life, be it ever so impure, before the former, pretending, that where the one replenishes the earth, the other fills heaven. Ministers and priests, such as are found to have wives, they not only remove out of place, but also pronounce sentence of death upon them, and account their children as illegitimate. Again, as good as the third part of the year they exempt and suspend from liberty of marriage. Besides all this, they have added a new-found prohibition of spiritual kindred, that is, that such as have been gossips, or god-fathers and god-mothers together in christening another man's child, must not, by their law, marry together. Finally, in this doctrine and cases of matrimony, they gain much money from the people, nourish adultery, and fill the world with offences that give great occasion of murdering infants.

OF MAGISTRATES AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

It is known what rules and lesson St. Paul gave to the old Romans concerning magistrates, to whose authority he would have all human creatures subjected, as they are the ministers of God, having the sword given unto them, wherewith they ought to repress false doctrine and idolatry, and maintain that which is true and right, Rom. xiii. Now let us survey the pope's proceedings, and mark how far he transgresses in this, as he doth in all other points, from true Christianity.

1. First, *The pope, with all his clergy, exempt themselves from all obedience civil.*

2. They arrogate to themselves authority to ordain and constitute, without all leave or knowledge of the ordinary magistrate.

3. They take upon themselves to depose and set up rulers and magistrates when they please. This is only a nominal prerogative; the power is gone for ever!

OF PURGATORY.

The paradoxes, or rather the fantasies, of the later Church of Rome, concerning purgatory, are monstrous, and neither old nor apostolical.

1. First (they say) there is a purgatory, where souls burn in fire after this life.

2. The pain of purgatory differs nothing from the pains of hell, but only that it has an end; the pains of hell have none.

3. The painful suffering of this fire scours away the sins before committed in the body.

4. The time of these pains endures in some longer, in some less, according as their sins deserve.

5. After the time of their pains has expired, then the mercy of God translates them to heavenly bliss, which the body of Christ hath bought for them.

6. The pains of purgatory are so great, that if all the beggars of the world were seen on the one side, and but one soul in purgatory on the other, the whole world would pity more that one, than all the others.

7. The whole time of punishment in this purgatory must continue till the fire have scoured away the spots of every sinful soul there burning, unless there come some release.

8. Helps and releases, that may shorten the time of their purgation, may be obtained by the pope's pardons and indulgences, sacrifices of the altar, dirges and trentals, prayer, fasting, &c.

Lack of belief of purgatory bringeth to hell.

In short, let us examine the whole religion of this latter Church of Rome, and we shall find it to consist altogether in outward and ceremonial exercises; as outward confession, absolution at the priest's hand, outward sacrifice of the mass, buying of pardons, purchasing of obits, external worshipping of images and relics, pilgrimage to this place or that, building of churches, founding of monasteries, outward works of the law, outward gestures, garments, colours, choice of meats, difference of times and places, peculiar rites and observances, set prayers, and number of prayers prescribed, fasting, keeping of holidays, coming to church, hearing of service, external succession of bishops and of Peter's see, external form and notes of the church, &c. So that, by this religion, to make a true Christian and a good Catholic, there is scarcely any working of the Holy Ghost required.

History of the Persecutions.

SECTION I.

Containing a History of the Persecutions of the primitive Church, from the year of our Lord, 67, till the time of Constantine the Great.

THE dreadful sufferings which we are now about to describe, arose from the persecutions raised by the Pagans against the Christians, in the primitive ages of the Church, during the space of three hundred years, or till the time of Constantine.

It is both wonderful and horrible to peruse the descriptions of the sufferings of those godly martyrs, as they are described by the ancient historians. Their torments were as various as the ingenuity of man, tempted by the devil, could devise, and their numbers were truly incredible. "Some," says Robanus, "were slain with the sword; some burnt with fire; some with whips scourged; some stabbed with forks of iron; some fastened to the cross or gibbet; some drowned in the sea; some had their skins plucked off; some their tongues cut out; some stoned to death; some killed with cold; some starved with hunger; some their hands cut off, or otherwise dismembered, have been so left naked to the open shame of the world," &c. Augustine, speaking of these martyrs, says, that although their punishments were divers, yet the manner and constancy in all these martyrs was one. And notwithstanding the sharpness of so many and sundry torments, and cruelty of the tormentors, such was the number of these constant saints, that, as Hierome, in his epistle to Cromatius and Heliodorus, observes, "*There is no day in the whole year, unto which the number of five thousand martyrs cannot be ascribed, except only the first day of January.*"

The first martyr to our holy religion was its blessed founder himself. His history is sufficiently known, as it has been handed down to us in the New Testament, which contains the best account the world ever had, and to which the reader is referred: nevertheless, the following sketch, which abounds with just sentiments, may be acceptable to him, as it states the benevolent design of his labours, and the real cause of the unprincipled opposition he met with.

Our Lord *JESUS CHRIST* thoroughly knew mankind, he penetrated through all the veils, under which the rulers of his country concealed their turpitude from vulgar eyes, and he foresaw that his ministry would cost him his life. He chose to befriend mankind at this price, and generously stepped forward, to plead the cause of piety, virtue, and freedom, against the cruelty and hypocrisy of all tyrants, civil or sacred, who had set God at defiance, and who held all his creatures in awe. The Assyrian tyrant had formerly boasted, that he had spoiled whole kingdoms with as little remorse, and with as much ease, as boys spoil the nests of birds of their eggs, and that the inhabitants had not dared so much as to move the wing, or open the mouth, or peep.* Other great powers, equally injurious to the liberties of mankind, had succeeded in exercising the same dominion, and, in all countries, the common people, the bulk of mankind, were employed through life in ministering to the insatiable vices of a few. Jesus knew that the prophet Daniel had described him under the similitude of a stone, cut out of a mountain without hands, that should subvert every image, that is, tyranny in every form, and should itself become the foundation of a kingdom that should stand for ever.

With these godlike views, he conducted all his ministry. He addressed himself not to the rulers, but to the people at large. He taught them to transfer their attention from human authority to God, the Father, and the Master of all. He apprized them of the nature and worth of revelation, and bade them take the mind of God from his written word. He awoke them to their own dignity, and while he unfolded his wisdom in his sermons, and the proofs of his divine mission in his miracles, he taught them the use of their own understandings, and fixed a conviction in their bosoms, beyond the power of sophistry to erase. He both taught and exemplified a dauntless intrepidity, tempered with a modesty that renders the wise accessible to the weak. He described the invisible First Cause, and taught them how to address and please him. He directed them to practise an universal justice, to maintain an inoffensive deportment, and to fill the world with kind offices of love. He animated the whole with the promise of a future state of perfect felicity, and that nothing might be wanting to give his doctrine effect, he described the resurrection of the dead, the last judgment, and the final punishment of the ignorant and impenitent. He foretold his own death, the calamities of his country, the dissolution of the mosaical œconomy, the fate of his universal religion, and he ordered his apostles, whom he had well instructed, to tarry at Jerusalem after his death till he should rise from the dead, and meet them again, and give them further orders.

* Isaiah x. 14.

The apostles punctually obeyed his order, and he kept the time which he had appointed, and shewed himself alive by many infallible proofs. Forty days they saw him, and heard him speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God. Among other things he repeated, what he had often said before his death, that he approved of John's baptism with water, and that he himself would baptize them with the Holy Ghost, or, as another evangelist expresseth it, endue them with power from on high. On one of these remarkable days he ordered his disciples to meet him on a certain mountain in Galilee, for he had promised before his death, that he would see them there. Thither more than five hundred brethren repaired, and there they all saw him at once. The eleven instantly knew him, and worshipped him; and here he gave them their commission in these remarkable words: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and, lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

Jesus, on the last day of shewing himself to his disciples, led them out to a spot, about a sabbath day's journey from Jerusalem, which had been rendered very remarkable by several incidents during their acquaintance. It was on the borders of Bethphage, Bethany, and the Mount of Olives. Hither Jesus had frequently retired for solitude, contemplation and prayer. Here he had set out to ride in triumph to Jerusalem. To this place he had retired after he had eaten his last passover, here he had been taken into custody to be led like a lamb to the slaughter, and here he took leave of his family, and in their sight ascended, they steadfastly looking up, and he lifting up his hands, and blessing them, till a cloud received him out of their sight. He sat down at the right hand of God, and they returned to Jerusalem with great joy.

JOHN BAPTIST was the appointed forerunner of Jesus, and in his presence felt and publickly acknowledged his inferiority, saying, "there standeth one among you the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to bear:" we shall therefore place him next in this catalogue of worthies who suffered in the cause of truth and righteousness; although his death preceded that of Jesus. In the days of John, the civil government of Judea was divided into four parts, and over each a different governor under the name of a Tetrarch, presided. Herod Antipas, a son of Herod the Great, was tetrarch of Galilee, when John appeared in public, preaching and baptizing. Herod was a very dissolute prince, and had committed many atrocious and unpopular crimes. In a jour-

ney to Rome he had been entertained at the court of his brother Philip, tetrarch of Traconitis, and had abused his hospitality by forming a criminal intrigue with Herodias, the consort of Philip. In favour of this lady he had divorced his own wife, who was daughter of a neighbouring king, and to cover the iniquity of the whole had caused a marriage to be celebrated between him and Herodias, who had left her husband Philip, and lived in defiance of shame with Herod in Galilee. The father of the Princess whom Herod had divorced, revenged the affront by declaring war against him, and this exposed him to foreign danger, as the illegality of the divorce and the marriage did to domestic insurrections; for the Jews were very tenacious of the letter of the law, and the law of Moses was expressly against the whole affair.

Whether Herod sent for John, to try to ingratiate himself with this popular leader, and through him with the people, or whether the zeal of John animated him to go to court, we know not: but, we are certain he did wait on the king, and did acquit himself in a way highly to his honour. John was admirably qualified to discharge the kind office of reproving this royal criminal. His education had been uninfected with the sophistry of the schools, and he had imbibed the noblest principles of Moses and the prophets. His morals had not been tainted with the dissipated maxims of populous cities, but were formed of the purest exercises of undisguised piety and virtue. He was in the bloom of life, and his senses and passions, not blunted by sin, were under the command of a vigorous reason, regulated by an uncommon degree of religion. His manner was his own, and his austerity had such a graceful propriety and dignity as always accompanies originality. He was independant in his circumstances, not by possessing an ample fortune, but by the happy art of living on a little. He was a single man, and had nobody's fortune to make. His notions of government were just, for he considered law as supreme in a state, and knew no one above the control of it. He had a perfect knowledge of his own insignificance in the presence of the Messiah: but in his absence he felt his dignity, and took himself for what he really was, the second man in the kingdom, inspired by the Deity, and acting under the authority of God.

When Herod first gave John audience, he was struck with awe, and heard him with pleasure. His conscience felt the remonstrances which John addressed to him on the irregularities of his life, and he reformed many of his actions with cheerfulness: but when John represented the unlawfulness of his keeping his brother's wife, both Herod and the lady were filled with indignation against him. Herodias would have despatched him

instantly: but Herod durst not allow of his execution, lest the people, who all counted him a prophet, should revenge his death by dethroning his executioner. Awhile the unhappy Herod was racked between conscience and convenience, and, to avoid extremes, he hit on the expedient of committing him to prison, and found that the people bore the imprisonment of their prophet without making any insurrection in his favour. It was at a festival, in an unguarded moment, through a false point of honour, as a premium to the daughter of Herodias for dancing, that the king consented, though with reluctance, to the assassination of John. The barbarous deed was done in private; the head of John was struck off in the prison, and presented to the ladies in a dish at their own request; the body was buried by the disciples: Jesus and his followers retired awhile, but, when he appeared some time after, Herod recollected the murder with horror, and exclaimed, "John, whom I beheaded, is risen from the dead."

Certainly John will rise from the dead, and Herod must meet him, and both must be tried for the deeds done in the body, by the Judge of the whole earth. We need not wait till that day to know the true character of John, for as no name of antiquity is less suspected or more applauded by the Jews and Christians than his; so an infallible judge hath already declared that John was a burning and shining light, that his authority to baptize was from heaven; and that "among them that were born of women there had not risen a greater than John the Baptist."

STEPHEN, the first Deacon, being filled with grace and power, wrought great miracles, and boldly preached Jesus Christ. Some Jews of the provinces rose up against him. Some of them were Libertines, that is to say, in Latin, Freedmen; and it is thought that they bore this name, because they had been carried into Italy as slaves to the Romans, and afterwards restored to their liberty. Some of them were Cyreneans, descended from those which the first Ptolemy had transplanted to that part of Africa. There were some of Alexandria, Cilicia, and Asia. These, not being able to get the better of Stephen in dispute, raised false witnesses, who accused him of having blasphemed against Moses and against God; and of having said that Jesus of Nazareth would destroy the Holy Place, and change the traditions. He was taken and led into the council, where he gave an account of his doctrine, shewing by the history of the people of God ever since Abraham, and by the testimony of the prophets, that religion was not confined to the Holy Land, nor to the Temple; that the Jews had always rejected those whom God had sent to deliver them, and that they had always rebelled against him. This discourse transported them with fury; and

they dragged him out of the city, and stoned him to death; which was the punishment for blasphemers and seducers.

One of those, who were the most enraged against him, was a young man of Cilicia, named Saul. He held the cloaks of the witnesses, who, according to the law, were to throw the first stones at him who was to be stoned. Stephen, in dying, fell upon his knees, and cried out with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge. He was the first Martyr, which in Greek signifies a *Witness;* because he was the first who died for the testimony of the doctrine of Jesus Christ. He was interred by some pious men, who put on deep mourning for him, shewing that they did not look upon him as a criminal; for those who were lawfully condemned, were deprived of the burial of their ancestors, and there was no mourning wore for them.

In the mean time, there arose a great persecution against the Church, which was at Jerusalem, and all the faithful, except the Apostles, dispersed themselves throughout Judea and Samaria. However, a great many were imprisoned in Jerusalem; and many others were condemned to death and executed; against whom Saul was as active as the rest. The chief priests had given him a power, by virtue of which he punished a great many of them in the synagogues, constraining them to blaspheme against Jesus Christ. He went into their houses and seized upon all, both men and women, and led them to prison. The faithful, who were dispersed upon this occasion, did not only spread themselves over Palestine, but also into Phœnicia, the island of Cyprus, and as far as Antioch; they were like seed scattered to encrease the further; for they preached the gospel every where, though they had hitherto only declared it to the Jews. A disciple, whose name was Ananias, went to Damas, and there assembled a church.

MATTHEW the evangelist, who was also called Levi, was an Hebrew of the Hebrews, the son of Alpheus and Mary, a relation of the blessed virgin, and probably was born either at or near Capernaum. He was a publican, and by profession a collector of the customs to the Romans, an office odious to the Jews, on account of the covetousness and extortion of those concerned in the direction. His particular province consisted in gathering the duties on all merchandise that came by the sea of Galilee, and receiving the tribute which all passengers paid who went by water; for which reason he had a commodious office erected by the sea-side. There it was that our apostle was sitting, when our Saviour first called him to be his disciple. Notwithstanding he was a rich and substantial man, and established in a very profitable post, he readily obeyed his master's call, and chose rather to attend on the Son of Man, who had not where

to lay his head, than to live amongst his relations in the full possession of all sensual enjoyments. His contempt of the world was not only conspicuous from this sudden exchange to all outward appearance for the worse; but from his extraordinary abstemiousness during the remainder of his life. He refused to indulge himself in any flesh-meats whatsoever, and subsisted wholly on herbs, roots, seeds, and berries. However, in order to express the veneration and high esteem he had for our Saviour, he made an elegant entertainment for him and his apostles, and invited several of his relations and brother officers at the same time, with the pious view of their becoming converts like himself, through the prevailing influence of our Lord's good company and conversation. He continued with the rest of the apostles till some time after our Saviour's ascension. He spent eight years in preaching to the Jews in Judea, and the parts adjacent; but after that he travelled into Æthiopia, that being the province of his apostolical office by allotment. There he preached the gospel of Christ with great success, and by working of miracles, triumphed over error and superstition. He is thought to have suffered martyrdom at Naddaber in Æthiopia; but as to the manner of his death, and the place of his burial, historians are not determined. He wrote his gospel during his residence in Palestine, about eight years after our Saviour's crucifixion, at the request of the Jewish converts, and by the express orders of the apostles, in which great work he was assisted by the Holy Ghost. Though it is thought he wrote it originally in the Hebrew language for the use of his countrymen, yet it was soon afterwards translated into Greek; which version was approved of by the apostles, and hath ever since been received by the church as genuine and authentic.

MARK, according to the opinion of the ancients, was a Jew by extraction, originally a descendant of the tribe of Levi. He was made a proselyte to the christian faith by one of the apostles; but by whom in particular cannot be determined: it is most probable, however, that Saint Peter was the principal means of his conversion, since our evangelist constantly attended him in his travels, and acted in the capacity of his amanuensis and interpreter, whenever occasion offered. His first mission was into Egypt; and for the most part he resided at Alexandria, and the parts adjacent; where his labours in his ministry were attended with such success, that he not only converted multitudes of both sexes to the christian faith; but prevailed on them to be exemplary in the practice and profession of it. From thence he removed westward into Lybia, travelling through Marmorica, Pentapolis, and the adjacent countries; where, notwithstanding the inhabitants were blindly devoted to idolatry and superstition,

yet by the prevailing influence of his pious discourses, and the miracles which he wrought, he planted the gospel of Christ amongst them, and confirmed them in their most holy religion. Having settled his affairs there to his satisfaction, he returned to Alexandria, where he employed his whole time in the regulation and discipline of the church. But after he had resided there some time, he met with a violent opposition in the exercise of his ministerial office; for about Easter the inhabitants of the place, being zealous for the honour of their god Serapis, and incensed at our evangelist's aversion to their idolatrous practices, rushed in upon him whilst he was employed in the very act of divine worship; and having bound his feet with cords, they dragged him along the streets upon the stones to a place called Bucelus, some small distance from the city; by which barbarous treatment his body was bruised and mangled to that degree, that he died of his wounds. Not contented with this act of inhumanity, according to some historians, they carried their resentment to a still higher pitch, and burnt the remainder of his body; the bones and ashes whereof were afterwards conveyed by some compassionate christians to Venice, and decently interred in the church of St. Mark in that republic, which is looked upon as one of the most magnificent structures in the world. He left no other writings behind him but his gospel, which was composed at the repeated solicitations of the Jewish converts who resided at Rome. However, he first submitted what he had written to the perusal of St. Peter. After it had received the stamp of his great master's approbation, it was ordered to be read publickly in their most solemn assemblies, and has ever since been received by the church as canonical, and a valuable supplement to the gospel of St. Matthew.

LUKE was born at Antioch, the richest and most populous city of all Syria, not only famous for its being one of the most flourishing academies in the world, and its eminent professors in all arts and sciences, but more so, on account of this one peculiar honour, that there our Saviour's disciples were first called Christians. Having been educated from his childhood in this seat of polite literature, and having visited all the Asian and Grecian academies for his further improvement, he returned to Antioch, and applied himself closely to the study of physic, in which he became a great proficient. He practised painting likewise for his amusement, and was looked upon as one of the greatest artists therein that age produced. Whether St. Luke was one of the seventy disciples of Christ or not, cannot be determined, since the Scripture is silent in that particular, but it is the received opinion of the ancients, that he was converted by St. Paul; since it is certain that apostle had a peculiar value and regard for him. And that after his conversion they were constant

companions in all perils and dangers; and fellow-labourers in the ministry of the gospel for a long time. However, parting at last from his dearly beloved tutor and master, he travelled into Egypt and several parts of Lybia, where by his exemplary life, and the prevalence of his preaching, he converted multitudes to the christian faith, and took upon himself the episcopal charge of the city of Thebais. As to the time of his death and the manner of it, the ancient historians are not agreed; since some assert, that he died in Egypt, and others at Ephesus; some in Bithynia, and others in Greece; some again affirm that he died a natural death; and others, that a band of infidels, incensed at the success of his ministry, led him to execution, and for want of a cross hung him on an olive tree, in the 84th year of his age. After his martyrdom, in case it was so, his body was removed to Constantinople by the express order of Constantine, or his son Constantius, and interred in the great church there, erected in commemoration of the apostles. All the writings which he left behind him, and which are universally acknowledged to be canonical, are his Gospel, and his history of the Acts of the Apostles: the former, said to be written when he was at Achaia with Paul, who is supposed by some to have had a considerable hand in it, about the year of Christ fifty-six; and the other, when he was at Rome with Paul in his first imprisonment. Both were written originally in the Greek language, and by him dedicated to Theophilus, a person of great honour and distinction, and one of his principal converts.

JOHN the evangelist, was by birth a Galilean, the son of Zebedee and Salome, and the younger brother of St. James the Great, under whom he exercised the trade or profession of a fisherman. He was called to be a disciple and an apostle of our blessed Saviour, before he was thirty years of age. He and his brother James, who was likewise called to the dignity of the apostleship at the same time, were afterwards stiled Boanerges, or Sons of Thunder. St. John in particular, is said to be the disciple whom Jesus loved; his particular favourite, who laid his head in his master's bosom, at the administration of his last supper; and to whose peculiar care and conduct our Lord intrusted his mother, at the approach of his crucifixion. St. John accordingly, in pursuance of the trust reposed in him, shewed her all the testimonies of the profoundest veneration and respect; and, after the death of her husband Joseph, gave her all the accommodations his house afforded. He contracted a more intimate acquaintance with St. Peter than any other of the apostles, and was the first that gave him notice of our Saviour's appearance after his resurrection. He likewise entertained him at his house in Jerusalem, till the death of the blessed virgin,

St. JOHN,
Cast into a cauldron of boiling Oil.

Vide p. 23.

which happened, according to Eusebius, in the year of our Lord forty-eight. Some time after, he took his journey into Asia, that being his peculiar province by allotment. He founded the churches of Smyrna, Thyatira, Pergamus, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, &c. His principal place of residence, however, was Ephesus, whereof he was bishop; though St. Paul had planted a church there long before, and constituted Timothy the bishop thereof. Soon after he had settled affairs to his satisfaction in Asia Minor, it is supposed that he removed from thence more eastward, and preached the gospel among the Parthians, to whom, as some imagine, his first epistle was anciently inscribed. After some years thus employed in his apostolical function, the persecution of the cruel Domitian came on, wherein so eminent a minister of Christ's gospel as St. John, could not fail of being a sufferer. He was accordingly represented to the emperor as a professed atheist, and a public subverter of the established religion of the empire. Whereupon, by his imperial orders, the proconsul of Asia sent him bound to Rome, where he met with the most barbarous and inhuman treatment. He was cast into a cauldron of boiling or burning oil, but was as miraculously delivered by divine Providence, from that seeming inevitable ruin, as Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego had been long before, from the flames of a fiery furnace. The stupid and obdurate Domitian, regardless of the miracle, still persecuted this holy man, and banished him into the isle of Patmos, in the Archipelago, where he instructed the inhabitants for many years together, in the grounds and principles of the Christian religion; and where, towards the latter end of his reign, he wrote his Apocalypse, or Revelation. Soon after the emperor's death, Cocceius Nerva, his successor, by a special edict, recalled him and several others from their state of exile.

After the death of the tyrant, when John was returned to Ephesus, from the isle of Patmos, he was desired to resort to the places bordering near unto him, partly to constitute bishops, partly to dispose the causes and matters of the church, partly to ordain and set such of the clergy in office whom the Holy Ghost should elect. Whereupon, when he was come to a certain city not far off, the name of which also many do yet remember, and had, among other things, comforted the brethren, he looking more earnestly upon him, which was the chief bishop among them, beheld a young man, mighty in body, and of beautiful countenance, and of a fervent mind: I commend this man, saith he, to thee with great diligence, in witness here of Christ and of the church.

When the bishop had received of him this charge, and had promised his faithful diligence therein: again, the second time

John spake unto him, and desired him in like manner and contestation as before. This done, John returned again to Ephesus. The bishop receiving the young man, commended and committed to his charge, brought him home, kept him, and nourished him, and at length also did illuminate, that is, he baptized him, and, in short time, through his diligence, brought him into such order and towardness, that he committed unto him the oversight of a certain cure in the Lord's behalf. The young man thus having more his liberty, it chanced that certain of his companions and old familiars being idle, dissolute, and accustomed, of old time, to wickedness, did join in company with him, who first brought him to sumptuous and riotous banquets; then incited him forth with them in the night to rob and steal, after that, he was allured by them unto greater mischief and wickedness. Wherein, by custom of time, by little and little, he being more practised, and being of a good wit, and a stout courage, like unto a wild or unbroken horse, leaving the right way, and running at large without bridle, was carried headlong to the profundity of all misorder and outrage. And thus, being past all hope of grace, utterly forgetting and rejecting the wholesome doctrine of salvation, which he had learned before, began to set his mind upon no small matters. And forasmuch as he was entered so far in the way of perdition, he cared not how further he proceeded in the same. And so associating unto him the company of his companions and fellow thieves, took upon him to be as head and captain among them, in committing all kind of murder and felony.

In the mean time, it chanced that, of necessity, John was sent for to those quarters again, and came. The causes being decided, and his business ended for which he came, by the way, meeting with the bishop afore specified, he requireth of him the pledge, which, in the witness of Christ and of the congregation then present, he left in his hands to keep. The bishop, something amazed at the words of John, supposing he had meant of some money committed to his custody, which he had not received, (and yet durst not mistruct John, nor contrary his words) could not tell what to answer. Then John perceiving his doubting, and uttering his mind more plainly: the young man, saith he, and the soul of our brother committed to your custody, I do require. Then the bishop, with a loud voice, sorrowing and weeping, said, "He is dead." To whom John said, "How, and by what death?" The other said, "He is dead to God, for he is become an evil man, and pernicious; to be brief, a thief: and now he doth frequent this mountain with a company of villains and thieves, like unto himself, against the church." But the apostle rent his garments, and, with a great lamentation, said, "I have left a good keeper of my brother's soul; get me a

horse, and let me have a guide with me:" which being done, his horse and man procured, he hasted from the church as much as he could, and coming to the same place, was taken of thieves that watched. But he, neither flying nor refusing, said, "I came for this same cause hither; lead me (said he) to your captain." So he being brought, the captain all armed, fiercely began to look upon him; and eft-soons coming to the knowledge of him, was struck with confusion and shame, and began to fly. But the old man followed him as much as he might, forgetting his age, and crying, "My son, why dost thou fly from thy father? an armed man from one naked, a young man from an old man? have pity on me, my son, and fear not, for there is yet hope of salvation; I will make answer for thee to Christ, I will die for thee, if need be; as Christ hath died for us, I will give my life for thee; believe me, Christ hath sent me." He, hearing these things, first, as in a maze, stood still, and therewith his courage was abated. After that, he had cast down his weapons, by and by, he trembled, yea, and wept bitterly: and coming to the old man, embraced him, and spake unto him with weeping, being even then baptized afresh with tears, only his right hand being hid and covered. Then the apostle, after that he had promised and firmly ascertained him, that he should obtain remission of our Saviour, and also prayed, falling down upon his knees, and kissed his murdering right-hand, which, for shame, he durst not show before, as now purged through repentance, brought him to the congregation. And when he had prayed for him with continual prayer and daily fastings, and had comforted and confirmed his mind with many sentences, went not from him before he had restored him to the congregation again, and made him a great example and trial of regeneration, and a token of the visible resurrection.

At the request of the Asian bishops, he wrote his Gospel, about the year of our Lord 96, when he was near a hundred years old. He lived till the beginning of the reign of the emperor Trajan, and was, according to St. Chrysostom, about a hundred and twenty years of age when he died. Some are of opinion, that he died a martyr; others, that he never died at all; but was translated, as Enos and Elias were of old. Besides his Gospel and Revelations, he wrote three epistles, one already taken notice of to be anciently inscribed to the Parthians; a second to a lady of great honour and quality, a convert to the Christian faith, and stiled the Elect Lady; and a third to Gaius, a very hospitable man, and peculiarly indulgent to all indigent Christians.

SIMON, otherwise called *PETER*, was born at Bethsaida, a city of Galilee, situate on the banks of the lake of Genesareth:

he was the son of Jonah, a poor illiterate fisherman of that place, and the brother of St. Andrew. At his circumcision, he received the name of Simon or Simeon; to which our Saviour afterwards added that of Cephas, a Syriac term, which signifies a Rock or Stone; and from this last, Peter became his most usual name; whereby our Saviour seemed to allude to the firmness of Peter's faith, and his indefatigable labours in the establishment of the church. He was inured to hardships from his infancy, and, before his call to the apostleship, followed the same laborious profession as his father did before him. Andrew, his brother, being first acquainted with our blessed Saviour, introduced him into his company and conversation. However, neither he nor his brother were commanded by Christ to follow him at that time; nor were they made fishers of men, till they were eye-witnesses of the miracle which he wrought of a great draught of fishes. In his first sermon after the descent of the Holy Ghost, he converted, as we read in Acts ii. 41, about three thousand souls.—Some time after, he punished Ananias and Sapphira with immediate death for their shameful covetousness, and their aggravation thereof, by lying to the Holy Ghost. His first mission was into Samaria, in order to visit and confirm those Christians, who had been converted there by Philip the deacon; and to communicate to them the gift of the Holy Ghost, by the imposition of hands. Simon Magus, a sorcerer, being very desirous of having that divine favour conferred on him, presumptuously offered to treat with the apostles about the purchase of it; but was repulsed by Peter with the utmost disdain, and dismissed with this severe reprimand, Thy money perish with thee. By the express orders of Herod, he was afterwards imprisoned, strictly guarded, and loaded with fetters; however, the night before his intended execution, he was set at liberty by an angel of the Lord. Soon after this miraculous deliverance, he withdrew to Antioch, where he employed his whole time and strength in making proselytes to the Christian religion, and according to Eusebius, was the first bishop of that place. After his departure from thence, as he was the Apostle of the Circumcision, he preached the gospel to the Jews, who were scattered and dispersed over all Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Asia. Towards the latter end of his life, he went to Rome, where he laboured likewise, without ceasing, in the establishment of the Christian doctrine, principally amongst the Jews. About the year of our Lord sixty-nine, he was crucified with his head downwards, by the inhuman order of the tyrant Nero. After his death, his body is said to have been embalmed by Marcellinus the presbyter, after the Jewish manner, and then buried in the Vatican, near the Triumphal Way, where there was a church erected to his pious memory, which, at this time,

is one of the wonders of the world. He left only two epistles behind him that are genuine, and constitute a part of the sacred canon.

PAUL, otherwise called *SAUL*, was born at Tarsus, the chief city of Cilicia, where not only trade and commerce, but all the liberal arts and sciences flourished; he was a Jew by extraction, and of the tribe of Benjamin. After he had laid the foundation of human learning in the schools erected there for that purpose, his parent sent him to Jerusalem, in order to have him brought up to the study of the law, at the feet of Gamaliel; in which science, he beecame in a short time, a distinguished proficient. However, they caused him to be instructed likewise in the mechanical profession of a tent-maker, in compliance with their Jewish proverb, That he who teacheth not his son a trade, teacheth him to be a thief; the intention whereof was to recommend industry, and secure their children a subsistence in case of unforeseen misfortunes. As to his principles before his conversion, he was a Pharisee, the strictest sect of all those who profess the Jewish religion; and he was of a sanguine constitution, he zealously opposed all such as were looked upon to be enemies to the Mosaic œconomy. Accordingly, he persecuted, with the utmost rigour, all who professed the Christian religion at Jerusalem; and procured a commission to imprison all the disciples of our Saviour that he could find in Damascus: however, as he was on his journey for that purpose, on a sudden, there shined round about him a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, which struck him with such horror and amazement, that he and his companions fell to the ground: in the mean time, he heard a voice saying to him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? To which he answered, Lord, who art thou? Who informed him, That he was Jesus whom he persecuted; and that it would be for his everlasting advantage, not to disobey the commands that should be then given him. Accordingly, he became obedient to the heavenly vision, the lustre whereof had struck him blind for three days; and upon this conversion and discovery of Christ, he required to know his will and pleasure, and instantly followed his divine directions. After he had fasted three days, by way of humiliation for those outrages he had committed against the church of Christ, he was admitted a member thereof by Ananias, one of the seventy disciples, who baptized him, and laying his hands on him, restored his sight, and conferred on him the gift of the Holy Ghost. As a demonstration of the sincerity of his conversion, he preached that very Jesus whom he before had persecuted, and proved, to the amazement of the Jews at Damascus, that Christ was the Messiah, the Son of God. He was more indefatigable than any of the apostles, the sphere of his ministry being much more extensive: he travelled, as it were, all over the Roman empire; from Jerusalem, through

Arabia, Asia, Greece, and so round about to Illyricum, Rome, and even to the utmost bounds of the western world, preaching the glad tidings of the gospel wherever he came, with undaunted courage and resolution. Notwithstanding he was frequently scourged and imprisoned, and even brought to the confines of death both by sea and land, yet he was preserved for the space of thirty-five years together, in the good fight of faith, till he had finished his course. Being at Rome, and joining with St. Peter in procuring the fall of Simon Magus, he incurred the displeasure of the tyrant Nero, by whose order he was beheaded, in the 68th year of his age. He left behind him fourteen epistles, which contributed very much towards confirming the churches of Christ at first, and have been highly serviceable ever since to the cause of religion.

The epistle which beareth the title to the Hebrews, is not thought to be his, for the difference of the stile and phrase, but either judged to be written of Timothy, as Tertullian supposed, or of St. Luke, as others think; or else of Clement afterward bishop of Rome, who, as they say, was adjoined with Paul, and compiling together his sayings and sentences, did phrase them in his stile and manner. Or else, as some do judge, because St. Paul wrote unto the Hebrews, for the odiousness of his name among that people, therefore he dissembled, and confessed not his name in the first entry of his salutation, contrary to his accustomed condition. And as he wrote to the Hebrews, he being an Hebrew, so he wrote in Hebrew, that is, his own tongue, more eloquently. And that is thought to be the cause why it differeth from his other epistles, and is after a more eloquent manner translated into the Greek, than his other epistles be. Some also read the epistle written to Laodicea, but that is exposed of all men. Thus much Hierome.

As touching the time and order of the death and martyrdom of St. Paul, as Eusebius, Hierome, Maximus, and other authors do but briefly pass over it; so Abdias speaking more largely of the same, doth say, That after the crucifying of Peter, and the ruin of Simon Magus, Paul yet remaining in free custody, was dismissed and delivered at that time from martyrdom by God's permission, that all the Gentiles might be replenished with preaching of the gospel by him.

And the same Abdias proceeding in his story, declareth moreover, that as Paul was thus occupied at Rome, he was accused to the emperor, not only for teaching new doctrine, but also for stirring up sedition against the empire. For this he being called before Nero, and demanded to show the order and manner of his doctrine, there declared what his doctrine was, To teach all men peace and charity, how to love one another, how to preserve one another in honour; rich men not to be puffed up in pride,

nor to put their trust in their treasures, but in the living God; mean men to be contented with food and raiment, and with their present state; poor men to rejoice in their poverty with hope; fathers to bring up their children in the fear of God; children to obey their parents; husbands to love their wives; wives to be subject to their husbands; citizens and subjects to give their tribute unto Cæsar, and to be subject to their magistrates; masters to be courteous, not churlish to their servants; servants to deal faithfully with their masters: and this to be the sum of his teaching. Which doctrine "he received not of men, nor by men, but by Jesus Christ, and the Father of glory," which spake to him from heaven, the Lord Jesus saying to him, "That he should go and preach his name, and that he would be with him, and would be the spirit of life to all that believed in him, and that whatsoever he did or said, he would justify it, &c." After that Paul had thus declared unto the emperor, shortly after, sentence of death was pronounced against him, that he should be beheaded. Unto whose execution then Nero sent two of his esquires, Ferega and Parthemius, to bring him word of his death. They, coming to Paul, instructing then the people, desired him to pray for them, that they might believe. Who told them, that shortly after they should believe, and be baptized at his sepulchre (as Abdias writeth). This done, the soldiers came and led him out of the city to the place of execution, where he, after his prayers made, gave his neck to the sword. Of the time and year when the blessed apostles did suffer, histories do not all agree. They that follow the common opinion, and the pope's decrees, say, That both Peter and Paul suffered both in one day, and in one year: which opinion seemeth to be taken out of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth. Hierome in his book, De viris illustr. affirmeth, that they both suffered in one day, but he expresseth not the year. So doth Isidorus and Eusebius. Simon Metraphrastes bringeth in the opinion of some, who think that Paul suffered not with Peter, but after Peter. Prudentius, in his Peristephano, noteth, that they both were put to death upon the same day, but not in the same year, and saith, that Paul followed Peter a year after.

Abdias, above mentioned, recordeth, that Paul suffered two years after Peter. Moreover, if it be true which Abdias saith, that after the crucifying of Peter, Paul remained in his fair custody at Rome, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, which was as Hierome witnesseth, the third or fourth year of Nero, then must it be ten years betwixt the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, forasmuch as it is by all writers confessed, that Paul suffered the fourteenth year, which was the last year of Nero.

It is reported, that the Apostles were kept in the prison of Mamertinus, which was at the foot of the capitol, and went under

ground; that they remained there nine months; that two of their keepers, Processus and Martinianus, being astonished at the miracles which they wrought, were converted; and that St. Peter baptized them with forty-seven other persons that were then in the prison. The Faithful exhorted the Apostle to withdraw from thence; accordingly, St. Peter went out; but when he came as far as the city-gate, it is said our Saviour Christ appeared unto him, as if he had been coming thither; but he said, Lord, where goest thou? Our Saviour answered, I am going to Rome to be crucified a second time. Whereupon, St. Peter said within himself, Christ cannot be crucified again; it is, therefore, in me that he is now to be crucified, and so he returned back.

Nero was, at this time, still in Achaia; and therefore it was the Governors of Rome who condemned the Apostles to die, and caused them to be both executed in one day, which is thought to have been the twenty-ninth of June, in the year of our Lord 67, and thirteenth of Nero. St. Paul, as being a citizen of Rome, had his head cut off; but St. Peter was crucified, as being a Jew, and a person of mean condition. St. Paul, as he went to execution, is said to have converted three soldiers, who suffered martyrdom soon after. He was carried three miles from the city, to a place called the Salvian Waters; where there are still to be seen three fountains, which are said to have then sprung up after a miraculous manner. This was the place where he was executed; but Lucina, a Roman Lady, buried him in her own lands, on the road to Ostia. St. Peter was carried to the other side of the Tiber, to that part of the city which was inhabited by the Jews, and crucified on the top of the mountain Janiculum, at the foot of which, near the Tyber, there stood a Naumachia, or place where sea-fights are represented: They were going to crucify him after the usual manner; but he said, that he was not worthy of being treated like his master, and, therefore, desired to be fastened with his head downwards. His body was buried in the Vatican, near the Via Aurelia, or Triumphalis, near to a temple of Apollo.

The Faithful having taken care to draw the pictures of the Apostles, according to their custom, when Gentiles, of keeping the statues of their benefactors, there were seen, two hundred and fifty years afterwards, some of those pictures of St. Peter and St. Paul, and even of Christ himself. St. Paul was bald, had a Roman nose, and was low of stature. St. Peter's wife had suffered martyrdom before him; and he seeing her go to the place of execution, rejoiced, that she was now returning to her own country: he exhorted and comforted her, and, calling her by her name, said unto her, Remember the Lord. He had a daughter named Petronilla, who lived a virgin, after a very holy manner, and died at Rome. We find, in the Martyrologies,

several martyrs under Nero, besides those whom he put to death, under pretence of their setting the city on fire: However, it is certain, that he published several edicts against the Christian religion, being vexed that so great a number forsook the worship of idols. An inscription is said to have been found in Spain, in these terms: To Claudius Nero, Cæsar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, *for having cleared the province from thieves, and such as troubled mankind with a new superstition.*

ANDREW, as before mentioned, was the brother of Peter, and son of Jonah, a fisherman. He was born at Bethsaida in Galilee, and followed the same profession as his father did before him. He was a disciple of John the Baptist, by whose means he became acquainted with our blessed Saviour. He and his brother Simon being some time after eye-witnesses of the miracle which Jesus wrought of a great draught of fishes, were sufficiently convinced of his divinity, and from that time became his constant and inseparable disciples. After our Lord's ascension, Andrew travelled into Scythia and the parts adjacent, as being thought the province peculiarly allotted to him, and by his indefatigable labours there, made many proselytes to the christian religion. Towards the latter end of his life he removed to Petræ in Achaia, where he confirmed the truth of his doctrine, by suffering martyrdom under Ægeas, the proconsul of that place, who commanded him to be first severely scourged, and then fastened to a cross with cords, and not nails, in order that his death might be the more lingering and painful. When he was led to his execution, he shewed a perfect calm and serenity of mind; and when he drew near to the instrument of his martyrdom, which was in the form of an X, and from thence called St. Andrew's cross, de saluted it with a formal address, and embraced it with joy and triumph. He hung thereon for two days successively, and exhorted the numerous spectators that surrounded him all the time, to constancy and perseverance in the christian faith. At last, when the proconsul could by no importunities be prevailed on to spare his life, he prayed to the Lord that he might depart in peace, and seal the truth of those doctrines with his blood; and accordingly he gave up the ghost. After he was taken down from the cross, his body was embalmed and decently interred by Maximilia, a lady of great fortune and distinction. Afterwards Constantine the Great removed his corpse to a great church at Constantinople, which he had erected there in commemoration of the apostles.

JAMES, who was sirnamed the Great, (either on account of his superiority of age with respect to the other St. James, or by reason of some peculiar acts of indulgence shewn him by our blessed Saviour) was born, as some imagine, at Capernaum, and according to others, at Bethsaida in Galilee. He was the

son of Zebedee, a fisherman by profession, of considerable repute in those parts, keeping several servants under him for that particular employment. He had the honour to be related, though at some distance, to our blessed Saviour, his mother Salome being cousin-german to the virgin Mary. As he and his brother John were fishing in the sea of Galilee, Jesus accidentally passed along the shore, and seeing them intent on mending their nets, commanded both of them to follow him, and become his disciples. They instantly obeyed his call, and left their aged father behind them, without the least reluctance or excuse. In process of time they became such warm and zealous advocates of the christian cause, that they received from their Lord and Master the new name of Boanerges, that is to say, the Sons of Thunder. However, at the same time, he rebuked them on account of the inordinate heat of their dispositions, as being repugnant to the mild and gentle nature of the gospel dispensation. He likewise took an opportunity, at another time, of checking their ambition, when he found they had urged their mother Salome to petition for their promotion to the highest posts of honour in his service. St. James, after our Saviour's ascension, preached the gospel in Judea, and the parts adjacent, that seeming to be his peculiar province by allotment. At the latter end of his life he exercised his apostolical function at Jerusalem; but Herod, son of Aristobulus, and grandson of Herod the Great, on his first accession to the government of that city, being willing to gratify the populace, who detested James, and the religion he publickly professed, caused him to be apprehended, and upon the false accusation of one evidence only, ordered him to be thrown into prison, and be beheaded: by which means he became the first *apostle* who died a martyr for bearing testimony to the truth. Having shewn an unshaken constancy and resolution at his trial, the witness, by whose means he was convicted, conscious of the prisoner's innocence, and his own perfidiousness, fell prostrate at his feet, and, with tears in his eyes, petitioned for forgiveness. The holy man, though startled a little at his unexpected sorrow and contrition, raised him up, and with a tender embrace, said, Peace be unto thee; whereupon the penitent, transported with joy, boldly professed himself a christian before the whole court. Sentence of death was immediately passed upon him for making that open declaration, and both of them were accordingly beheaded at the same time.

PHILIP was born at Bethsaida in Galilee, a town situate near the sea of Tiberias. Who his parents were, or what employment he principally pursued, cannot justly be determined, since the gospel is silent in both these particulars; it is generally conjectured however, that he was a fisherman by profession, as most of the inhabitants of that place were. He had the peculiar

privilege of being first called by our Saviour to the office or dignity of the apostolate; with which command he readily complied, notwithstanding he had seen no miracle to convince him that Jesus was the expected Messiah. What part of the world fell by allotment to the care and government of this apostle, we have no very certain or authentic account; but it is a very probable conjecture, that Upper Asia was his peculiar province. There, as we are informed, he was indefatigable in the propagation of the gospel; and by the power of his preaching, and the miracles he wrought, prevailed on a great number of the inhabitants to become converts to the christian faith. Towards the latter end of his life, he removed from thence to Hierapolis, a rich and populous city of Phrygia; where the natives were so stupid, and sunk so far into idolatry, as to pay adoration to a serpent, or dragon of a prodigious bigness: Philip, however, by his ardent prayers to heaven on that occasion, either accomplishing the total destruction of that famous idol, or at least procuring its absolute disappearance, convinced great numbers of the sin and folly of their blind and superstitious worship, and prevailed on them, by his pious discourses, to embrace his doctrines. The magistrates of Hierapolis were incensed to the last degree at the success christianity met with amongst the people; and, in order to put a stop to the progress of it, determined to put Philip to death. As a preliminary punishment, they caused him to be severely scourged; and to complete their resentment, either crucified him immediately afterwards, or, as some historians assert, hung him up by the neck against a pillar. He left no writings in reality behind him; for the gospel which the Gnostics ascribed to him was a spurious piece of their forging, in order to give a sanction to their vile principles, and more abominable practices.

BARTHOLOMEW, otherwise called Nathaniel, was born at Cana in Galilee. Some conjecture, that he was the son of Tolmai, and a fisherman by profession; others however differ from that opinion, and assert, that he was a learned doctor of the Mosaic law. Whoever his parents were, whatever the place of his nativity or employment might possibly be, he was universally allowed to be a person of a very fair and unspotted character. Our Saviour himself honoured him at first sight with the appellation of an Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile. The province which fell to this apostle by allotment, was that part of India which lies the nearest to Asia. He travelled thither accordingly, and met with great success in his apostolical office. After he had settled affairs there to his satisfaction, he returned to the northern and western parts of Asia, and resided for some time at Hierapolis, where he was indefatigable in teaching and confirming the inhabitants in the doctrines of the gospel. From

thence he travelled into Lycaonia, where he employed his time as he had done before, in making proselytes to the christian faith. Towards the latter end of his life he removed to Albanople, a city in Armenia the Great, where he preached with great success. The governor of the place being highly incensed to find that Bartholomew publickly endeavoured to reclaim the inhabitants from the adoration of their idols, and subvert their established religion, determined to put him to death. His skin, as a preliminary punishment, was flayed off from his flesh, and after that, as some historians assure us, he was crucified with his head downwards. He bore the cruel treatment of his enemies with uncommon patience and unshaken resolution. To the last moment of his life he persisted in comforting and confirming his christian converts in the faith they had embraced. His body was removed after his crucifixion to several places, till at last it was decently interred at Rome. He left no writings in reality behind him; for though a gospel was ascribed to him by some Heretics, in order to countenance their erroneous tenets, yet pope Gelasius absolutely rejected it, as a romantic and spurious performance.

THOMAS, called likewise Didymus, the signification of which name is a Twin, was a Jew, and probably a Galilean by birth, and a fisherman by profession, though the gospel takes no particular notice of either. Notwithstanding his being honoured with the dignity or office of the apostleship, and his inviolable fidelity and adherence to our blessed Saviour in his life time; an evident testimony whereof he gave in his readiness to accompany him into Judea, to raise Lazarus from the dead, when all the other apostles dissuaded him from that journey, for fear of being stoned; yet, after his death, no testimony of his resurrection would satisfy him but ocular and manual demonstration. When the rest of the apostles assured him that they had actually seen him alive again, he could not be prevailed on to give credit to their assertion, but declared, That unless he should see in his hands the print of the nails, and thrust his hand into his side, he would not believe. Our blessed Lord, in order to convince him of his infidelity, took compassion on his weakness, and appeared to his disciples again, when St. Thomas was with them, and gave him the demonstration he required. The apostle, convinced of his error, immediately acknowledged his omnipotence. Whereupon our Saviour told him, He did well to believe upon such an incontestible proof; but that it was a more laudable act of faith to acquiesce in a rational evidence, such as might satisfy a wise and sober man, without the additional testimony of his own senses. The province which fell to his share for the exercise of his apostolical function, was Parthia: there he preached the glad tidings of the gospel to the Medes,

Persians, Carmanians, Hyrcani, and Bactrians. Some of the ancient writers assure us, that he met with the very Magi who brought their oblations to our Saviour at the time of his nativity, and that they were very serviceable to him in the propagation of the gospel. Some time afterwards he travelled through the Asian Æthiopia, and at last settled amongst the Indians, great numbers of whom by the power of his preaching, became proselytes to the christian faith. Amongst the rest, he had the honour to convert the prince of the country. Whereupon the Brachmans, conscious that the progress which christianity made through his means, would prove prejudicial, if not destructive to their trade, determined the first opportunity that offered to take away his life. Accordingly, as our apostle, some few days afterwards, retired without the city of Malopur, in order to spend some time in his private devotions, they fell upon him with a body of armed men; who first loaded him with a shower of darts and stones, and at last one of the gang, in order to give a finishing stroke to their villany, run him through the body with a lance. His corpse, thus mangled and abused, was interred by his disciples in a church which he had then lately erected in the beforementioned city, which afterwards became a very magnificent structure.

JAMES the Less, otherwise called James the Just, on account of his unaffected piety, and sanctity of manners, is stiled in sacred history, the brother of our Lord Jesus Christ, though he was only the Son of Joseph by his first wife Escha. As to the place of his nativity, or his particular profession, there is no mention made of either in the holy Scriptures. The title or name of James the Less was given him, either on account of his low stature, to distinguish him from the other James, who was a taller and more bulky man; or else on account of his being the younger brother. Our apostle having solemnly swore, that from the time he had drank of the cup at the institution of the sacrament, he would eat bread no more till he saw the Lord risen from the dead, our blessed Lord appeared to him in particular, after his resurrection, and said to him, Bring hither bread and a table; and he took the bread, and blessed and brake it, and gave it to our apostle, saying, Eat thy bread, my brother, for the Son of man is risen from among them that sleep. Soon after which he was chosen bishop of Jerusalem, by the unanimous consent of all the apostles, as a testimony of their peculiar veneration for him; he being so near a relation of our Saviour. He was of a very meek and lowly disposition: notwithstanding the dignity of his station, and his consanguinity to our blessed Lord, he only stiled himself in the inscription to his epistle, the servant of the Lord Jesus. He was so temperate, that he grew pale with fasting; he abstained not only from all manner of flesh-

meats, wine, and all strong liquors, but denied himself the innocent refreshment of the bath. Prayer was his principal employment and delight, and, by the prevailing power of it, he obtained a refreshing shower of rain in a general drought. The more circumspect and indefatigable he was in the administration of his apostolical function, and the more success he met with in the propagation of the gospel, the more inveterate were his enemies against him, and the more resolute to destroy him. A council was accordingly called by Ananus the younger, then high priest, who was of the cruel sect of the Sadducees, before whom our apostle, amongst others, was charged with being a blasphemer and a transgressor of the law. However, the Scribes and Pharisees, who were perfect masters of the art of dissimulation, not thinking it adviseable at that time to proceed with open violence against him, for fear of the people, amongst whom there were many converts, endeavoured by dissembling speeches, and acts of courtesy and complaisance, to engage him to draw off the people from the false notions they had received concerning Jesus, whom they looked upon as the Messiah; and, in order that he might be the better seen and heard, they prevailed on him to go with them to the top of the temple, imagining that he would there make a public recantation of the doctrines he had advanced. He went with them accordingly, and there standing upon the pinnacle, in the full view of a vast concourse of people, he was addressed by his parasites in the following soft and soothing terms. Tell us, O just man, what we are to believe concerning Jesus, who was crucified. He answered with a loud voice, Why do ye inquire of Jesus, the Son of Man? He sits in heaven on the right hand of the Majesty on High, and will come again in the clouds of heaven. Whereupon the people glorified the blessed Jesus, and proclaimed Hosanna to the Son of David. The Scribes and Pharisees, enraged at their disappointment, threw him headlong from the top of the temple to the bottom. Notwithstanding his fall, he was not absolutely killed, but recovered strength so far as to get upon his knees, and pray for his malicious enemies. Whilst he was thus at his devotions, they loaded him with a shower of stones, till one of them with a fuller's club beat out his brains. At the time of his death he was about 96 years of age. As to his writings there is but one epistle of his remaining, which is inscribed to the Jewish converts who were dispersed and scattered abroad: there is a gospel indeed that is ascribed to him, but it is rejected by the learned as spurious and apocryphal.

JUDE, otherwise called Thaddeus, and Lebbeus, was the brother of James, and brother also, as he stiles himself, of Jesus Christ, though he was only the son of Joseph by

his former wife Escha. Scripture is silent with respect both to his profession and the particular time when our Saviour honoured him with the dignity and office of an apostle: however, from the time of such call, whenever it was, he proved a most zealous advocate for the christian faith. The province allotted him for the exercise of his ministerial charge was Judea and the parts adjacent, where he preached the gospel with great success. From thence he travelled through Samaria to Idumea; as also to the cities of Arabia, and the adjacent countries; and proceeded even to Syria and Mesopotamia. Towards the latter end of his life he travelled into Persia, where his labours in the ministry were crowned with great success: but being too free and open in inveighing against the superstitious rites and ceremonies of the Magi, he was, by their suggestion and contrivance, put to some cruel and inhuman death, though the manner of it is uncertain. As to his writings, he left only one epistle behind him, inscribed to all christians in general; but it is imagined that he intended it more particularly for the service of such Jews as were converts in their several dispersions. It was at first suspected to be spurious, but afterwards, on more mature deliberation, was received as part of the sacred canon. The main scope and design of it is, to exhort them to adhere with constancy and resolution to the faith once delivered to the saints, and zealously to oppose the Gnostics, and other false teachers, who used their utmost endeavours to corrupt it.

SIMON was sirnamed the Canaanite, or Zelotes, both which terms signify Zealous, on account of the warmth of his disposition, and his unfeigned zeal after his conversion for the christian faith. As to his country, or kindred, some imagine, that he was the son of Joseph by his first wife Escha, and that he was born in Cana of Galilee; but there is no substantial authority for those conjectures. After our Lord's passion, Simon continued to join in worship and communion with the other apostles and disciples of Christ at Jerusalem; where he resided till after the feast of Pentecost, when they were all plentifully furnished with the gifts of the Holy Ghost, in order to qualify them for the due administration of their apostolical office in distant countries. From thence it is thought he went into Egypt, Cyrene, and Africa, where he preached the gospel with great success: some time afterwards, he travelled into Lybia and Mauritania. Towards the latter end of his life, he passed, according to some historians, into Britain, where, after he had made a great number of proselytes to the christian faith, and gone through a long series of trials and afflictions, he was crucified and buried there by the infidels.

MATTHIAS; as to the parentage or place of this apostle's nativity, we have no account either in the Sacred Scrip-

tures, or in any other writings whatsoever. He was chosen, however, into the apostolical office, after our Lord's ascension, by lot, in the room of Judas Iscariot, who betrayed his master. Matthias was doubtless duly qualified for the dignity conferred on him, since he had been a constant attendant on our Saviour all the time of his ministry till his crucifixion, of which, and some of the most material transactions of his life, he had been an eye-witness. He continued at Jerusalem till the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles, and after that preached the gospel of Christ in Judea with great success. Towards the latter end of his life he travelled to Cappadocia, and fixed his place of residence near the irruption of the river Apsarus and the haven Hyssus. He was there treated with the utmost rudeness and inhumanity by the savage natives; and after having been indefatigable in the propagation of the gospel in those parts, and run through many difficulties and dangers in making proselytes to the christian faith, he died a martyr; but the manner of his death is very uncertain. Some are of opinion, that he was taken into custody by the Jews, and by them first stoned, and then beheaded: others again imagine, that as Judas hung upon a tree, so his successor suffered upon a cross. There are no writings of this apostle extant; for though there was a Gospel published under his name, yet it is rejected by the learned as spurious and apocryphal.

The First Persecution, which began in the Year 67.

The first persecution in the primitive ages of the church, was begun by that cruel tyrant Nero Domitius, the sixth emperor of Rome, and A. D. 67. This monarch reigned, for the space of five years, with tolerable credit to himself, but then gave way to the greatest extravagancy of temper, and to the most atrocious barbarities. Among other diabolical outrages, he ordered that the city of Rome should be set on fire, which was done by his officers, guards, and servants. While the city was in flames, he went up to the tower of Mæcenas, played upon his harp, sung the song of the burning of Troy, and declared, "That he wished the ruin of all things before his death." Among the noble buildings burnt was the Circus, or place appropriated to horse-races: it was half a mile in length, of an oval form, with rows of seats rising above each other, and capable of receiving, with ease, upwards of 100,000 spectators. Many other palaces and houses were consumed; and several thousands of the people perished in the flames, were smothered, or buried beneath the ruins.

This dreadful conflagration continued nine days; when Nero,

finding that his conduct was greatly blamed, and a severe odium cast upon him, determined to lay the whole upon the Christians, at once to excuse himself, and have an opportunity of witnessing new cruelties. The barbarities exercised upon the Christians, during the first persecution, were such as even excited the commiseration of the Romans themselves. Nero even refined upon cruelty, and contrived all manner of punishments for the Christians. In particular, he had some sewed up in the skins of wild beasts, and then worried by dogs till they expired; and others dressed in shirts made stiff with wax, fixed to axletrees, and set on fire in his gardens. This persecution was general throughout the whole Roman empire; but it rather increased than diminished the spirit of Christianity. Besides St. Paul and St. Peter, many others, whose names have not been transmitted to posterity, and who were some of their converts and followers, suffered, the facts concerning the principal of whom we shall proceed to describe.

Erastus, the chamberlain of Corinth, was converted by St. Paul, and determined to follow the fortune of that apostle.—For this reason, he resigned his office, and accompanied St. Paul in his voyages and travels, till the latter left him in Macedonia, where he was first made bishop of that province by the Christians; and afterwards suffered martyrdom, being tortured to death by the pagans at Philippi.

Aristarchus, the Macedonian, was born in Thessalonica, and being converted by St. Paul, became his constant companion.—He was with that apostle at Ephesus, during a commotion raised in that city by Demetrius, the silversmith. They both received several insults upon the occasion from the populace, which they bore with Christian patience, giving good advice in return for ill usage, and not in the least resenting any indignity. Aristarchus accompanied St. Paul from Ephesus into Greece, where they were very successful in propagating the gospel, and bringing over many to Christianity.—Having left Greece, they traversed a great part of Asia, and made a considerable stay in Judea, where they were very successful in making converts.—After this, Aristarchus went with St. Paul to Rome, where he suffered the same fate as the apostle; for being seized as a Christian, he was beheaded by the command of Nero.

Trophimus, an Ephesian by birth, and a Gentile by religion, was converted by St. Paul to the Christian faith. He accompanied his master in his travels; and upon his account, the Jews raised a great disturbance in the temple at Jerusalem, the last time St. Paul was in that city. They even attempted to murder the apostle, for having introduced a Greek into the temple;

for Trophimus being a Greek, was looked upon by the Jews with detestation. Lysias, the captain of the guard, however, interposed, and rescued St. Paul by force from the hands of the Jews.

On quitting Jerusalem, Trophimus followed his master to Rome, and did him very essential service. He then attended him to Spain, and passing through Gaul, the apostle made him bishop of that province, and left him in the city of Arles.

About a twelvemonth after, he paid a visit to St. Paul in Asia, and went with him, for the last time, to Rome, where he was witness to the martyrdom of his master, which was but the forerunner of his own; for being soon after seized on account of his faith, he was beheaded by order of the emperor Nero.

Joseph, commonly called *Barsabas*, was a primitive disciple, and is usually deemed one of the Seventy. He was, insome degree, related to the Redeemer; and he became a candidate, together with Matthias, to fill the vacant place of Judas Iscariot.

The ecclesiastical writers make very little mention of him; but Papias informs us, that he was once compelled to drink poison, which did not do him the least injury, agreeable to the promise of the Lord to those that believe in him.—He was, during his life, a zealous preacher of the gospel; and having received many insults from the Jews, at length obtained martyrdom, being murdered by the pagans in Judea.

Ananias, bishop of Damascus, is celebrated in the sacred writings, for being the person who cured St. Paul of the blindness with which he was struck by the amazing brightness which happened at his conversion. He was one of the Seventy, and was martyred in the city of Damascus. After his death, a Christian church was built over the place of his burial, which is now converted into a Turkish mosque.

The Second Persecution.

The emperor Domitian was naturally of a cruel disposition: he first slew his brother, and then raised the second persecution against the Christians. His rage was such, that he even put to death some of the Roman senators; some, through malice, and others, to confiscate their estates; and then he commanded all the lineage of David to be put to death. Two Christians were brought before the emperor, and accused of being of the tribe of Judah, and line of David; but from their answers, he despised them as ideots, and dismissed them accordingly. He, however, was determined to be more secure upon other occasions;

for he took away the property of many Christians, put several to death, and banished others.

Among the numerous martyrs that suffered during this persecution, was Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, who was crucified; and St. John, who was banished to Patmos. Flavia, the daughter of a Roman senator, was likewise banished to Pontus; and a law was made, "That no Christian, once brought before the tribunal, should be exempted from punishment, without renouncing his religion."

During this reign, there were a variety of tales composed, in order to injure the Christians. Among other falsehoods, they were accused of indecent nightly meetings, of a rebellious, turbulent spirit, of being inimical to the Roman empire, of murdering their children, and even of being cannibals; and at this time, such was the infatuation of the pagans, that if famine, pestilence, or earthquakes, afflicted any of the Roman provinces, it was laid upon the Christians.—These persecutions among the Christians increased the number of informers; and many, for the sake of gain, swore away the lives of the innocent. When any Christians were brought before the magistrates, a test oath was proposed, when, if they refused to take it, death was pronounced against them; and if they confessed themselves Christians, the sentence was the same. The various kinds of punishments and inflicted cruelties were, during this persecution, imprisonment, racking, searing, burning, scourging, stoning, hanging, and worrying with dogs. Many were torn with red hot pincers, and others were thrown upon the horns of wild bulls. After having suffered these cruelties, the friends of the deceased Christians were refused the privilege of burying their remains.

Besides the apostle John, the following were the most remarkable of the numerous martyrs who suffered during this persecution.

Dionysius, the Areopagite: he was an Athenian by birth, and educated in all the useful and ornamental literature of Greece. He then travelled to Egypt to study astronomy, and made very particular observations on the great and supernatural eclipse which happened at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion.—On his return to Athens, he was highly honoured by the people, and at length, promoted to the dignity of senator of that celebrated city. Becoming a convert to the gospel, he changed from the worthy pagan magistrate, to the pious Christian pastor; for even while involved in the darkness of idolatry, he was as just as he possibly could be, in the gross errors of paganism.

After his conversion, the sanctity of his conversation, and

purity of his manner, recommended him so strongly to the Christians in general, that he was appointed bishop of Athens. He discharged his duty with the utmost diligence till the second year of this persecution, when he was apprehended, and received the crown of martyrdom, by being beheaded.

Nicomedes, a Christian of some distinction at Rome, during Domitian's persecution, made great efforts to serve the afflicted; comforting the poor, visiting those confined, exhorting the wavering, and confirming the faithful. For those and other pious actions, he was seized as a Christian, and being sentenced, was scourged to death.

Protasius and *Gervasius* were martyred at Milan; but the particular circumstances attending their deaths are not recorded.

Timothy, the celebrated disciple of St. Paul, and bishop of Ephesus, was born at Lystra, in the province of Lycaonia: his father was a Gentile, and his mother a Jewess; but both his parents and his grandmother embraced Christianity, by which means, Timothy was taught, from his infancy, the precepts of the gospel. Upon St. Paul's arrival at Lycaonia, he ordained Timothy, and then made him the companion of his labours. St. Paul mentions him with peculiar respect, and declares, that he could find no one so truly united to him, both in heart and mind.

Timothy attended St. Paul to Macedonia, where, with the apostle and Silas, he laboured in the propagation of the gospel. When St. Paul went to Achaia, Timothy was left behind, to strengthen the faith of those already converted, or to induce others to be of the true faith. St. Paul, at length, sent for Timothy to Athens, and then dispatched him to Thessalonica, to preach to the suffering Christians there, against the terrors of the persecution which then prevailed. Having performed his mission, he returned to Athens, and there assisted St. Paul and Silas in composing the two epistles to the Thessalonians. He then accompanied St. Paul to Corinth, Jerusalem, and Ephesus. After performing several other commissions for St. Paul, and attending him upon various journies, the apostle constituted him bishop of Ephesus, though he was only thirty years of age; and in two admirable epistles, gave him proper instructions for his conduct.—Timothy was so very temperate in his living, that St. Paul blamed him for being too abstemious, and recommended to him the moderate use of wine, to recruit his strength and spirits.

St. Paul sent to Timothy while he was in his last confinement at Rome to come to him; and, after that great apostle's martyrdom, he returned to Ephesus, where he zealously governed the

church till A. D. 97. At this period, the pagans were about to celebrate a feast called Catagogion, the principal ceremonies of which were, that the people should carry sticks in their hands, go masked, and bear about the streets the images of their gods. When Timothy met the procession, he severely reproved them for their ridiculous idolatry, which so exasperated the people, that they fell upon him with their clubs, and beat him in so dreadful a manner, that he expired of the bruises two days after.

The Third Persecution.

Between the second and the third Roman persecution, was but one year. Upon Nerva succeeding Domitian, he gave a respite to the Christians; but reigning only thirteen months, his successor Trajan, in the tenth year of his reign, and in A. D. 107, began the third persecution against them. While the persecution raged, Plinius Secundus, a heathen philosopher, wrote to the emperor in favour of the Christians; to whose epistle, Trajan returned this indecisive answer: "That Christians ought not to be sought after, but when brought before the magistracy, they should be punished." Provoked by this reply, Tertullian exclaimed in the following words: "O confused sentence! he would not have them sought for as innocent men, and yet would have them punished as guilty." The emperor's incoherent answer, however, occasioned the persecution, in some measure, to abate, as his officers were uncertain, if they carried it on with severity, how he might choose to wrest his own meaning.—Trajan, however, soon after, wrote to Jerusalem, and gave orders to his officers to extirminate the stock of David; in consequence of which, all that could be found of that race were put to death.

About this period, the emperor Trajan was succeeded by Adrian; who continued the persecution with the greatest rigour.

"*The Epistle of Pliny to Trajan the Emperor.*

"IT is my duty, my Sovereign, to make relation of all those things unto you, wherein I doubt. For who can better either correct my slackness or instruct mine ignorance, than you? I was never yet present myself at the examination of these Christians; and therefore, what punishment is to be administered, and how far, or how to proceed in such inquisitions, I am plain ignorant, not able to resolve in the matter, whether any difference is to be had in age and person, whether the young and tender

ought to be with the like cruelty intreated as the elder and stronger; whether repentance may have any pardon, or whether it may profit him or not, to deny, which hath been a Christian, whether the name only of Christians, without other offences, or whether the offences joined with the name of a Christian, ought to be punished. In the mean season, as touching such Christians as have been presented unto me, I have kept this order. I have inquired the second and third time of them, whether they were Christians, menacing them with fear of punishment; and such as did persevere I commanded to execution. For thus I thought, that whatsoever their profession was, yet their stubborness and obstinacy ought to be punished. Whether they were also of the same madness; whom, because they were citizens of Rome, I thought to send them back again to the city. Afterward, in further process and handling of this matter, as the sect did further spread, so the more cases did thereof ensue.

"There was a libel offered to me bearing no name, wherein were contained the names of many which denied themselves to be Christians, contented to do sacrifice with incense and wine to the gods, and to your image, (which image I for that purpose caused to be brought) and to blaspheme Christ; whereunto none such as were true Christians indeed could be compelled, and those I did discharge and let go. Other some confessed, that they had been Christians, but afterward denied the same, &c. affirming unto me the whole sum of that sect or error to consist in this, that they were wont, at certain times appointed, to convent before day, and to sing certain hymns to one Christ, their God, and to confederate among themselves to abstain from all theft, murder, and adultery, to keep their faith, and to defraud no man: which done, then to depart for that time, and afterward, to resort again to take meat in companies together, both men and women, one with another, and yet without any act of evil.

"In the truth whereof, to be further certified whether it were so or not, I caused two maidens to be laid on the rack, and with torments to be examined of the same. But finding no other thing in them, but only lewd and immoderate superstition, I thought to surcease of further inquiry, till time that I might be further advertised in the matter from you; for so the matter seemed unto me worthy and needful of advisement, especially, for the great number of those that were in danger of your statute. For very many there were, of all ages and states, both men and women, which then were, and more are like hereafter to incur the same peril of condemnation. For that infection hath crept not only in cities, but villages also and boroughs about,

which seemeth that it may be stayed and reformed. Forasmuch as we see in many places that the temples of our gods, which were wont to be desolate, begin now to be frequented, and that they bring sacrifices from every part to be sold, which before very few were willing to buy. Whereby it may easily be conjectured, what multitudes of men may be amended, if space and time be given them, wherein they may be reclaimed."

The Epistle of Trajanus to Pliny.

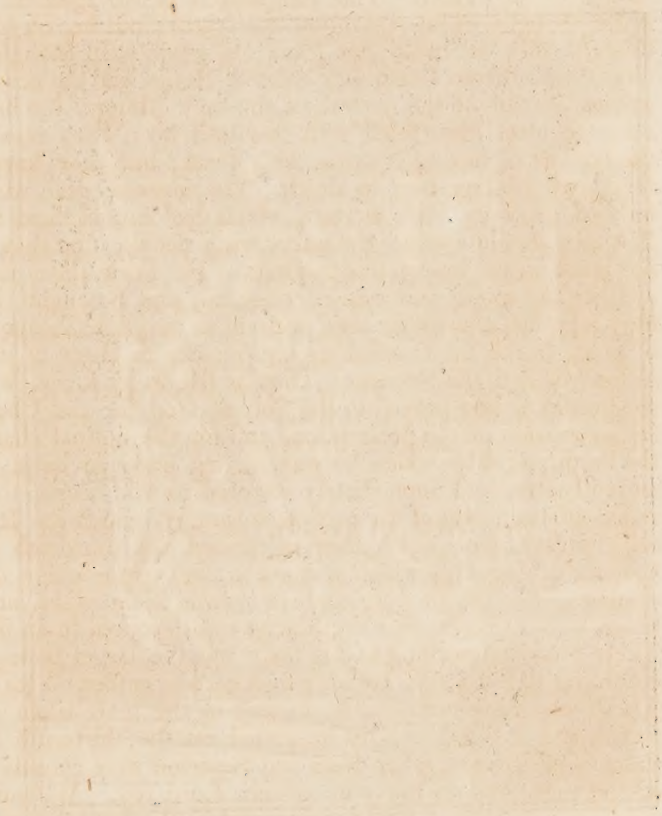
"THE act and statute, my Secundus, concerning the causes of the christians, which ye ought to follow, ye have rightly executed. For no such general law can be enacted, wherein all special cases particularly can be comprehended. Let them not be sought for, but if they be brought and convicted, then let them suffer execution: so notwithstanding, that whosoever shall deny himself to be a christian, and do it unfeignedly in open audience, and do sacrifice to our gods, howsoever he hath been suspected before, let him be released, upon promise of amendment. Such libels as have no names, suffice not to any just crime or accusation; for that should give both an evil precedent, neither doth it agree with the example of our time."

Phocas, bishop of Pontus, refusing to sacrifice to Neptune, was, by the immediate order of Trajan, cast first into a hot lime-kiln, and being drawn from thence, was thrown into a scalding bath till he expired.—His sentence was in consequence of his refusing to sacrifice to Neptune.

Trajan likewise commanded the martyrdom of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch. This holy man was the person whom, when an infant, Christ took into his arms, and shewed to his disciples, as one that would be a pattern of humility and innocence. He received the gospel afterwards from St. John the Evangelist, and was exceedingly zealous in his mission. He boldly vindicated the faith of Christ before the emperor, for which he was cast into prison, and was tormented in a cruel manner; for, after being dreadfully scourged, he was compelled to hold fire in his hands, and, at the same time, papers dipped in oil were put to his sides and set alight. His flesh was then torn with red hot pincers, and at last he was despatched by being torn to pieces by wild beasts.

Ignatius, having sailed from Troas to Naples, came to Philippi, and crossed all Macedonia by land, as far as Epidamnia, otherwise called Duras, a sea-port upon the Adriatic sea; there he embarked, and went over the Tuscan sea; and being arrived in sight of Puteoli, he would have landed there, and fol-

lowed the footsteps of St. Paul, but was prevented by contrary winds, and forced to content himself with esteeming those brethren happy who were there. They had the wind favourable for a day and a night after, and arrived at Porto, at the mouth of the Tiber. The companions of St. Ignatius sighed at the thoughts of his separation from them; but he, on his part, thought that he could not leave the world soon enough to go unto God. From Porto they came to Rome, and the news being spread abroad of the arrival of the holy Martyr, the brethren came to meet him, filled with fear and joy: They rejoiced in the honour of having Ignatius with them; but they knew that they were leading him to death. He silenced some who were hurried away by their fervour, which had caused them to say, that they should appease the unbelieving people, that they might not insist on the loss of this just man. He knew them immediately by the spirit, and saluted them all, and besought them to have a perfect charity for him, and not to envy him the happiness of going to the Lord, speaking much more to them of it, than in his epistle to the Romans: Then he fell on his knees, with all the brethren, and prayed to the Son of God for the Churches, for a cessasion of the persecution, and for the mutual charity of the brethren; after which he was carried away in haste to the amphitheatre, and immediately exposed to wild beasts, to serve as an entertainment at the profane solemnity, which the Romans call Sigillarii, and which they celebrated the thirteenth of the Calends of January, which answers to the twentieth day of December. The people were come in crowds to the sight, and the beasts were so fierce, that the Martyr was devoured in an instant. There remained nothing of his body but the larger bones, and, according to his desire, no body took care to gather up his relics. Those who have written the history of the martyrdom of Ignatius, end it thus. "This happened on the thirteenth of the Calends of January, when Sura and Senecion were consuls in the second time, and in the year of our Lord 107. We ourselves were eye-witnesses of it with tears, and in the house we watched all night, and with bended knees and prayers, we prayed to God to strengthen us in our weakness, by making us sensible of what had happened: We slept a little, and some of us saw Ignatius, as if present, on a sudden, and embracing us; others saw him as if praying for us, and as just come from some great work, presenting himself to the Lord with great confidence and unspeakable glory. This sight filled us with joy. Thus, giving glory to God, and praise to the Saint, we have declared unto you the day and year of his martyrdom; to the end, that assembling together at that time, we may have part with this generous champion,



SYMPHOROSA AND HER SEVEN SONS.

Vide p. 57.

glorifying our Lord Jesus Christ, by commemorating him."

Adrian the Emperor built a country-house, or rather a magnificent palace at Tibur near Rome, where he placed whatsoever was most curious in all the provinces. Having finished this palace, he intended to dedicate it by heathen ceremonies, and began to offer sacrifice, in order to make the idols' oracles speak: But demons answered, The widow Symphorosa and her seven sons daily torment us, by invoking her god; if she sacrificeth with her sons, we promise to perform what you require. Adrian ordered her and her sons to be seized, and at first in mild terms exhorted them to sacrifice. Symphorosa answered, My husband Getulius, and his brother Amantius, being your Tribunes, have suffered divers torments for the name of Jesus Christ, rather than sacrifice to idols, and have vanquished your demons by their death, choosing to be beheaded rather than to be overcome: the death they suffered drew upon them ignominy amongst men, but glory amongst the angels, and they now enjoy eternal life in heaven.

The Emperor Adrian said to Symphorosa, Either sacrifice to the almighty gods with thy sons, or thou thyself shalt be offered up as a sacrifice together with them. Symphorosa answered, Your gods cannot receive me as a sacrifice; but if I am burnt for the name of Jesus Christ my God, I shall make the flames of your demons much hotter. The Emperor said, Take your choice, either to sacrifice to my gods, or to end your days in misery. Symphorosa answered, Do you imagine that fear will make me change, who am desirous to be at rest with my husband, whom you put to death for the name of Jesus Christ: whereupon the Emperor ordered her to be carried to the temple of Hercules, where they smote her on the cheeks, and afterwards hung her up by the hair of her head; and as she continued steadfast in her holy resolution, he commanded her to be thrown into the river with a great stone fastened to her neck. Her brother Eugenius, one of the chief in the council of Tibur, took up her body and buried it near to that city.

The next day the Emperor sent for her seven sons all together; and, having in vain exhorted them to sacrifice, and perceiving that even his threats were to no purpose, he ordered the seven pious youths to be placed round the temple of Hercules, where they stretched them out with pullies, and put them to death by different methods: The first, called Crescens, had his throat cut; the second, called Julian, was stabbed in the breast; the third, called Memesius, was struck on the heart; the three next, Primitivus, Justin, and Stacteus, were run through in different parts; and the seventh, called Eugenius, was cloven in two from the head downwards. The next day, the Emperor came to the temple of Hercules, and ordered their bodies to be taken away together, and to be throwr

into a deep ditch. The heathen Priests called this place the Seven Biothanates, which signifieth in Greek, and in the stile of Magic, such as die a violent death, and particularly such as were put to the torture. After this, there was a stop put to the persecution for about eighteen months: then the honour was paid to the Martyrs, that were due to them, and they were interred carefully under the Tiburian way, eight miles from Rome; and the remains of a Church, erected in memory of them, is still to be seen.

About this time Alexander, bishop of Rome, with his two deacons, were martyred; as were Quirinus and Hermes, with their families; Zenon, a Roman nobleman, and about ten thousand other christians.

Many were crucified in Mount Araret, crowned with thorns, and spears run into their sides, in imitation of Christ's passion. —Eustachius, a brave and successful Roman commander, was ordered by the emperor to join in an idolatrous sacrifice, to celebrate some of his own victories; but his faith was so great, that he nobly refused it. Enraged at the denial, the ungrateful emperor forgot the services of this skilful commander, and ordered him and his whole family to be martyred.

During the martyrdom of Faustinus and Jovita, brothers and citizens of Bressia, their torments were so many, and their patience so great, that Calocerius, a pagan, beholding them, was struck with admiration, and exclaimed, in a kind of ecstacy, "Great is the God of the Christians!" for which he was apprehended and put to death.

Many other cruelties and rigours were exercised against the Christians, till Quodratus, bishop of Athens, made a learned apology in their favour before the emperor, who happened to be there; and Aristides, a philosopher of the same city, wrote an elegant epistle, which caused Adrian to relax in his severities, and relent in their favour. He indeed went so far as to command that no Christian should be punished on the score of religion or opinion only; but this gave other handles against them to the Jews and pagans, for then they began to employ and suborn false witnesses, to accuse them of crimes against the state, or civil authority.

The history of Nicephorus makes mention of Anthia, a godly woman, who committed her son Eleutherius to Anicetus, bishop of Rome, to be brought up in the doctrine of the christian faith, who afterwards being bishop in Apulia, was there beheaded with his mother Anthia. Justus also and Pastor, two brethren, with like martyrdom ended their lives in a city of Spain, called Complutum, under the said Adrian the Emperor.

While Adrian the Emperor was at Athens, he purposed to

visit the country of Elusina, and so did: where he, sacrificing to the Gentile gods after the manner of the Grecians, had given free leave and liberty, whosoever would, to persecute the christians. Whereupon, Quadratus, a man of no less excellent zeal than of famous learning, being then bishop of Athens, and disciple of the apostles, or, at least succeeding incontinent the age of the apostles, and followed after Publias (who a little before was martyred for the testimony of Christ) did offer up and exhibit to Adrian the Emperor, a learned and excellent apology in the defence of the christian religion. Wherein he declared the christians without all just cause or desert to be so cruelly entreated and persecuted, &c. The like also did Aristides, another no less excellent philosopher in Athens, who for his singular learning and eloquence, being notified to the emperor, and coming to his presence, there made before him an eloquent oration. Moreover, he did exhibit unto the said emperor a memorable apology for the christians, so full of learning and eloquence, that as Hierome saith, it was a spectacle and admiration to men in his time, that loved to see wit and learning. Over and besides these, there was also another named Serenus Granius, a man of great nobility, who likewise did write very pithy and grave letters to Adrian the Emperor, shewing and declaring therein that it was consonant with no right nor reason, for the blood of innocents to be given to the rage and fury of the people, and so to be condemned for no fault, only for the name and sect that they followed.

Thus the goodness of God being moved with the prayers and constant labour of these so excellent men, so turned the heart of the Emperor, that he being better informed concerning the order and profession of christians, became more favourable unto them. And immediately upon the same, directed his letters to Minutius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, willing him from henceforth to exercise no more such extremity against the christians, as to condemn any of them, having no other crime objected against them, but only their name. The copy of which his letter, because that Justin in his apology doth alledge it; I thought therefore to express the same in his own words, as followeth.

The Letter of Adrian the Emperor to Minutius Fundanus.

"I HAVE received an epistle, written unto me from Serenus Granius, our right worthy and well-beloved, whose office you do now execute. Therefore I think it not good to leave this matter without further advisement and circumspection to pass, lest our subjects be molested, and malicious sycophants boldened and supported in their evil. Wherefore if the subjects of our provinces

do bring forth any accusation before the judge against the christians, and can prove the thing they object against them, let them do the same and no more, and otherwise for the name only, not to impeach them, nor to cry out against them. For so, more convenient it is, that if any man will be an accuser, you take the accusation quietly, and judge upon the same. Therefore if any shall accuse the christians, and complain of them as malefactors, doing contrary to the law, then give you judgment according to the quality of the crime. But notwithstanding whatsoever upon spite and maliciousness shall commence or cavil against them, see you correct and punish that man for his immoderate and malicious dealing."

Thus, by the merciful providence of God, some more quiet and rest were given to the church.

After the death of Adrian, who died by bleeding at the nose, succeeded Antoninus Pius, about the year of our Lord 140, and reigned twenty-three years, who for his clemency and modest behaviour, had the name of Pius, and is for the same in histories commended. His saying was, "That he had rather save one citizen, than destroy a thousand of his adversaries." At the beginning of his reign, such was the state of the church, as Adrian his predecessor had left it, as in which, although there was no edict set forth to perscecute the christians, yet the tumultuous rage of the heathen multitude for the causes above specified, did not cease to disquiet and afflict the quiet people of God, in putting and ascribing to the christians whatsoever misfortune happened contrary unto their desires: moreover, inventing against them all false crimes and contumelies whereof to accuse them. By reason whereof, divers there were in sundry places much molested, and some put to death: albeit, as it is to be supposed, not by the consent of the emperor, who of nature was so mild and gentle, that either he raised up no persecution against the christians, or else he soon stayed the same being moved. As well may appear by his letter sent down to the countries of Asia, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

The Epistle of Antoninus Pius, to the Commons of Asia.

"EMPEROR and Cæsar, Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, tribune eleven times, consul thrice, unto the Commons of Asia, greeting. I am very certain that the gods have a care of this, that they which be such, shall be known, and not lie hid. For they do punish them that will not worship them more than you, which so sore vex and trouble them, confirming thereby the opinion which they had conceived,

and do conceive of you, that is, to be wicked men. For this is their joy and desire, that when they are accused, rather they covet to die for their God, than to live. Whereby they are victors, and do overcome you, giving rather their lives, than to be obedient to you, in doing that which you require of them. And here it shall not be inconvenient to advertise you of the earthquakes, which have and do happen among us, that when at the sight of them you tremble and are afraid, then you may confer your case with them. For they are upon a sure confidence of their God, are bold and fearless, much more than you: who in all the time of this your ignorance, both do worship other gods, and neglect the religion of immortality; and such christians as worship him, them you do drive out, and persecute them unto death. Of these and such like matters many presidents of our provinces did write to our father of famous memory heretofore. To whom he directed his answer again, willing them in no case to molest the christians, except they were found in some trespass prejudicial against the empire of Rome. And to me also many there be, which write, signifying their mind in like manner. To whom I have answered again, to the same effect and manner as my father did. Wherefore if any hereafter shall offer any vexation or trouble to such, having no other cause, but only for that they are such, let him that is appeached, be released and discharged free, yea, although he be found to be such (that is a christian) and let the accuser sustain the punishment, &c."

This godly edict of the emperor was proclaimed at Ephesus, in the public assembly of all Asia, whereof Melito, also bishop of Sardis, who flourished in the same time, maketh mention in his apology, written in defence of our doctrine to M. Antoninus Verus. By this means then the tempest or persecution in those days began to be appeased, through the merciful providence of God, which would not have his church utterly to be overthrown, though hardly yet to grow.

Adrian died in the year 138, and was succeeded by Antoninus Pius, so amiable a monarch, that his people gave him the title of "The Father of Virtues." Immediately upon his accession to the throne, he published an edict, forbidding any further persecutions against the Christians, and concluded it in these words; "If any hereafter shall vex or trouble the Christians, having no other cause but that they are such, let the accused be released, and the accusers be punished." This stopped the persecution, and the Christians enjoyed a respite from their sufferings during this emperor's reign, though their enemies took every occasion to do them what injuries they could.

The Fourth Persecution, which commenced A. D. 162.

ANTONINUS PIUS was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Verus, who began the fourth persecution, in which many christians were martyred, particularly in several parts of Asia, and in France. Such were the cruelties used in this persecution, that many of the spectators shuddered with horror at the sight, and were astonished at the intrepidity of the sufferers. Some of the martyrs were obliged to pass, with their already wounded feet, over thorns, nails, sharp shells, &c. others were scourged till their sinews and veins lay bare; and after suffering the most excruciating tortures, they were destroyed by the most terrible deaths.

Germanicus, a young and true Christian, being delivered to the wild beasts on account of his faith, behaved with such astonishing courage, that several pagans became converts to a faith which inspired such fortitude. This enraged others so much, that they cried he merited death, as they did also of Polycarp, the pious and venerable bishop of Smyrna. At the death of Germanicus, many of the people wondering at this beloved martyr for his constancy and virtue, began suddenly to cry with a loud voice, saying, "Destroy the wicked men, let Polycarpus be sought for." And whilst a great uproar and tumult began thus to be raised upon those cries, a certain Phrygian, was so afflicted at the sight of the wild beasts, that he rushed to the judgment-seat, and abused the judges, for which he was put to death.

This, however, did not stop the persecution; for the year following being the seventh of Marcus Aurelius, and 167th of Jesus Christ, several martyrs suffered at Smyrna in Asia; and amongst the rest Polpcarp their Bishop, who had governed that Church about seventy years, having been put in by St. John the apostle. Some were so miserably torn with scourges, that the inside of their bodies to their very veins and arteries might be seen; and those who stood by, being touched with compassion, pitied them, whilst the martyrs themselves did not so much as sigh. Some contemned the fire, and others the wild beasts which they were condemned to. Then endeavours were used to tire out their patience by laying them upon shells made sharp, and making them undergo variety of torments.

They observed a young man among the rest called Germanicus, whom the Proconsul endeavoured to persuade to have pity on himself and to consider his age; but the martyr, without hesitation, drew a wild beast to him, und urged it to tear him in pieces. The infidels astonished and enraged at the bravery of the christians, cried out with one voice, Away with these impious

wretches; let some go in quest of Polycarp. One called Quintus, newly come out of his country, was afraid when he saw the beasts. He had surrendered up himself, and induced others to do so; but the Proconsul used such persuasions, that he prevailed with him to swear and to offer sacrifice. This example shewed, that it was not proper to expose themselves rashly to death. Polycarp being informed of all that passed, was not at all disturbed at it. He would have stayed in the city, but he he submitted to the entreaties of his friends, and retired into the country to a house that was not far distant, where he stayed with a small number. His whole employment day and night was praying for all the churches in the world; for that was his custom. Three days before he was taken, he had a vision whilst he was at prayer, and saw the head of his bed burning. He then turned towards those who were with him, and said prophetically, I shall be burned alive. Being still sought after, he went into another country-house; and those who sought him arrived there as soon as he had removed, and not finding him they apprehended two young lads, one of which, being prevailed upon by the torture, discovered where he was.

These were archers and horsemen armed as going to take a thief, and they proceeded with this lad for their guide on a Friday in the evening. They came late to the place, and found Polycarp laid down in an upper room, who might have escaped into another house, but would not, saying, The will of God be done; and hearing these people come in, he went down and spoke to them. They, surprised at his great age and resolution, said, Was there need of so much haste to take this good old man? He immediately ordered them as much victuals and drink as they cared for, and entreated them to allow him an hour to pray, without interruption. Having obtained his request, he prayed standing, being animated with divine grace, insomuch, that for the space of two hours he could not stop. Those who heard him were astonished, and many of them repented that they came to take so divine an old man. In this prayer he mentioned all those whom he had ever known, great and small, considerable or not, and the whole Catholic Church dispersed throughout the world.

His prayer being ended, and the hour of his departure being come, they set him upon an ass, and conducted him to the city. It was the day of the great Saturday, that is, as is believed, Easter Eve. Herod, who was Irenarch, and his father Nicetas, came to meet him, and took him into their chariot. The Irenarch in these cities was a magistrate, whose duty it was to take up seditious people, and to maintain the public tranquillity; his name signifieth a justice of the peace. Herod and Nicetes having Polycarp with them, asked him, what harm is there in say-

ing, My Lord, Cæsar, to sacrifice and be saved? Polycarp did not make an immediate answer to them; but they still urging him, he said, I will not follow your advice. Then they abused him, and drove him out of the chariot with so much precipiation, that he fell and hurt his leg bone. He was no way concerned at it, but walked on cheerfully as if nothing had happened, with those who were conducting him to the amphitheatre. But the noise there was so great, that nothing could be understood. As soon as he entered, there came a voice from heaven, which said, Be of good cheer, Polycarp, be steadfast. No body saw who it was that spoke, but the christians that were present heard the voice.

He went on, and when it was known that he was taken, there arose a great tumult. They brought him before the Proconsul, who asked him, if he were Polycarp? he answered that he was. The Proconsul advised him to deny it, desiring him to consider his great age, and saying what was usual upon these occasions. Then he said, Swear by the fortune of Cesar; recover yourself, and say, Away with the wicked: this was the common out-cry against the christians. Polycarp looked with a severe countenance upon the great multitude of the infidels who were in the amphitheatre, and stretched forth his hand towards them, and lifted up his eyes to heaven, and sighing, said, "Away with the wicked, thereby shewing the earnest desire he had for their conversion. The Proconsul urged him, and said, Swear, and I will dismiss you; speak injuriously of Christ. Polycarp replied, I have served him eighty six years, and he never did me any harm; how is it possible for me to blaspheme against my king who hath saved me. The Proconsul still urged him, saying, Swear by the fortune of the Cesars. Polycarp answered; If you imagine that it will be for your honour that I should swear by what you call the fortune of Cesar; and if you pretend not to know what I am, I will freely tell you, give ear to it: I am a Christian; but if you desire to be acquainted with the christian doctrine, assign me a day and you shall hear it. The Proconsul replied, Persuade the people. Polycarp answered, As for you I am ready and willing to speak to you; for we are taught to pay the magistrates and the powers established by God, all the honour that is due to them, and which doth not hurt us. But for these I deem them not worthy that I should defend myself before them.

The Proconsul replied, I have wild beasts, I will deliver you up to them, if you do not change. Polycarp answered, Let them come, for I am incapable of changing from good to evil; but it is good for me to pass from sufferings to justice. The Proconsul said to him, You shall be burned if you despise the beasts, and do not change. Polycarp replied, You threaten me with a fire, which burns for a time, and soon wastes away; but you

POLYCARP.

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know nothing of the fire of future judgment, and the eternal punishment reserved for the wicked. But why do you delay? bring what you please." He spoke these words, and several others, with great joy and boldness, and with a countenance full of grace, insomuch, that the Proconsul was astonished, who nevertheless sent his cryer to proclaim three times in the middle of the amphitheatre, that Polycarp had confessed himself a Christian.

This proclamation being made, all the multitude of the Heathens and the Jews, who were at Smyrna, being seized with an implacable fury, cried out with a loud voice, It is he who is the doctor of Asia, the father of the Christians, and the destroyer of our gods. It is he who hath perverted so many people from the sacrifices and worship of the gods. At the same time they entreated Philip, the Asiarch, with loud outcries, to let loose a lion against Polycarp. The Asiarch was the person who was chosen by the common advice of all the cities of Asia to have the care of whatever related to religion, of which these spectacles were a part. Philip replied, that it was not lawful, because the fights of the beasts were ended. Then they cried out with one voice, that Polycarp should be burnt alive, which was necessary that his prophecy might be fulfilled. At the same time all the people ran in crowds to fetch vine twigs and other wood out of the shops and baths; and the Jews were the most busy of all, according to their usual custom.

The pile being prepared, Polycarp took off his girdle and stripped himself of his clothes, and endeavoured to pull off his shoes, which he was not used to do; for the faithful had so great a veneration for his virtue, that every one contended to do it. They placed the instruments of the pile round him, and as they were going to nail him to it, he said, Let me be as I am; he who giveth me strength to bear the fire, will enable me also to stand firm upon the pile, without the help of your nails; so they only bound him. Being thus made fast, with his hands behind his back, he looked like a ram chosen from the whole flock to be offered up as a burnt offering to God. Then looking up to heaven, he said, Lord God Almighty, the Father of Jesus Christ, thy blessed and well-beloved Son, by whom we have received grace to know thee: God of Angels and Powers, God of all creatures, and of all the nations of the just who live in thy presence; I give thee thanks that thou hast vouchsafed to bring me to this day and to this hour, wherein I shall be numbered amongst the martyrs, and partake of the cup of thy Christ, to rise again to the eternal life of soul and body in the incorruption of the Holy Ghost. That I am this day admitted into thy presence with them as a fat and acceptable offering, according as thou hast

prepared it, foretold, and brought it to pass; thou, who art the true God, incapable of falsehood; therefore, I praise thee for all things, I praise thee and glorify thee through the eternal and heavenly Priest Jesus Christ, thy dear Son, with whom glory be to thee and to the Holy Ghost, now and for evermore, *Amen.*

As soon as he had said *Amen*, they lighted the pile, and there arose a great flame. Then was there seen a surprising miracle, for the fire spread around the martyr like a vault, or like the sail of a ship swelled out by the wind. He was in the midst of it, not like burnt flesh, but like baked bread, or as gold or silver in a furnace. There proceeded from it an odour like incense or some other precious perfume. The persecutors perceiving that he could not be consumed by fire, ordered a confector to draw near to him and to stab him with a poignard. Those were called confectors whose business it was to make an end of the beasts that were left wounded in the amphitheatre. He having pierced the martyr, the blood gushed out in such abundance, that it put out the fire. The spectators were astonished, that there should be so much difference between christians and other men. The Jews stirred up Nicetes, the father of Herod, and brother to Alceus, to beg of the Proconsul not to allow burial to the body of Polycarp; for fear, said they, that the Christians should forsake him who was crucified to worship this man. The centurion seeing the hurry that the Jews were in, burnt the body in the midst of the fire, from whence the Christians afterwards took away the bones in spite of the Jews, who were witnesses of it.

This history of the martyrdom of Polycarp was written by those who were witnesses of it. For the Faithful of Philadelphia having desired those of Smyrna to give them an account of it, they sent it to them by one called Mark, in the form of an epistle in the name of the Church of Smyrna, directed to the Church of Philadelphia, and to all the Catholic churches in the world. After having related his martyrdom, and taken notice of that saying of the persecutors, For fear lest they should forsake him who was crucified to worship this man; they added: They knew not that it is impossible for us ever to forsake Jesus Christ, who suffered for the salvation of all those who are saved throughout the world, or to worship another, for we adore him because he is the Son of God; but we look upon the martyrs as his disciples and his imitators; and we honour them with justice, because of their invincible affection for their King and their Master. May it be our lot to enter into their society, and be his disciples with them.

Metrodorus, a minister who preached boldly, and *Pionius* who made some excellent apologies for the christian faith,

were likewise burnt. Carpus and Papilus, two worthy Christians, and Agathonica, a pious woman, suffered martyrdom at Pergamopolis, in Asia about the same period.

It was about this time that Justin wrote his second apology, complaining of the injustice of the magistrates towards the Christians; the particular occasion of which was as follows. There was a woman at Rome, whose husband was extremely dissolute, and she used to have a criminal complaisance with regard to him. Being converted to Christianity, she was not contented with chastising herself, but would have persuaded her husband to leave off his infamous practices, by considering the eternal fire, with which those are threatened who live not according to reason. These remonstrances serving only to alienate his affections from her, she resolved to leave him entirely, that she might be no more exposed to his brutish passions; but her friends advised her to forbear for a time, as if her husband had given some hopes of amendment. The husband accused her before the Emperor of being a Christian. She, on her part, presented a petition, begging that she might be permitted to set in order her domestic affairs, and then promised to answer the accusation; which was granted her.

Her husband being unable to prosecute her any further, laid hold of one called Ptolomæus, who instructed her in the holy Scriptures, and accused him before Urbicius the Prefect of Rome; and persuaded the centurion who took him, and who was a friend of his, that he needed only to ask him if he was a Christian. Ptolomæus owned it without scruple, and the centurion held him in prison a long time, where he underwent many hardships. At last he carried him to the Prefect Urbicius, who only examined him upon this one article, viz. whether he was a Christian. Ptolomæus resolutely confessed it, and Urbicius ordered him to be led to execution. Then one called Lucius, who was also a Christian, addressed himself to the Prefect, and reproved him after this manner: Why do you condemn a man who has neither committed adultery, nor murder, nor theft; in a word, who is not convicted of any crime, but only confesseth his being a Christian. Believe me Urbicius, this judgment is no way conformable to the maxims of the pious Emperor, nor of the Philosopher his son, nor of the sacred senate. Urbicius, without any other answer, said to Lucius: It seems to me that you also are one of them, and Lucius having boldly affirmed that he was, the Prefect commanded him to be likewise had to execution. Lucius said, he was very much obliged to him, since he should not only be delivered from such wicked masters, but should go to God, that good Father and King. After this, there came a

third, who was also condemned. All this happened at Rome about the year 166.

Felicitas, an illustrious Roman lady of a considerable family, and great virtues, was a devout Christian. She had seven sons, whom she had educated with the most exemplary piety. The empire having been about this time grievously troubled with earthquakes, famine, inundations, &c. the christians were accused as the cause, and Felicitas was included in the accusation. The lady and her family being seized, the emperor gave orders to Publius, the Roman governor, to proceed against her. Upon this Publius began with the mother, thinking that if he could prevail with her to change her religion, the example would have great influence with her sons. Finding her inflexible, he turned his entreaties to menaces, and threatened her with destruction to herself and family. She despised his threats, as she had done his promises; on which he began with the sons, whom he examined separately. They all, however, remained steadfast in their faith, and unanimous in their opinions, on which the whole family were ordered for execution. Januarius, the eldest, was scourged and pressed to death with weights; Felix and Philip, the two next, had their brains dashed out with clubs; Sylvanus, the fourth, was murdered by being thrown from a precipice; and the three younger sons, viz. Alexander, Vitalis, Mertialis were all beheaded. The mother was beheaded with the same sword as the three latter.

Justin, the celebrated philosopher, fell a martyr in this persecution. He was a native of Neapolis, in Samaria, and was born A. D. 103. He had the best education those times could afford, and travelled into Egypt, the country where the polite tour of that age was made for improvement. At Alexandria he was informed of every thing relative to the seventy interpreters of the sacred writings, and shewn the rooms, or rather cells, in which their work was performed. Justin was a great lover of truth, and an universal scholar; he investigated the Stoic, and Peripatetic philosophy, and attempted the Pythagorean system; but the behaviour of one of its professors disgusting him, he applied himself to the Platonic, in which he took great delight. About the year 133, when he was thirty years of age, he became a convert to christianity. Justin wrote an elegant epistle to the Gentiles, to convert them to the faith he had newly acquired, and lived in so pure and innocent a manner, that he well deserved the title of a christian philosopher. He likewise employed his talents in convincing the Jews of the truth of the christian doctrines, and spent much time in travelling, till he took up his abode in Rome, and fixed his habitation on the Veminal mount. He kept

a public school, taught many who afterwards became great men, and wrote a treatise to confute heresies of all kinds. As the pagans began to treat the Christians with great severity, Justin wrote his first apology in their favour, and addressed it to the emperor Antoninus, to two princes whom he had adopted as his sons, and to the senate and people of Rome in general. This piece, which occasioned the emperor to publish an edict in favour of the Christians, displays great learning and genius.

A short time after, he entered into frequent contests with Crescens, a person of a vicious life, but a celebrated cynic philosopher; and his arguments appeared so powerful, yet disgusting to the cynic, that he resolved on his destruction, which, in the sequel, he accomplished. Justin's apology upon the injustice of the magistrates gave Crescens an opportunity of prejudicing the emperor against the writer of it: and he sealed with his blood the faith he had so well defended, and suffered martyrdom about the year 167. He was brought, together with those who accompanied him, before Rusticus, the Prefect of Rome, who asked him, to what sort of study he had applied himself. Justin replied: I have tried all sorts of doctrines, and at last I applied myself to that of the Christians, although it doth not please those who continue in error. What is that doctrine? saith the Prefect. Justin replied: The Christian doctrine is, to believe in one only God, Creator of all things visible and invisible, and to confess our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, who is to come to judge mankind, who hath declared salvation, and instructed those who have received his doctrine. As for me, I am a weak man, and incapable of speaking as I ought of his infinite divinity; that, I confess, is the business rather of the Prophets, who, by divine inspiration, foretold many ages before, that the Son of God should come into the world.

The Prefect asked in what place the Christians met together. Justin answered: They meet where they please, and where they can. Do you believe that it is our custom to assemble all together in one and the same place? No, we do not. Justin spoke in this manner, that he might not betray his brethren, by discovering the places where they met together: And besides, he meant that their worship was not confined to certain places, like that of the Heathens; therefore, he added: The God of the Christians is not contained in one place; as he is invisible, he fills both heaven and earth; the faithful worship him every where, and glorify him every where. The Prefect said: Tell me then in what place you assemble your disciples. Justin replied: I have lived till this time near the house of one called Martin, and the bath called Timiotinum. This is but the second time I came

to Rome, and I know no other place. If any one came to me, I communicated the doctrine of truth to him. Thou art then a Christian, says the Prefect: Certainly, answered Justin, I am a Christian.

Then the Prefect said to Cariton, Art thou a Christian? Cariton answered, I am a Christian by the grace of God. He asked a woman, called Caratina, the same question, and she returned the same answer. Then he said to Evilpistus, And who art thou? He answered, I am a slave of Cesar's, but a Christian; Jesus Christ hath freed me; and, by his grace, I am partaker of the same hope with those who are before you. Then the Prefect asked Hierax the same question, who said: Yes, I also am a Christian, for I serve and adore the same God. Was it Justin, said the Prefect, who made you Christians? Hierax answered, I am a Christian, and will continue such, being unwilling to say any more, for fear of informing against his master. Peon, who was likewise present, said: I am a Christian. And who instructed thee? said the Prefect. He replied, it was my parents. Evelpistus added: I heard the discourse of Justin with great pleasure; but I also learned of my parents to be a Christian. The Prefect asked, Where are thy parents? In Cappadocia, said Evelpistus. The Prefect also asked Hierax, in what country his parents were? Hierax replied, Christ is our true father, and Faith our mother, by whom we believe in him: As to the parents I had upon earth, they are dead; as to any farther account of me, I was brought out of Phrygia hither. The Prefect asked Liberianus what he said, and whether he was also a Christian, and an enemy to the gods? Liberianus said: I am also a Christian; for I serve and worship the only true God.

Then the Prefect turning towards Justin, said to him: Hear me you, who have the reputation of being eloquent, and who believe that you are possessed of the true knowledge; do you believe that you shall ascend up to heaven, after you are torn by the lashes of the scourge from head to foot? I believe, said Justin, that if I suffer what you mention, that I shall have what those have already had, who have kept the precepts of Jesus Christ; for I know that the grace of God is reserved for all those who shall live according to them, to the end of the world. To which the Prefect made answer; You think then that you are going up to heaven to receive some reward? I do not think it, said Justin, I know it, and I am so certain of it, that I do not make the least doubt of it. The Prefect said: Let us come to the matter in hand, and that which requires the quickest despatch: Assemble, and sacrifice to the gods all together. Justin said: No man of understanding forsakes godliness for error and

impiety. The Prefect said: If you do not obey our orders, you shall be tormented without mercy. Justin said: What we most desire is to suffer torments for our Lord Jesus Christ; for it is he that will give us confidence before his terrible tribunal, where all the world must appear. The other martyrs said as much, and added: Make haste to execute your orders, for we are Christians, and do not offer sacrifice to idols.

The Prefect hearing these words, pronounced this sentence: Let those who have refused to sacrifice and obey the orders of the emperor, be scourged, and then be carried away to be punished with death, as the laws ordain. Accordingly, the holy martyrs, praising God, were led to the usual place, and, being first scourged, were beheaded with an axe. Afterwards, some of the faithful carried off their bodies in private, and buried them in a proper place. Such was the martyrdom of Justin, the philosopher. We have several of his works extant, written in Greek; the chief and most indisputable of which are, The two Apologies for the Christians; The Dialogue with Tryphon; The Second Part of his Treatise of Monarchy; that is, Of the Unity of God. His most famous disciple was Tatian, an Assyrian by birth, and also a philosopher.

About this time, many were beheaded for refusing to sacrifice to the image of Jupiter; in particular, Concordus, a deacon of the city of Spoleto, being carried before the image, and ordered to worship it, not only refused, but spit in its face; for which he was severely tormented, and afterwards had his beard cut off with a sword.

In the mean while, the emperor Marcus Aurelius carried on a war against the Sarmatæ, the Quadi, the Marcomanni, and several other people of Germany; it happened in the fourteenth year of his reign, and in the 174th of Jesus Christ, the Quadi engaged him in a close country full of woods and mountains, which is at present called Bohemia, wherein the Romans were distressed by the heat and by thirst, without having it in their power to retire, because the barbarians, who were much more numerous than they, had possessed themselves of all the posts round about, and held them, as it were, besieged. There was a great number of Christian soldiers in the Roman army, the greatest part of whom were of Melitina in Armenia, or thereabouts: These fell on their knees, and offered up fervent prayers to God; at which the enemy wondered, but were much more surprised at what followed.

For, on a sudden, great clouds gathered together, and there fell abundance of rain; upon which, the Romans immediately lifted up their heads, and received it into their mouths, so greatly

were they oppressed by thirst; then they filled their shields and helmets, and drank abundantly, and watered their horses. The barbarians attacking them at the same time, they fought and drank, and some of the wounded swallowed down their own blood mixed with water. In the mean time, there fell upon the enemy a violent hail, attended with thunder.

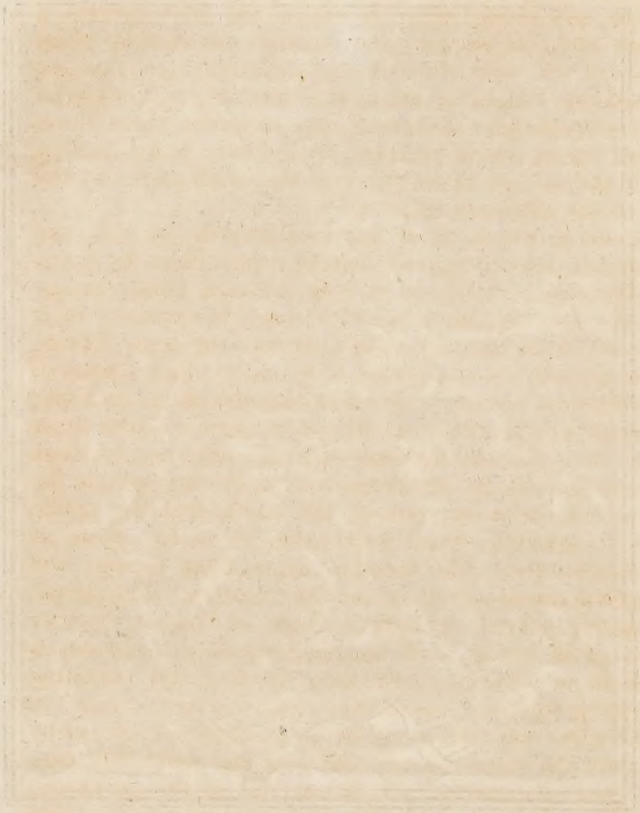
Upon this occasion the army saluted him with the title of Emperor a second time; and although it was not customary to receive this honour, till it was decreed by the Senate, yet he did not refuse it at that time, as coming down to him from heaven: for all acknowledged this accident to be miraculous; but the heathens attributed it to their false gods, and said, that a magician called Arnuphis, an Egyptian, who was with the emperor, had by his art invoked Mercurius Arianus, and other demons. Some ascribed this prodigy to the prayers of the emperor himself.

Those Christians who drew down this miracle, were called the *Thundering Legion*, or rather, were incorporated with the Legion that bore that name. There is still to be seen, at Rome, a monument of this miracle, in the basso relievo of the Antonian pillar erected at that time. The Romans are there represented with their arms in their hands against the Barbarians, who appear extended upon the earth with their horses, and upon them descends rain, mixed with thunder and lightning, which seems to transfix them to the ground: Indeed, as those who erected this pillar were heathens, they have represented a man in the air, flying, with his arms stretched out, and having a great beard, which seems to waste away in rain. The learned are of opinion, that they hereby designed to signify Jupiter Pluvius, for that is one of the titles which they gave him. Marcus Aurelius wrote the following letter on this occasion, wherein he acknowledges that his army being at the point of perishing, was saved by the prayers of the Christians.

"When I saw myself not able to encounter with the enemies, I craved aid of our country gods; but finding no relief at their hands, and being cooped up by the enemy, I caused those men whom we call Christians, to be sent for; who being mustered, I found a consideraele number of them, against whom I was more incensed than I had just cause, as I found afterwards: for, by a marvellous power, they forthwith used their endeavours, not with ammunition, drums, and trumpets, abhorring such preparations and furniture, but only praying unto, and trusting in their God, whom they carry about with them in their consciences. It is therefore to be believed, although we call them wicked men, that they worship God in their hearts; for they, falling prostrate on the ground, prayed, not only for me, but for the army which

THUNDERING LEGION.

Vide p. 72.



was with me, beseeching God to help me in that our extreme want of victuals and fresh water, (for we had been five days without water, and in our enemies land, even in the midst of Germany); I say, falling upon their faces, they prayed to a God unknown to me, and immediately thereupon fell from heaven a most pleasant and cool shower; but amongst our enemies great store of hail, mixed with thunder and lightning: so that we soon perceived the invincible aid of the most mighty God to be with us; therefore we give these men leave to profess christianity, lest, by their prayers, we be punished by the like: and I thereby make myself the author of all the evil that shall accrue by the persecution of the Christian religion."

Notwithstanding which, three years afterwards, in 177, the persecution raged violently against them in several cities, by means of popular tumults, particularly in both parts of Gaul; as appears from the letter which those who were eye-witnesses of it wrote in Greek, with this title: The servants of Jesus Christ, who dwell at Vienna, and at Lyons in Gaul, to the brethren of Asia and of Phrygia, who have the same faith and the same hope; peace, grace, and glory from Jesus Christ our Lord. After some introduction, they give an account of their sufferings in these words: The hatred of the heathens was so violent against us, that they drove us from our houses, the baths, and the public places; and, in general, would suffer none of us to appear in any place whatsoever. The weakest made their escape; the more courageous exposed themselves to persecution. The people were immediately stirred up against them, and came together confusedly in great bodies, and assaulted them with clamorous outcries and blows, dragging, pillaging, stoning and confining them, and doing whatever else a wild multitude were capable to commit. They carried them away to be publickly examined by the tribune and the magistrates of the city, and when they confessed, they were imprisoned till the arrival of the governor; they were afterwards brought before him, and he treating them with cruelty. Vettius Epagathus, a young man of an unspotted life, and very zealous, could not bear it, and desired that he might be heard in their defence, to shew that there was no wickedness amongst them. All those who were round the tribunal clamoured against him, for he was very well known; and the governor, instead of granting his request, only asked him if he was a Christian. Vettius confessed it with a loud voice, and was placed amongst the Martyrs, with the title of *Advocate for the Christians.* There was about ten who fell through weakness, not being rightly prepared for the combat. Their fall sensibly affected us, and abated the courage of others, who not being yet

taken, assisted the martyrs and forsook them not, although they greatly suffered by it. We were all greatly alarmed because of the uncertainty of the confession. We did not fear torments, but were concerned for the consequence, and feared lest some should fall; for they every day took new prisoners, insomuch, that they gathered together the best members of the two churches, who were the chief of them.

With the Christians they also took some heathens, who were their servants: for the governor having published an order, that they should all be found out, these heathen slaves dreading the tortures which they saw the faithful undergo, and being urged by the soldiers, falsely accused the Christians of the feasts of Thyestes and marriages of Oedipus; that is to say, of incests and feeding on human flesh, and of whatever else we are not permitted so much as to mention, or think of, or even to believe that ever men could be guilty of them. These calumnies being divulged, the people were seized with fury against us, insomuch, that those who yet retained any sparks of friendship were at that time transported with hatred, and foamed with rage. Then was fulfilled the prophecy of our Saviour, That those who should put his disciples to death should think that they did God service.

Those upon whom the fury of the people, of the governor, and of the soldiers, fell the heaviest, were Sanctus a deacon, a native of Vienna, Malurus the Neophyte, Attalus who was born at Pergamus, but had always been the support of those Churches, and Blandina a slave. We were all, but especially her mistress, who was amongst the martyrs, afraid that she would not have the resolution to confess, because of the weakness of her body. Nevertheless, she tired out those who one after another oppressed her with all sorts of torments from morning till night: They confessed themselves overcome, not knowing what more to do unto her: They admired that she yet breathed, her body being all bare and disjointed, and were of opinion that only one sort of torture would be sufficient to drive out her soul, instead of the many and the violent ones which she was to suffer. As for her part, the confession of the Christian name renewed her: It was refreshment and relief to her to say, I am a Christian, and there is no evil committed amongst us. These words seemed to make her insensible.

Sanctus the deacon suffered likewise very great torments. But contrary to the expectation of the heathens, who hoped by that means to have extorted some unworthy saying from him, he had so much resolution that he never once told them either his name, his nation, or the town where he was born, nor whether he was a freed man or a slave. To all these questions, he only replied

in Latin: I am a Christian. They could get nothing else out of him, which exasperated the governor and the executioners to such a degree, that not knowing what more to do unto him, they at last applied red hot plates of copper to the most tender parts of his body. Being thus burnt he continued immovable and steadfast in the confession of his faith, his body was all over wounds, mangled, deprived of human figure. Some days afterwards the heathens were for putting him upon the rack again, thinking to subdue him by applying the same tortures to those inflamed wounds, which could not even endure to be touched by the hand, or at least that he would die in the midst of torments, and dismay the rest: but contrary to all appearance his body recovered itself. At the second time of being put to the rack, he resumed his first shape and the use of his limbs, insomuch, that it seemed rather to be a dressing of his wounds, than a torment to him.

Biblis, one of those who had denied the faith, was put upon the rack, to make her own the impieties of which the Christians were accused. The torments awakened her as from a profound sleep; those transitory pains put her in mind of the eternal torments of hell. And how, said she, should we eat children, we who are not even allowed to eat the blood of beasts? From that time she confessed herself to be a Christian, and was reckoned amongst the martyrs. The Christians observed, at that time, and many ages afterwards, the prohibition against eating of blood, which was enjoined by the old law, and confirmed by the advice of the Apostles.

Finding that torments were ineffectual, through the power of Jesus Christ, and the patience of the martyrs, they shut them up in a dark and loathsome prison; they put their feet in wooden stocks, extended them even to the fifth hole, and used them in so barbarous a manner, that the greatest part of them were stifled in the prison. Some, after having been so violently tormented that they seemed past recovery, even though the utmost care imaginable should be taken in dressing them, lay in the prison deprived of all human assistance, but were so greatly strengthened by the Lord, that they comforted and encouraged the rest. Others all fresh and newly taken, whose bodies had not yet been abused, could not bear the loathsomeness of the prison, and died there.

Pothinus, Bishop of Lyons, was one of that number: he was above 90 years of age, weak and infirm, insomuch, that it was with much ado, that he breathed; but zeal, and the desire of martyrdom, strengthened him. He was dragged before the tribunal, conducted by the magistrates, and gazed on by all the

people, who uttered all sorts of imprecations against him, as if he had been Jesus Christ himself: However, he gave testimony of the truth; and the governor asking him who was the God of the Christians, he said: If you are worthy of it, you shall know him. They then spared him no longer, he was dragged and beaten by every one. Those who were near struck him with their hands and their feet, without any regard to his age. Those who were at any distance, threw whatever they had in their hands at him; all imagining that they should be guilty of great impiety if they failed to insult him, thinking thereby to avenge their gods; and scarce did he yet breathe when he was cast into prison, where he gave up the ghost two days afterwards.

In this prison there were with the martyrs those who had denied the faith the first time they were taken; for, at that time, denying it, was to no purpose. Those who had confessed were confined as being Christians, without being accused as to any other thing, the rest were kept as murtherers and wicked wretches; so that the former were comforted through the joy of their confession, through the hope of the promises, through their love for Jesus Christ, and through the Spirit of the Father; but the latter were tormented by their consciences. This difference appeared outwardly. The former had cheerful countenances, looked majestic and graceful, and seemed rather adorned than oppressed by their chains, shedding a pleasant savour, which occasioned some to think that they used perfumes: The latter were sad, dejected, and disfigured; and even the heathens themselves reproached them with their faint-heartedness. The sight of these confirmed the rest of the Christians.

They in the first place took four martyrs out of the prison, to expose them to wild beasts in a public shew, which was exhibited on purpose to terrify us: these four were Maturus, Sanctus, Blandina, and Attalus. Maturus and Sanctus underwent afresh all the torments in the amphitheatre, as if they had already suffered nothing; they were dragged by wild beasts, they suffered all the cruelties that the enraged people required by loud clamours on all sides; and particularly the iron chair wherein they were roasted, insomuch, that the smell offended the spectators; but this made them only the more furious: however, they could extort nothing more from Sanctus than the confession which he made at the beginning. At last, these two martyrs, after having held out a long time, were sacrificed that day, having in this shew served instead of all the several combats of the gladiators.

Blandina was fastened to a piece of wood, in order to be devoured by the wild beasts; and this sight encouraged the Martyrs, to whom she appeared like the crucified Saviour: They

treated her in this manner, because she was a slave; but none of the beasts touched her, and she was untied and carried back to prison. The crowd immediately called out for Attalus, for he was well known, and they made him go round the amphitheatre with a writing before him, with these words in Latin: This is Attalus, the Christian. The people raged against him: But the Governor, hearing that he was a citizen of Rome, remanded him back to prison with the rest, in expectation of the Emperor's answer, to whom he had written about him.

Under these circumstances the Martyrs displayed their humility and their charity; and so greatly did they desire to imitate Jesus Christ, that after having confessed his name, not only once or twice, but several times, after having been exposed to wild beasts, burnt and covered with wounds, they assumed not to themselves the name of Martyrs, and would not permit us to honour them with that title; but if any of us called them Martyrs, either in writing or speaking to them, they greatly complained of it. They yielded up that title to Jesus Christ, the true and faithful witness, the first born from amongst the dead, the chief of the life divine, and commemorated those who were already gone out of the world: Those, said they, are Martyrs, whom Jesus Christ has vouchsafed to receive, while they confessed his name, thus sealing it with their deaths; but as for us, we are nothing more than Confessors. They besought the brethren with tears, to offer up earnest prayers for them, that they might suffer even unto the end, and they shewed by their actions the power of martyrdom, speaking to the Heathens with great freedom. They were filled with the fear of God, and humbled themselves under his mighty hand; excusing every body, accusing none, and praying for them who evil entreated them; and their greatest concern was to recover those from the jaws of the enemy, whom he seemed to have devoured; for they were not exalted with glory against those who were fallen, but they administered to their necessities of their abundance, shewing them a motherly tenderness, and shedding many tears for them before their heavenly father: Thus they asked for life, and it was granted them; so that their brethren partook of it. Their patience and their exhortations encouraged those who had denied the faith, and induced them to become Confessors of it.

Amongst the Martyrs, there was one called Alcibiades, who lived a very austere life, and refrained from all manner of food but bread and water. He would have continued this way of living in the prison; but Attalus after his first combat in the amphitheatre, was informed by revelation, that Alcibiades did ill in not making use of God's creatures, and that he gave occasion of

offence to others. Alcibiades was prevailed upon, and from that time he eat of every thing with thanksgiving. God visited the Martyrs with his loving kindness, and the Holy Ghost was their director. They were informed of the report that was spread in Phrygia, concerning the pretended prophecy of Montanus, who enjoined extraordinary abstinence; and to shew that they condemned his doctrine, they wrote several epistles whilst they were in prison, to the brethren of Asia and Phrygia. They wrote also to Eleutherus Bishop of Rome, entreating him to restore peace to the Churches, perhaps with respect to the dispute about Easter. Irenæus, a Priest of the Church of Lyons, had the care of this letter, which began thus: "We beseech God to give you his joy continually. We have desired our brother Irenæus, who is in communion with us, to carry this epistle to you; and we beseech you to have him in esteem, as one zealous for the covenant of Jesus Christ. If we thought that rank contributed to virtue, we should have recommended him to you as a Priest, which is his profession."

In the mean time the Emperor's answer arrived, which was to this effect: That they should put to death those who confessed, and that those who recanted should be dismissed. In the beginning, therefore of the assemblies for the solemn games, which are held in this place, and which are very numerous, because all nations come to them, the Governor ordered all the Martyrs to be brought before his tribunal, designing to let the people see them again, and to exhibit them in their shews. He examined them afresh, and ordered all those who were citizens of Rome to be beheaded, and the rest were sent to the wild beasts. He examined those separately who had recanted, thinking he should have nothing to do but to dismiss them; but, contrary to the expectation of the Heathens, they confessed, and were joined with the rest of the Martyrs. Some of them persisted in their recantation; but they were such as never had the least faith, nor any respect for the wedding garment, nor any consideration of the fear of God, but had been a discredit to religion by their behaviour.

During the examination, one called Alexander, a Phrygian by nation, and a physician by profession, who had lived several years in Gaul, and was universally remarkable for his charity towards God, and his freedom in publishing the gospel, for he was a partaker of the apostolical grace; this man, being near the Tribunal, made signs to them to excite them to the confession of Jesus Christ, and he used so many motions, that he seemed like a woman in travail, and every body took notice of him: And as they were exasperated at seeing those confess, who had recanted, they cried out against Alexander, as if he had been the cause of

it. Upon which, the Governor, turning himself towards him, asked him who he was; he said, That he was a Christian, and the Governor in a rage condemned him to be thrown to the wild beasts. The next day, therefore, he came into the ampitheatre with Attalus, whom the Governor delivered up again to the wild beasts, in order to oblige the people. After having undergone all the torments that were practised in that place, it was usual at last to have their throats cut. Alexander did not so much as sigh or utter the least word, conversing only with God in his heart. Attalus being seated upon the iron chair, as his body burned, and the smell of the grease beginning to rise, said to the people in Latin: See the eating men; it is what you do here. As for us, we do not eat men, nor commit any evil. They asked him what name God had; to which he replied: God hath not a name like unto a man.

After all these, on the last day of the combats of the gladiators, Blandina was brought again with a youth of about fifteen years old called Ponticus. They had been led every day to behold the execution of the rest, and endeavours were used to oblige them to swear by idols; and as they persisted in contemning them, the people furiously broke in upon them, and without any regard to the age of the one, or the sex of the other, they made them undergo all the several torments, urging them one after the other to swear, but they could not gain their ends. For Ponticus was encouraged by Blandina, insomuch, that all the people perceived it. He, therefore, suffered all the tortures in general, and gave up the ghost. Blandina was the last; she approached death with more joy than if she was going to a marriage feast. After making her undergo scourgings, the fury of the beasts, and the burning chair, they enclosed her in a net, and exposed her to a bull, who tossed her a long time. But she was sensible of nothing they did to her, through hope and confidence, and the communion which she had with Jesus Christ. At last they cut her throat also; and the Heathens themselves confessed that they had never seen a woman suffer so much.

They were not contented with the death of the Martyrs; they extended their persecution to their dead carcasses. Those who had been stifled in prison were thrown out to the dogs, and were carefully watched night and day, lest we should bury them. They also gathered together the remains of those who had suffered in the amphitheatre; that is, whatever the beasts or the fire had left of their limbs that had been burnt and mangled, and the heads of such as had been beheaded, together with their bodies. All these remains were guarded day and night by soldiers. Some foamed and gnashed their teeth at the sight of them; others laughed and scoffed, boasted of their idols, and ascribing to them

the punishment of their enemies. The most reasonable amongst them expressed some compassion, and reproached them, saying, Where is your God? What hath this religion availed you which you prefer to life itself? In the mean time we were greatly concerned, that we could not bury those bodies; to this purpose the night did not favour us; the guards were not to be prevailed upon, either by money or entreaties: they seemed to think it would be a great advantage to them to keep those bodies from being buried. After leaving them in the open air, exposed to view for six days, they burnt them to ashes, and then threw them into the Rhone, that no part of them might remain above ground; and this they did to deprive the Christians of all hopes of a resurrection, which encourageth them, said they, to introduce a new and strange religion amongst us, to despise torment, and joyfully embrace death. Let us see now, whether they can rise again; whether their God can save them and deliver them out of our hands. The ashes of these martyrs, who were forty-eight in number, were gathered up, and buried under the altar in the Church of the Apostles, in a place named Athanakum, but now the Abbey of Aisnay. Marcellus and Valerian were also at Lyons, from whence having found means to escape, they fled and suffered martyrdom afterwards in two neighbouring cities, Marcellus at Chalons, upon the Saone, and Valerian at Trenorchium, which is Tournus.

In this persecution we find two famous martyrs at Lyons, Epipodus and Alexander. Alexander was a native of Greece, and Epipodus was born at Lyons, and the parents of each of them were such as were entitled Clarissimi. Their friendship began when they were children; and being then Christians, they excited each other to piety, and prepared themselves for martyrdom, by sobriety, frugality, charity, and acts of mercy. They were both of them in their prime, but neither of them married. The persecution being begun in the seventeenth year of Marcus Aurelius, and 177th of Jesus Christ, they endeavoured to hide themselves according to the advice of the gospel. They therefore went secretly out of the city by themselves to a neighbouring town, where they concealed themselves in the house of a poor Christian widow. The meanness of the place secured them for some time; but at length they were so diligently sought after, that they were discovered, and as they endeavoured to escape once more, Epipodus lost one of his shoes, which was found by a Christian woman, who kept it as a treasure.

As soon as they were taken they were put in prison, even before they were examined, contrary to the custom of the Romans, who imprison none but the worst of people, or such as are already convicted: but the very name of a Christian was enough

to make a man pass for a notorious offender. Three days after, they were brought with their hands tied behind them, before the Governor's Tribunal. He asked them what were their names and profession; they told him their names, and that they were Christians; at which the people made a great outcry; and the judge, in a passion, said, To what purpose were the tortures of those that have been executed, since they still speak of Christ? And for fear they should encourage one another, at least by signs, he caused them to be separated; and calling for Epipodus first, looking upon him as the weaker, upon the account of his age, he said to him, Let me advise you not to destroy yourself through obstinacy. We adore the immortal gods, whom all people, and even Princes themselves reverence; we honour the gods by mirth, feasts, music, games, and sports: You adore a crucified person, whom you will displease by enjoying all these good things. He forbids mirth, he loves fasting and barren chastity, and condemns pleasure. What advantage can he be of to you, who could not defend himself from the persecution of the vilest wretches? I say this unto you, that you may leave an austere life, in order to enjoy the good things of this world, with the pleasures that are suitable to your age.

Epipodus replied, I shall not suffer myself to be prevailed upon by this pretended and cruel compassion: You know not that Jesus Christ our eternal Lord rose again, after having been crucified, as you allow; he, who by an unspeakable mystery, being both God and man, hath opened unto us the way of everlasting life. But to speak to you according to your capacity: Are you so ignorant as not to know that man is composed of two substances, a soul and a body? With us, the soul commands, and the body obeys. The abominations which you are guilty of, in honour of your demons, afford pleasure to the body, but kill the soul. What a life is that where the more excellent part is destroyed? We war against the body, for the advantage of the soul. You, after having defiled yourselves with pleasures, like beasts, find nothing at last but a sorrowful death; but we, when you destroy us, enter into eternal life.

The judge, being exasperated at this answer, caused him to be struck on the mouth: whereupon Epipodus, whilst his teeth were all over blood, said: I confess that Jesus Christ is God, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit: It is but reasonable that I should give up my soul to him who hath created me and redeemed me. This is not losing my life, but changing it into a better. Whilst he spake thus, the judge caused him to be hung up by the hair, and two lictors came and tortured him with iron nails. Then there suddenly arose a terrible noise amongst the people, who required to have him given up to them to be crushed to death

or torn in pieces; for the judge seemed not to proceed fast enough for them: Being afraid, therefore, lest they should come to open sedition, and lose all respect to his office, he, to prevent it, caused the martyr to be taken from before his Tribunal, in order to have his head cut off immediately; which was accordingly done.

After a day's space, the Governor caused Alexander to be brought out of prison, and said to him, You may yet make use of the example of others; for we have pursued the Christians so closely, that there is now only you remaining. Alexander said, I give thanks to God, forasmuch as you encourage me by the example of other martyrs. You are deceived, the Christian name cannot be blotted out. God hath established it upon such sure foundations, that it is preserved by men's lives, and is spread abroad by their death. I am, and always have been a Christian, and will continue to be so for the glory of God. Upon this the Governor caused him to have his legs extended, and to be beaten by three executioners, who relieved one another. This lasted a long time, without his uttering the least unbecoming expression. At last, the judge, finding him immovable, condemned him to be crucified. Accordingly, the executioners took him, extended his arms, and fastened him to the cross; but his suffering was not long, for his body was so mangled, that through his bare ribs you might see the inmost part of his entrails. Thus invoking Jesus Christ, with the last efforts of his voice, as he was dying, he happily gave up the ghost. As the Gentiles hindered the martyrs from being buried, the Christians stole away the bodies of these two saints, and hid them near the city, at the bottom of a valley, in a place which was covered over with trees, and had water running on each side of it.

Symphorian, son of Faustus, of a noble family that were Christians, suffered at Autun in this same persecution of the Gauls, under Marcus Aurelius. He had been baptised by Banignus, and carried to the font by Andochus; he was then in the bloom of his age, and well instructed both in literature and polite education. The city of Autun was one of the ancientest and most famous of all Gaul; but at the same time the most superstitious; and the gods chiefly worshipped there, were Cybele, Apollo, and Diana. On a certain day the people were assembled, in order to celebrate the impious festival of Cybele, whom they called the mother of the gods; and Heraclius, a person of consular dignity, was at that time at Autun, very busy in calling the Christians to an account. Symphorian was brought before him, whom they had seized as a seditious person, because he had not adored the idol of Cybele, which was carried in a chariot, attended by a great number of people. Heraclius, being seated on his Tribunal, asked him of his name and circumstances. He answered, I am a Christian, my name is Symphorian. The judge said,

Art thou a Christian? I believe you must have escaped our notice; for this name is not common amongst us. Why do you refuse to adore the image of the mother of the gods? Symphorian answered: I have just now told you; I am a Christian, I adore the true God, who reigneth in heaven; but as for the idol of the devil, if you will permit me, I will break it to pieces with a hammer: Whereupon, the judge said, This man is not only guilty of sacrilege, but would also rebel. Let the officers declare whether he be a citizen of this place? One of them said, He is of this place, and of a noble family. The judge answered, You flatter yourself, Symphorian, on account of your birth, and perhaps are unacquainted with the emperor's orders: let him be bound; which was done accordingly; and then the judge said, What say you to this, Symphorian? Can we contradict the ordinances of princes? There are two heads of accusation against you, viz. Sacrilege against the gods, and Rebellion against the laws. Symphorian continuing to express his abhorrence of the idol, the judge ordered him to be beaten by the lictors, and sent him to prison.

Two days after, he caused him to be brought before him, and said to him, It would be much better for you, Symphorian, to serve the immortal gods, and receive a gratuity from the public treasury, with the honour of the Militia, which was the name they gave to all public offices. Therefore, if you have a mind, I will cause the altars to be adorned with flowers, that you may offer the gods the incense which is due to them. Symphorian shewed, by his answer, that he despised the offers that were made him, and much more the deities which they desired him to worship, and abhorred the cruel and extravagant superstitions made use of in the worship of Cybele. At length, the judge pronounced sentence against him, and condemned him to die by the sword. As he was carried out of the town to execution, his mother cried out to him from the wall, My son, my son Symphorian, remember the living God; lift up thine heart, and consider him who reigneth in heaven: thy life is not taken away from thee this day, it is changed into a better. After he was executed, some religious persons carried away his body secretly, and buried it in a cell, near a fountain without the common field.

In the year 180, the emperor Antonius died, and was succeeded by his son Commodus, who did not imitate his father in any respect. He had neither his virtues nor his vices; he was without his learning and his morality, and at the same time, without his prejudices against Christianity. His principal weakness was pride, and to that may be chiefly ascribed the errors of his reign;

for having fancied himself Hercules, he sacrificed those to his vanity, who refused to subscribe to his absurd opinion.

In this reign, Apollonius, a Roman senator, became a martyr. This eminent person was skilled in all the polite literature of those times, and in all the purest precepts taught by our blessed Redeemer. He was accused by his own slave Severus, upon an unjust and contradictory, but unrepealed edict, of the emperor Trajan. This law condemned the accused to die, unless he recanted his opinion; and, at the same time, ordered the execution of the accuser for slander. Apollonius, upon this ridiculous statute, was accused; for though his slave Severus knew he must die for the accusation, yet such was his diabolical malice and desire of revenge, that he courted death in order to involve his master in the same destruction. As Apollonius refused to recant his opinions, he was, by order of his peers, the Roman senators, to whom he had appealed, condemned to be beheaded. The sentence was executed on the 18th day of April, A. D. 186, his accuser having previously had his legs broken, and been put to death.

About this time, succeeded Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius, about the year of our Lord 189. This Eleutherius, at the request of Lucius, king of Britain, sent to him Damianus and Fugatius, by whom the king was converted to Christ's faith, and baptized about the year 179.

Eusebius, Vincentius, Potentianus, and Peregrinus, for refusing to worship Commodus as Hercules, were likewise martyred.

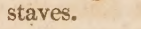
This Commodus is said, in history, to have been so sure and steady-handed in casting the dart, that in the open theatre, before the people, he would encounter with the wild beasts, and be sure to hit them in the place specified. Among his vicious qualities, he was so far overcome in pride and arrogance, that he would be called Hercules, and many times would show himself to the people, wishing to be counted king of men, like as the lion is of the beasts. Once on his birth-day, Commodus calling the people of Rome together, having his lion's skin upon him, made sacrifice to Hercules and Jupiter, causing it to be cried through the city, that Hercules was the patron and defender of the city. There was the same time at Rome, Vincentius, Eusebius, Peregrinus, and Potentianus, learned men, and instructers of the people, who, following the steps of the apostles, went from place to place, where the gospel was not yet preached, converting the Gentiles to the faith of Christ. These, hearing the madness of the emperor and of the people, began to reprove their idolatrous blindness; and, while teaching in some villages and towns, they discovered and converted the sena-

tor Julius. Vide Vincentius, lib. 13. cap. 11. and Chron. Henr° de Erfordia.

About this time of Commodus, among other learned men and famous teachers, whom God stirred up to confound the persecutors by learning and writing, as the martyrs to confirm the truth with their blood, was Seraphion, bishop of Antioch, Egesippus, a writer of the Ecclesiastical History from Christ's passion to his time. About the same time also wrote Heraclitus, who first began to write annotations and enarrations upon the New Testament and epistles of the apostles. Also Theophilus, bishop of Cesarea; Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, a man famously learned, who wrote divers epistles to churches. By the epistles of the said Dyonysius of Corinth, this we have to understand to be the use at that time in churches—to read the letters and epistles, such as were sent by learned bishops and teachers unto the congregations, as may appear by these words of Dionysius, who, writing to the Church of the Romans and to Soter, saith, "This day we celebrate the holy dominical day, in which we have read your epistle, which always we will read for our exhortation; like as we do read also the epistle of Clement sent to us before, &c." By him also mention is made of the keeping of Sunday holy, of which we find no mention in ancient authors before his time, except only in Justin the martyr, who, in his description, declares two times most especially used for Christians to congregate together: first, when any convert was to be baptised, the second was upon the Sunday, which was wont, for two causes, then to be hallowed: first, because, says he, upon that day God made the world; secondly, because that Christ, upon that day, first shewed himself, after his resurrection, to his disciples, &c.

Now remaineth likewise to speak of *Julius;* which Julius being a senator of Rome, and now won by the preaching of these blessed men to the faith of Christ, did soon after invite them, and brought them home to his house, where being by them more fully instructed in the Christian religion, he believed the gospel. And sending for one Ruffinus, a priest, was, with all his family, by him baptized, who, having not (as the common sort was wont to do) kept close and secret his faith, but inspired with a marvellous and sincere zeal, openly professed the same, altogether wishing and praying to be given to him by God, not only to believe in Christ, but also to hazard his life for him. Which thing the emperor hearing, how that Julius had forsaken his old religion, and become a Christian, forthwith sent for him to come before him, unto whom he spake on this wise: "O Julius, what madness hath possessed thee, that thus thou dost fall from the old and common religion of thy fore-fathers, who acknowledged

and worshipped Jupiter and Hercules their gods, and now dost embrace a new and fond kind of religion of the Christians?" At which time, Julius, having good occasion to show and open his faith, gave straightway an account thereof to him, and affirmed that Hercules and Jupiter were false gods, and how the worshippers of them should perish with eternal damnation and punishments. Which the emperor hearing how that he condemned and despised his gods, being then inflamed with a great wrath, (as he was by nature very choleric) committed him forthwith to Vitellus, the master of the soldiers, a very cruel and fierce man, to see Julius either to sacrifice to mighty Hercules, or, refusing the same, to slay him. Vitellus, (as he was commanded) exhorted Julius to obey the emperor's commandment, and to worship his gods, alleging how that the whole empire of Rome was not only constituted, but also preserved and maintained by them: which Julius denied utterly to do, admonishing sharply, in like manner, Vitellus to acknowledge the true God, and obey his commandments, lest he, with his master, should die some grievous death; whereat, Vitellus being much enraged, caused Julius to be beaten to death with staves.



The fifth general Persecution.

In the year 191, the emperor Commodus dying, was succeeded by Pertinax, and he was succeeded by Julianus, both of whom reigned but a short time. On the death of the last, Severus became emperor in the year 192. When he had been recovered from a severe fit of sickness by a Christian, he became a great favourer of Christians in general; and even permitted his son Caracalla to be nursed by a female of that persuasion. Hence, during the reigns of the emperors already mentioned, who successively succeeded Commodus, and some years of the latter's reign, the Christians had a respite for several years from persecution. But the prejudice and fury of the ignorant multitude again prevailed, and the obsolete laws were put in execution against the Christians. The pagans were alarmed at the progress of Christianity, and revived the calumny of placing accidental misfortunes to the account of its professors. Fire, sword, wild beasts, and imprisonments, were resorted to, and even the dead bodies of Christians were torn from their graves, and submitted to every insult; yet the gospel withstood the attacks of its boisterous enemies. Tertullian, who lived in this age, informs us, that if the Christians had collectively withdrawn themselves from the Roman territories, the empire would have been greatly depopulated.

Victor, bishop of Rome, suffered martyrdom in the first year of the third century, viz. A. D. 201, though the circumstances are not ascertained.

Leonidas, the father of the celebrated Origen, was beheaded for being a Christian. Previous to the execution, the son, in order to encourage him, wrote to him in these remarkable words: "Beware, Sir, that your care for us does not make you change your resolution." Many of Origen's hearers likewise suffered martyrdom; particularly two brothers, named Plutarchus and Serenus: another Serenus, Heron, and Heraclides, were beheaded; Rhais had boiling pitch poured upon her head, and was then burnt, as was Marcella her mother.

Potamiena, the sister of Rhais, was executed in the same manner as Rhais. But Basilides, an officer belonging to the army, and one ordered to attend her execution, became her convert on witnessing her fortitude. When Basilides, as an officer, was required to take a certain oath, he refused, saying, that he could not swear by the Roman idols, as he was a Christian. The people could not, at first, believe what they heard; but he had no sooner confirmed his assertion, than he was dragged before the judge, committed to prison, and beheaded immediately.

Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, was born in Greece, and received a Christian education. It is generally supposed, that the account of the persecutions at Lyons was written by himself. He succeeded the martyr Pothinus as bishop of Lyons, and ruled his diocese with great propriety: he was a zealous opposer of heresies in general, and wrote a celebrated tract against heresy about A. D. 187.

The persecution was very hot, and we find that it had begun two years before, because the acts of the Scillitain Martyrs are dated in the consulship of Claudius, under the proconsul Saturninus, which happened in the eighth year of Severus, and 200 of Jesus Christ. This Saturninus was the first of that time who made use of the sword against the Christians in Africa. There were twelve persons brought to him at Carthage, the chief of whom were Speratus, Narzal, Cittin, and three women, viz. Donata, Secunda, and Vestina. When they came before the proconsul, he said to them all, You may expect the emperor our master's pardon, if you return to your senses, and observe the ceremonies of our gods. To which Speratus replied: We have never been guilty of any thing that is evil, nor been partakers of injustice, We cannot recollect that we have injured any person; but, on the contrary, when evil entreated, we have been thankful to God: We have even prayed for those who persecute us unjustly; in which we obey our emperor, who prescri-

bed us this rule of behaviour. Saturninus the proconsul said, We have also a religion that is simple; we swear by the genius of the emperors, and we offer up vows for their health, which you ought also to do. Speratus answered, If you will hear me peaceably, I will declare unto you the mystery of Christian simplicity. The proconsul said, Shall I hear you speak ill of our ceremonies? rather swear all of you by the genius of the emperors our masters, that you may enjoy the pleasures of life. Speratus said, I know not the genius of the emperor of this world, I serve God who is in heaven, whom nobody hath seen, nor can see. I have never been guilty of any crime that is punishable by the public laws: If I buy any thing, I pay the duties to the collectors: I acknowledge my God and Saviour to be the emperor of all nations: I have made no complaints against any person, and therefore they ought to make none against me. Then the proconsul turned towards the companions of Speratus, and said to them, Do not ye imitate the folly of this mad wretch, but rather fear our prince, and obey his commands. Cittin answered, We have nobody to fear but the Lord our God, who is in heaven. Upon which, the proconsul said, Let them be carried to prison, and put in fetters till to-morrow.

On the day following, the proconsul being seated on his tribunal, caused them to be brought before him, and said to the women, Honour our prince, and do sacrifice to the gods. Then Donata replied, We honour Cæsar as Cæsar, but we offer unto God prayer and honour. Vestina said, I also am a Christian. Secunda said, And I also believe in my God, and will continue steadfast to him; as for your gods, we will neither serve them nor adore them. The proconsul commanded them to be separated; then having called for the men, he said to Speratus, Perseverest thou in being a Christian? Speratus replied, Yes, I persevere: Let all give ear; I am a Christian: Which being heard by all those who were seized with him, they said, We also are Christians. The proconsul said, You will then neither consider nor receive mercy. Speratus replied, In a lawful fight, there is no mercy; do what you please; we shall die joyfully for the sake of Jesus Christ. The proconsul asked, What books are those which you read and have in reverence? Speratus replied, The four Gospels of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; the Epistles of the Apostle St. Paul, and all the Scripture that is inspired by God. The proconsul said, I will give you three days to come to yourselves; upon which, Speratus answered, I am a Christian, and such are all those who are with me; and we will never quit the faith of our Saviour Jesus Christ: Do, therefore, what you think fit.

The proconsul seeing their resolution, pronounced sentence

against them, viz. that they should die by the hand of the executioner, in these terms: Speratus, Narzal, Cittin, Veturius, Felix, Acyllinus, Letantius, Januaria, Generosa, Vestina, Donata, and Secunda, having acknowledged themselves to be Christians, and having refused to pay due honour and respect to the emperor, I command their heads to be cut off. This sentence having been read, Speratus, and all those who were with him, said: We give thanks to God, who honoureth us this day with being received as martyrs in heaven, for confessing his name. Having said this, they were carried to the place of punishment, where they fell on their knees all together; and having again given thanks to Jesus Christ, their heads were cut off: They were called the Scillitain martyrs, and were famous in Africa. This proconsul, Vigellius Saturninus, who was the first that, in this persecution, made use of the sword against the Christians, lost his sight some time after, as is reported by Tertullian.

Victor, the bishop of Rome, wanting to impose a particular mode of keeping Easter there, it occasioned some disorders amongst the Christians. In particular, *Irenæus* wrote him a synodical epistle, in the name of the Gallic churches. This zeal in favour of Christianity, pointed him out as an object of resentment to the emperor; and he was accordingly beheaded in A. D. 202.

The persecutions about this time extended to Africa, and many were martyred in that part of the globe; the most particular of whom were *Perpetua*, a married lady, of about twenty-six years of age, with a young child at her breast; she was seized upon for being a Christian. Her father, who tenderly loved her, went to console her during her confinemeat, and attempted to persuade her to renounce Christianity. Perpetua, however, resisted every intreaty. This resolution so much incensed her father, that he beat her severely, and did not visit her for some days after; and, in the mean time, she, and some others who were confined, were baptised, as they were before only catechumens.

On being carried before the proconsul Minutius, she was commanded to sacrifice to the idols: but refusing, she was ordered to a dark dungeon, and was deprived of her child. Two deacons, however, Tertius and Pomponius, who had the care of persecuted Christians, allowed her some hours daily to inhale the fresh air, during which time she had the satisfaction of being allowed to suckle her child. Foreseeing, however, that she should not long be permitted to take care of it, she recommended it strongly to her mother's attention. Her father, at length, paid her a second visit, and again intreated her to renounce Christianity. His behaviour was now all tenderness and

humanity; but inflexible to all things but Christ, she knew she must leave every thing for his sake; and she only said to him, "God's will must be done." He then, with an almost bursting heart, left her.

Perpetua gave the strongest proof of fortitude and strength of mind on her trial. The judge intreated her to consider her father's tears, her infant's helplessness, and her own life; but triumphing over the softer sentiments of nature, she forgot the ideas of both mental and corporeal pain, and determined to sacrifice all the feelings of human sensibility, to that immortality offered by Christ. In vain did they attempt to persuade her that their offers were gentle, and her own religion otherwise. Aware that she must die, her father's parental tenderness returned, and in his anxiety, attempted to carry her off, on which, he received a severe blow from one of the officers. Irritated at this, the daughter immediately declared, that she felt that blow more severely than if she had received it herself. Being conducted back to prison, she awaited for execution, when several other persons were to be executed with her; of these were *Felicitas*, a married Christian lady, big with child at the time of her trial. The procurator, when he examined her, intreated her to have pity upon herself and her condition; but she replied, that his compassion was useless, for no thought of self-preservation could induce her to submit to any idolatrous proposition. She was delivered in prison of a girl, which was adopted by a Christian woman as her own.

Revocatus was a catechumen of Carthage, and a slave. The names of the other prisoners, who were to suffer upon this occasion, were Satur, Saturnius, and Secundulus. When the day of execution arrived, they were led to the amphitheatre. Satur, Saturnius, and Revocatus having the fortitude to denounce God's judgments upon their persecutors, they were ordered to run the gantelope between the hunters, or such as had the care of the wild beasts.—The hunters being drawn up in two ranks, they ran between, and as they passed were severely lashed. Felicitas and Perpetua were stripped, in order to be thrown to a mad bull; but some of the spectators, through decency, desired that they might be permitted to put on their clothes, which request was granted. The bull made his first attack upon Perpetua, and stunned her: he then attacked Felicitas, and wounded her much; but not killing them, the executioner did that office with a sword. Revocatus and Satur were destroyed by wild beasts; Saturninus was beheaded; and Secundulus died in prison. These executions took place on the 8th day of March, A. D. 205.

The crimes and false accusations objected against the Christians

at this time were sedition and rebellion against the emperor, sacrilege, murdering of infants, incestuous pollution, eating raw flesh, libidinous commixture, for which many, called then *gnostici*, were disgraced. It was objected against them that they worshipped the head of an ass, which was propagated by the Jews. They were charged also with worshipping the sun, because before the sun rose, they met together singing their morning hymns to the Lord, or else because they prayed towards the east, but particularly because they would not with them worship their idolatrous gods.

Speperatus, and twelve others, were likewise beheaded; as was Androclus in France. Asclepiades, bishop of Antioch, suffered many tortures, but was spared his life. Celicia, a young lady of a good family in Rome, was married to a gentleman, named Valerian. Being a Christian herself, she soon persuaded her husband to embrace the same faith; and his conversion was speedily followed by that of Tiburtius his brother. This information drew upon them all the vengeance of the laws; the two brothers were beheaded; and the officer, who led them to execution, becoming their convert, suffered in a similar manner.

When the lady was apprehended, she was doomed to death in the following manner: she was placed naked in a scalding bath, and having continued there a considerable time, her head was struck off with a sword, A. D. 222. Calistus, bishop of Rome, was martyred A. D. 224; but the manner of his death is not recorded: and in A. D. 232, Urban, bishop of Rome, met the same fate.

Agapetus, a boy of Prænestе, in Italy, who was only fifteen years of age, absolutely refusing to sacrifice to the idols, was severely scourged, and then hanged up by the feet, and boiling water poured over him. He was afterwards worried by wild beasts, and at last beheaded. The officer, named Antiochus, who superintended this execution, while it was performing, fell suddenly from his judicial seat, crying out that his bowels burned like the supposed pains of hell.

The Sixth Persecution.

When the Emperor Alexander was in the East, warring against the Persians, news was brought him that the Germans had passed the Rhine and the Danube, and were ravaging the territories of the Romans: he sent orders to have them repulsed, and afterwards marched against them himself, and accordingly came to Mayence with his mother Mamæa, who never left him.

There was in the army a person called Julius Maximinus, who was born in Thrace, and seemed a barbarian rather than a Roman; for his father was a Goth, and his mother one of the people called Alains; he was above eight feet in height, and so strong, that he could by himself move a loaded waggon, beat out an horse's teeth with a stroke of his fist, and break his leg with a kick. At first he was a shepherd, and then only a private soldier; but by degrees he attained to the command of armies and the government of provinces. At this time he had the care of all the new raised forces; the Emperor had appointed him to exercise them and train them up in the art of war, wherein he was a complete master.

The soldiers were grown weary of Alexander's government, or rather that of his mother, by whom he was always governed, and whose predominant passion was covetousness: They thought this prince had not spirit enough for them; and besides that, he was too strict in his discipline; upon which account they called him Severus. For these reasons they revolted, and declared Maximin Emperor, who caused Alexander, together with his mother, to be killed in his tent, whither he had retired: he reigned thirteen years and nine days, and lived to be twenty-nine years old, being killed on the fourteenth of March, in the year of Christ 235. Maximin was of a fierce and cruel disposition; so that, having discovered a conspiracy that was formed against him, he, without form of law, put to death above four thousand persons, and amongst the rest the friends and servants of Alexander; and as there were several of them who were Christians, this occasioned a persecution of the Church.

The earthquakes which happened at the same time contributed likewise very much to it; for the Pagans, even the most rational of them, charged the cause of them on the Christians, as was usual upon any public calamity. In Cappadocia and Pontus, several buildings were destroyed, and whole cities swallowed up. Serenius, who was governor there at that time, was one of these lawyers whom Alexander so esteemed, and was a mortal enemy to the Christians. The faithful were surprised at this persecution, and went from place to place to defend themselves from it, for it was not general, but only raged in some particular places. The Emperor gave orders to put none to death but those who taught and who governed the Churches; but it does not appear that the perseeution ceased during his reign, which lasted three years; and it is observed that there were several Churches burnt, which shews, that as early as this, they had public places wherein they assembled.

Maximin associated in the empire his son Maximus, and it is

probable that upon his accession he gave largesses to the soldiers; and to this we may attribute the book which Tertullian wrote, concerning a soldier's crown, when the Church had enjoyed peace for a considerable time; and, for what we know to the contrary, he might live several years after: in this manner it is that he gives an account of the occasion of writing it. The soldiers came, as was usual, crowned with laurel, to receive their share of the donation; and there was one amongst them who appeared with his head bare, holding his crown in his hand; the rest, who were far distant, pointed at him and scoffed, and those who were near raged with indignation; he was already gone by, when the noise was heard by the tribune; why, said he, are not you like the rest? It is not lawful for me, replied he, and when they asked him the reason, he said, Because I am a Christian: then they consulted about the matter, and he was sent back to the Prefect's of the camp; there he was degraded; and quitting his coat, his buskins, and his sword, he was put into prison. Several blamed him, as having exposed himself rashly, and endangered the peace which the Church had long enjoyed; maintaining besides, that this crown was an ornament that was indifferent. Tertullian, on the contrary, asserts, that it was a mark of idolatry, and accordingly undertakes to defend the soldier. It was asked in what place of Scripture these crowns were prohibited; but Tertullian maintains, that tradition is sufficient, and brings a great many examples of customs founded on tradition.

Pontianus, bishop of Rome, for preaching against idolatry, was banished to Sardinia, and there destroyed. Anteros, a Grecian, who succeeded this bishop in the see of Rome, gave so much offence to the government by collecting the acts of the martyrs, that, after having held his dignity only forty days, he suffered martyrdom himself. Pammachius, a Roman senator, with his family and other Christians, to the number of forty-two, were, on account of their religion, all beheaded in one day, and their heads set up on the city gates. Simplicius, another senator, suffered martyrdom in a similar way. Calepodius, a Christian minister, after being inhumanly treated and barbarously dragged about the streets, was thrown into the river Tyber with a mill-stone fastened about his neck. Quiritus, a Roman nobleman, with his family and domestics, were, on account of their christian principles, put to most excruciating tortures, and then the most painful deaths. This nobleman suffered the confiscation of his effects, poverty, revilings, imprisonment, scourging, tortures, and loss of his life, for the sake of his Redeemer. Martina, a noble and beautiful virgin, suffered martyrdom for Christ, being variously tortured, and afterwards beheaded; and

Hippolitus, a Christian prelate, was tied to a wild horse, and dragged through fields, stony places, bushes, &c. till he died.

While this persecution continued, numerous Christians were slain without trial, and buried indiscriminately in heaps: sometimes fifty or sixty being cast into a pit together. Maximus died in A. D. 238, he was succeeded by Gordian, during whose reign, and that of his successor Philip, the church was free from persecution for the space of more than ten years; but in the year 249, a violent persecution broke out in Alexandria. It is, however, worthy of remark, that this was done at the instigation of a pagan priest, without the emperor's privity. At this time the fury of the people being great against the Christians, the mob broke open their houses, stole the best of their property, destroyed the rest, and murdered the owners; the universal cry being, "Burn them, burn them! kill them, kill them!" They first seized an old man, whose name was Metras or Metran, and endeavoured to make him repeat certain impious expressions; but not being able to prevail, they bastinaded him on every part of his body, they pricked him in the face and eyes with sharp reeds; and, having dragged him into the suburbs, they there stoned him.

Afterwards they carried a woman, whose name was Quinta, to one of their temples, in order to make her worship the idols; but she refusing to do it, and expressing an abhorrence of them, they tied her by the feet, dragged her through all the city upon the pavement, which was very rugged, dashed her against the great stones, and at last carried her to the same place with the other person, and there stoned her. After this they ran all at once into the houses of the faithful; every one brought out those whom they knew as living in the neighbourhood: They pillaged and carried away every thing, removing the most valuable goods, and laying aside those which were of little worth, namely such as were but wood, in order to burn them in the streets; so that the city seemed as if it had been taken by enemies. The faithful hid themselves and withdrew, willingly suffering the loss of their goods, and there was hardly one that denied the faith.

Amongst the rest, the Pagans seized Apollonia or Apollina, a virgin of a very great age and extraordinary virtue: they gave her so many blows upon the jaws, that they beat out all her teeth: and having made a fire in the suburbs, they threatened to burn her alive, if she would not pronounce certain impious words after them: she seemed to desire time to consider; but when they let her loose she leaped courageously into the fire, and was there consumed. A certain person called Serapion was taken in his house, and so cruelly tortured, that they broke all his joints, and

then threw him headlong from an upper chamber; and there was no street through which the Christians could pass either by day or night. In all places the unbelievers cried out without ceasing, That whoever did not repeat their impious words, should be immediately dragged away and burnt. These miseries lasted a great while; but at length the civil war that succeeded them, turned the fury of the Pagans upon themselves, and gave the Christians a little respite. It is probable, that this persecution at Alexandria happened at the beginning of the year, because the Church honours the memory of St. Metran on the thirty-first of January.

The Seventh Persecution.

Philluppus being slain, Decius invaded the crown. Decius was of Budala in the lower Pannonia; his name at length was Cneius-Messius-Quintus-Trajanus-Decius; and he had a son called Decius Etruscus, whom he created Cæsar. Priding himself in reforming the abuses which had crept in under Philip's government, he raised a cruel persecution against the Christians; and, as St. Cyprian reports, an holy person of the Church of Carthage was warned of it long before by this vision. There appeared to him a person like the master of a family sitting down, with a young man on his right hand, who seemed to be full of grief and concern; he was in a sitting posture, with his countenance very sad, and his cheek reclined upon his hand: there was another person standing on the left hand, holding a net which he threatened to cast, in order to catch the people who appeared round about. The person to whom this vision appeared, was surprised; and he was told, that the young man who sat on the right hand was troubled, because his commands were not obeyed, and that he who was on the left hand rejoiced at having an opportunity of obtaining leave from the father of the family to do mischief. In truth, St. Cyprian attributes the cause of this persecution to the remissness of the Christians which proceeded from the long peace which they enjoyed.

Every one saith he is busied in improving his estate, with insatiable greediness, altogether unmindful of what the faithful did in the time of the Apostles, and ought always to do. The Bishops devoted not themselves entirely to religion, the fidelity of the ministers was not perfect, and mercy appeared not in their works, nor discipline in their behaviour. The women painted themselves, and the men dyed their beard and their hair, as if they could mend the work of God. They made use of artifices

to deceive the simple, and prostituted the members of Christ to infidels, by contracting marriages with them. They used vain oaths, and were even perjured; they abused each other; they were divided by obstinate aversions, and insolently contemned their prelates. Several bishops, instead of admonishing others, and being an example to them, neglected the affairs of God, minding those that were temporal; quitted their pulpit, and forsook their people, going into other provinces, and frequenting fairs, in order to enrich themselves by traffic. They relieved not the Brethren, who perished with hunger, but made it their business to get money in abundance, to possess themselves of lands by ill methods, and to make great advantage by usury. Thus spake Cyprian. And in another place he saith, We apply ourselves to get money, and to improve our patrimony; we are full of pride; we are superstitious and factious; we neglect the simplicity of faith; we have renounced the world with our tongue, but not in deed; we please ourselves and displease all the rest of mankind.

Decius coming to Rome, in the beginning of his reign, published a cruel edict against the Christians, and sent it to all the Governors of Provinces. The persecution began in a very terrible manner, and the whole employment of the magistrates was to find out the Christians and punish them. To threatening, they added a dreadful preparation of all sorts of instruments of torture, viz. swords, fires, wild beasts, pits, red hot chairs, wheels to extend their bodies on, in order to tear them with talons of iron. Every one studied to find out some new inventions. Some made it their business to accuse, some to seek out those who lay concealed, others to pursue those who fled, and others to seize upon their estates. Their punishment lasted a long time, in order to deprive them of the hopes of dying, and to torment them without ceasing, until their courage failed them.

Here are two examples of the greatness of their cruelty. A martyr having endured the rack and the burning plates, the judge caused him to be rubbed all over with honey, and then exposed him in the sun, which was very hot, lying upon his back, with his hands tyed behind him, that he might be stung by the flies. Another person who was young, and in the flower of his age, was, by his order, carried into a very pleasant garden, amongst lilies and roses, near a rivulet, which flowed with a pleasing murmur, surrounded with trees, which were gently moved by the wind. In this place they laid him upon a feather bed, tyed him with silken cords, and left him alone: then they brought thither a lewd woman, of extraordinary beauty, who began to embrace him, and to court him with all the impudence

that can be imagined. The martyr not knowing how to resist the assaults of sensuality any longer, bit off his tongue, and spit it into the face of this infamous creatuae. The persecution raged so horribly, that people thought that they saw the accomplishment of that terrible saying of our Saviour, That if it were possible, they should seduce even the elect.

At Alexandria their consternation was general. Several of the most considerable people presented themselves immediately; the officers were led to idolatry by the duties of their places; others being dragged along by their neighbours, and called upon by name, approached the profane sacrifices; some of them looking pale and trembling, as if they themselves were to be sacrificed to the idols, insomuch, that the people who flocked round them in crowds, made a jest of them, perceiving them to be afraid, either of doing sacrifice, or being put to death. Others went to the altars of their own accord, boldly affirming that they had never been Christians, and verifying that saying of our Saviour, "How hardly shall a rich man be saved;" and their bad examples drew several others to do the same: others fled, and some of them were taken and put into prison, or killed; but some, after continuing there several days, renounced the faith before they were brought to the tribunal; and some yielded under their torments, after having endured them for some time.

The like happened at Carthage, where several, without staying for their examination, or being taken up, went, of their own accord, to the public place, as if they had only waited for an opportunity of declaring themselves. There were so great a number in that city, who were for renouncing Christianity at one certain time, that the Magistrates were for putting them off till the next day, because it was too late; but they desired that it might not be deferred. There were several who corrupted the rest; and some brought their children, and presented them with their own hands, that they might deprive them of the grace of Baptism. The rich were the weakest, being detained by their riches, which hindered them from flying. By these instances we may judge how great a number throughout the Church, fell from the faith, which happened in different degrees; for some sacrificed to idols, or eat of meats that had been offered to them; others offered incense; others only declared before the magistrates, that they renounced Christianity, and had taken certificates from them, or bills of security to prevent their being questioned again, and to avoid the shame of a public declaration. They were called Libellatici, and they were reckoned to have been guilty of idolatry as well as the rest.

One of the first who suffered martyrdom in this persecution was *Fabian*, Bishop of Rome, who died heroickly after having

held the holy See thirteen years complete; and from henceforward the years of the bishops of Rome begin to be more certain. The deceased emperor, Philip, had, on account of his integrity, committed his treasure to the care of this good man: but Decius, not finding as much as his avarice made him expect, determined to wreak his vengeance on the good prelate. He was accordingly seized; and on the 20th of January, A. D. 250, suffered martyrdom, by decapitation.

Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, a person very venerable for his grey hairs and great age, was brought before the tribunal of the governor of Palestine at Cæsarea, and gloriously confessed the name of Jesus Christ a second time; for he had already confessed in the persecution of Severus, about forty years before, being then a bishop. He was thrown into prison, where he continued a long time, and died in his chains towards the end of the following year 251. He left at Jerusalem a considerable library of ecclesiastical books, which he had taken care to collect; and was succeeded by Mazabanes.

Origen, also, felt the effects of the persecution, as being one of the most celebrated doctors amongst the Christians: accordingly he was put in prison, and loaded with chains, having an iron collar about his neck, and shackles upon his feet, placed as far as the fourth hole, which extended his legs to a very great degree. They made him undergo several other torments, often threatening to burn him; but they did not put him to death, in hopes to draw over several by his fall. He continued unshaken in his resolution, and at that time wrote several epistles, in order to comfort and encourage others.

Abdon and *Semen*, two Persians, were seized on as strangers; but being found Christians, were put to death, on account of their faith; and *Moyses*, a priest, was beheaded for the same reason. *Julian*, a native of Cilecia, as we are informed by Chrysostom, was seized upon for being a Christian. He was frequently tortured, but still remained inflexible; and though often brought from prison for execution, was again remanded, to suffer greater cruelties. He, at length, was obliged to travel for twelve months together, from town to town, in order to be exposed to the insults of the populace,

When all endeavours to make him recant his religion were found ineffectual, he was brought before his judge, stripped, and whipped in a dreadful manner. He was then put into a leather bag, together with a number of serpents, scorpions, &c. and in that condition thrown into the sea.

The persecution having been published at Alexandria, Sabinus Prefect of Egypt, sent a soldier immediately to bring Dionysius, the bishop, to him, who nevertheless continued four days in his

house, expecting the soldier to come for him; but he sought for him every where else, viz. in the highways, upon the river, and in the country, not being able to find the house, as if he had been blind, and by no means imagining that he could be there. After four days, Dionysius quitted his house, by the command of God, and was accompanied when he went away, by his servants and several of the brethren, amongst whom were Cajus, Faustus, Peter, and Paul. At sun-set he fell into the hands of the persecutors; namely, a centurion, with the magistrates of the city, some soldiers and officers of justice, by whom he was carried to Taposiris, a little town of Egypt in the Mareotis.

From the beginning of the persecution, the unbelieving people of Carthage cried out several times in the circus and amphitheatre, Carry Cyprian to the lions. This obliged him to retire; but he did it not so much for his own safety as for the quiet of his Church in general, lest he should increase the sedition which was already begun, by appearing too boldly: however, he was proscribed, his estate was confiscated, and bills were posted up, to give notice to those who held or possessed any of the estate of Cecilius Cyprianus, bishop of the Christians. In his absence he took care to assist his flock by his prayers, his example, and his precepts.

Gregory, bishop of Neocæsarea, in Pontus, sirnamed the Great, or Thaumaturgus, advised his people to save themselves from the danger of the persecution by flight; which succeeded so well that none of his people fell from the faith. He himself shewed them the example, by retiring to a desart hill with that heathen priest whom he had converted, and had since made a deacon.

In the mean time, the Pagans having no hopes of finding him, turned their rage against his flock: and seeking them in their retirements, dragged them to the city, and filled the prisons with them, where Gregory comforted them by his prayers. On a certain day, those who were with him perceived, that as he was praying, he was troubled of a sudden, turned aside his eyes, as from some disagreeable sight, and stopped his ears; thus he continued some time without motion; then coming to himself he began to praise God, saying, Blessed be the Lord who hath not given us as a prey to their teeth: and those who were present entreating him to give them an account of the vision, he told them that he had seen a fierce combat, in which a young man had got the better of the devil; upon which they desired him to explain it, and he said, That at that very instant a young nobleman, named Troadius, had been brought before the governor by the lictors; and after undergoing several torments, had gained the crown of martyrdom. The deacon inquired into the matter,

and found it as he had said. In this persecution Alexander the collier, who was bishop of Comana, suffered martyrdom by fire.

At Smyrna, in Asia-Minor, Eudemon, the bishop, fell into apostasy, and several of the faithful were drawn into it by his fall; but Pionius the priest continued steadfast. On the eve before the feast of Polycarp, whilst he fasted with Sabina and Asclepiades, he perceived in a dream, that he should be taken the next day; the vision was so plain, that he knew it to be certain; for which reason he put a chain about his neck, and caused Sabina and Asclepiades to do the like. They were seized on Saturday the twenty-third of February, in the year 250, and on the second day of the month Xanticos, which, with the Asiatics, is the sixth. When they had prayed solemnly, and received the sanctified bread, and some water, Polemon, keeper of the idol temple came, with those whom the magistrates had appointed to search for the Christians. When he saw Pionius he said, Know you not that there is a commandment of the emperor, enjoining you to do sacrifice? Pionius replied, We know the commandments, but they are those which order us to worship God. Come to the market-place, saith Polemon, and see that what I have said is true; whereupon Sabina and Asclepiades said with a loud voice, We obey the true God. As they were led along, the people seeing the chains which they wore, were struck with the novelty of the thing, and came together in crowds, so that they were thronged very much. When they came to the market-place, it was soon filled with numbers of people, who covered even the tops of the temples; there were also abundance of women, it being the sabbath day, on which the Jewish women did no work; and persons of all ages crowded to the sight; and those who were low of stature stood upon posts or boxes.

When the martyrs were in the midst of the people, Polemon said, Pionius, you had better submit with the rest, to avoid the torture. Then Pionius stretching out his hand, and seeming gay and cheerful, began to speak after this manner: Citizens of Smyrna, who please yourselves with the beauty of your walls and city, and value yourselves for your poet Homer; and, ye Jews, if there are any amongst you, hear me speak a few words. We find that Smyrna hath been esteemed the finest city in the world, and was reckoned the chief of those which contended for the honour of being Homer's country. Pionius continued, I am informed that you laugh at those who come of their own accord to sacrifice, or refuse not when they are urged to it; whereas you ought to attend to your master Homer, who says, That we ought not to rejoice at the death of any man. And, ye Jews,

ought to obey Moses, who tells you, "If thou see thine enemy's beast fall down under his burden, pass not by without lifting him up." And Solomon saith, Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth; For my part, I had rather die and undergo all manner of torments, than contradict what I have been taught, or have taught to others. Whence then proceeds the laughter and cruel scoffs of the Jews, pointed not only against those who have sacrificed, but against us? They insult us, saying, we have been at quiet a great while. Though we were their enemies, we are still men; but what harm have we done them? What have we made them suffer? Whom have we spoken against? Whom have we unjustly persecuted? Whom have we forced to worship idols? Do they think themselves less culpable than those whom the terror of men causeth to fall? He afterwards upbraideth the Jews with the idolatries and ingratitude of their forefathers, citing the relations in Scripture, and threatening the Pagans with the last judgment.

He spoke a great while, and was heard very attentively. At length he saying, We adore not your gods, nor your golden images, they took them from the gallery where they stood, and set them in the open air in the midst of the market-place; where the people who surrounded him, said, with Polemon, Believe us, Pionius, your probity and wisdom make us deem you worthy to live; it is a good thing to breathe and behold the light. And I also, saith Pionius, say, that it is good to live and see the light; but I mean that which we aspire after. We will not, through contempt, forsake these gifts of God, but that which we prefer to them is infinitely better; which is spoken in respect of the Marcionites: But, saith he, I commend you for the affection which you express towards me; however, I suspect some stratagem in it; open aversion is less hurtful than deceitful caresses.

Then a certain wicked man, whose name was Alexander, said to him, Hear me also. Pionius answered, Hear me thyself, for I know all that thou knowest, and thou knowest not all that I know. Alexander said to him, scoffing, What means those chains? Pionius answered, We wear them that when you see us pass through the city, you should not think we are going to do sacrifice, and that we may not be carried to the temples with the rest; and also to shew you that we need not be examined, since we go voluntarily to prison. The people continued entreating him; and as he still remained steadfast, reproved them, and discoursed to them of a future state, Alexander said, What needs all this discourse, since you will not live, nor prevent your destruction.

The people were for going into the theatre, that they might hear what the Martyr said; but certain persons coming to Polemon told him, that if he gave the Martyr leave to speak, it

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would occasion an uproar; Polemon therefore said to Pionius, If you will not sacrifice, however go into the temple. It will not, saith he, be for the advantage of the idols that we go in. It is impossible then to persuade you, saith Polemon? And Pionius saith, Would to God that I could persuade you to become a Christian. Whereupon some cried out, by way of scoff; By no means do that, lest we should be burnt alive. It is much worse, saith Pionius, to be burnt after death. During this discourse, they perceived Sabina smiling, and said to her in a threatening tone, Do you laugh? Saith she, I laugh if God permit it, for we are Christians. You will suffer, say they, what will not be agreeable to you; for those who will not sacrifice are put into infamous places. The God of holiness, saith she, will protect us there.

Polemon says farther to Pionius, Will you obey us? Pionius answers, If you have an order either to persuade or punish us, you ought to punish, since you cannot persuade us. Polemon displeased at the abruptness of his discouse, said, Sacrifice. He answered, I shall not do it. Why not, says the other? Because, says he, I am a Christian. What God do you adore, says Polemon. Pionius answers, That Almighty God who made Heaven and Earth, and all that Heaven and Earth contain, and created us also, and abundantly gives us all things; whom we know by his Word, Jesus Christ. However, sacrifice to the Emperor, at least, says Polemon. Pionius replies, I will not do sacrifice to a man.

Then Polemon examined him judicially, ordering his answers to be written down by a notary, who engraved them on wax, and asked him, Who are you? He answers, A Christian: Of what Church, says Polemon. Pionius answers, Of the Catholic Church. Then he left Pionius, and addressed himself to Sabina, and asked her name. She had changed her name by the advice of Pionius, for fear of falling into the hands of her Pagan mistress; who, under the Emperor Gordian, intending to compel her to quit the faith, had put her in irons, and banished her to the mountains, where her Brethren secretly nourished her. She then answered, that her name was Theodota, and that she was a Christian. If thou art a Christian, said Polemon, of what Church art thou? She replies, Of the Catholic Church. What God dost thou adore? says he. She answers, God Almighty who made Heaven and Earth, the Sea, and all things that are contained in them, of which we are assured by his Word, Jesus Christ. Then he examined Asclepiades, who was not far from them, and asked him his name; he replies, a Christian. Of what Church? Asclepiades answers, Of the Catholic. Says Polemon, What God dost thou adore? Jesus Christ, says Asclepiades. What, then, is

there another God, says Polemon? No, says Asclepiades, this is the same whom we come here to confess.

Many Pagans visited them in the prison, and endeavoured to persuade Pionius, but they admired his answers. Some that had, by compulsion, sacrificed, visited them likewise, and entreated them with many tears, especially those whose lives had been blameless. Pionius seeing them, said, I suffer afresh; methinks I am torn in pieces, when I see the pearls of the Church trodden under foot by swine, and the stars of Heaven cast to the earth by the tail of the dragon. But, says he, it is our sins that have caused it.

Then Polemon and Theophilus who commanded the horse, came with the guards and a great company, and said with a terrible voice, Eudemon, your bishop, hath sacrificed; do you obey likewise, and Lepidus and Eudemon will examine you in the temple. Pionius answers, The prisoners ought to wait for the arrival of the Proconsul. Why do you take upon you his office? The captain answers, If you refuse to obey the order, I will make you sensible of my power: And accordingly put a cord about his neck, and drew it with such force, that he almost strangled him: Then he delivered him up to the guards, who dragged him to the market-place, with Sabina and others. They cried out with a loud voice, that they were Christians, and then sunk down to the ground, lest they should enter the idol temple: But six officers lifted up Pionius, who resisted them so stoutly, that it was with much difficulty that they thrust him in, kicking him on the sides, which he regarded not; but, on the contrary, became a greater weight to them. They then called for assistance, and carrying him with great joy, they laid him on the ground as a victim before the altar; where Eudemon was still standing, after having sacrificed.

Lepidus, who was a judge, says in a very severe tone, Why do not you also sacrifice? Because we are Christians, answers Pionius. Lepidus added, What God do you adore? Pionius replies, Him that made Heaven and Earth, and all that they contain. Lepidus says, Do you speak of him who was crucified? I speak of him, replies Pionius, whom God the Father hath sent for the salvation of mankind. The Judges said amongst themselves, but so loud that Pionius could hear them, We must compel them to say what we would have them. Then Pionius answered, Blush, O ye adorers of false gods! have some respect to justice, and obey your laws; they enjoin you not to do violence.

Then the people insulted them and beat them; and one said to Sabina, Cannot you die in your own country? She answered, What is my country? I am the sister of Pionius. Terentius, who had the direction of the combats with the wild beasts, says to Asclepiades, I shall require you, as a condemned person, to

fight amongst the gladiators. You shall not terrify me with that, replies Asclepiades. Thus they came to the prison, and as they were entering into it, one of the guards gave Pionius a violent blow upon his head, which wounded him. Pionius bore it very patiently; but instantly the soldier's hand that struck him, and his side, were so swollen and inflamed, that he could scarce breathe. Being got into the prison, they praised God for the courage he had given them, particularly against the perfidious Eudemon.

A few days after this, the Proconsul Quintillian returned to Smyrna, as was usual; and being seated on his tribunal, ordered Pionius to be brought before him, and asked him his name. He answered, Pionius. The Proconsul says, Sacrifice to this king of heaven, and all the other gods. Perceiving Pionius to be silent, the Proconsul ordered them to lay hold of him to put him to the torture; and when they had begun to torture him, the Proconsul says, Sacrifice. He answers, I will never do it. The Proconsul says, What presumption or persuasion thus urges you to run wilfully to your death? Do as I command you. Pionius says, I am not presumptuous, but I fear the eternal God. The Proconsul adds, What say you? Sacrifice. Pionius replies, You have heard that I fear the living God. The Proconsul says, Sacrifice to the gods. Pionius replies, I cannot.

The Proconsul seeing him so resolved, deliberated a long time with his council what to do; and then addressing himself to Pionius, he says to him, Do you persist in your resolution? Will you not repent before it is too late? He answers, No. The Proconsul says, moreover, to him, You are at liberty to consider of it some time longer. He answers, I desire it not. The Proconsul adds, Since you are so fond of death, you shall be burnt alive. Then he ordered his sentence to be read, which was written in Latin, in these terms: Pionius, a sacrilegious person, having confessed himself to be a Christian, we have sentenced him to be burnt alive, to revenge the insults offered to the gods, and to deter other men. Pionius went cheerfully, and with a steady pace to the place of execution, and being come thither, he regarded not what the officer said to him, but stript himself. Then reflecting on the purity of his body, he was filled with great joy; he lifted his eyes towards heaven, and gave thanks to God, who had preserved it so: Then he stretched himself out upon the wood, and delivered himself up to a soldier to be nailed to the pile.

After he was fastened, the executioner says to him, Come to yourself, change your mind, and the nails shall be taken away. He answered, I have felt them; and after remaining pensive for a time, he said, I hasten, O Lord, that I may be the sooner

raised up again, meaning at the resurrection. They then lifted him up fastened to the wood, and afterwards a certain person, named Metrodorus, of the sect of the Marcionites. They were both turned towards the East, Pionius on the right hand, and Metrodorus on the left: They heaped all round them a great quantity of wood, and Pionius shutting his eyes, the people thought he had been dead; but he had been praying in secret; and having finished his prayer, he opened his eyes, and looking on the fire with a cheerful countenance, he said, Amen, and expired with a gentle sigh, saying, Lord, receive my soul. This happened, according to our way of reckoning, in the year of our Lord 250, on the fifteenth day of March, at four o'clock in the afternoon. We have no account after what manner the rest of the Martyrs, companions to Pionius, were put to death.

In the end of the month of March, in this same year 250, Achatius or Acacius, a Bishop in the east, we are not certain of what Church, was brought before Marcian, a person of consular dignity, who said to him, You who live under Roman laws ought to have an affection for our princes. Acacius answered, And who hath a greater affection for the Emperor than the Christians? We pray daily for him, that he may live long, that he may govern his people according to the laws, and that his reign may be peaceable; we pray afterwards for soldiers, and all the rest of the world. *Marcian:* All this I commend: but that the Emperor may be the better convinced of your submission, offer him a sacrifice with us. *Acacius:* I pray unto the great and true God for the Emperor, but he ought not to require a sacrifice from us, nor is there any due to him: for, who can do sacrifice to a man? *Marcian:* Tell me to what God do you address your prayers, that we may likewise sacrifice to him? *Acacius:* I wish that you knew him to your advantage. *Marcian:* What is his name? *Acacius:* The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. *Marcian:* Are these the names of gods? No, replied Acacius, but he that revealed himself to them is the true God, whom we ought to fear. *Marcian:* Who is he? *Acacius:* The most high Adonai, who sitteth between the Cherubims and Seraphins. *Marcian:* What is a Seraphin? *Acacius:* A minister of the most high God, which approacheth his throne. From hence we may judge what was the custom mentioned by Origen a little before, viz. that it is not lawful to ascribe to God any names which are not attributed to him by Scripture.

Marcian: What vain Philosophy deceives you! Meddle not with invisible things; but rather acknowledge those for true gods whom you see with your eyes. *Acacius:* Who are the gods to whom you would have me sacrifice? *Marcian:* Apollo, our preserver, who defends us from pestilence and famine, who preserves

and governs all the world. *Acacius:* Do you mean that wretch, who, being in love with a young woman, ran distracted, not knowing that he lost his prey which he so much valued? It is evident, therefore, that he was not divine, neither was he a god, because a girl deceived him. It is the fable of Daphne, which Acacius here urgeth; from which he proceeds to that of Hyacinthus and some others, and then concludes: Suppose my life itself depended on it, ought I to adore those whom I ought not so much as imitate, and the imitators of whom you yourselves would punish. *Marcian:* It is usual for the christians to raise several calumnies against our gods; for which reason I command you to come along with me, and sacrifice to Jupiter and Juno, that we may cheerfully solemnize the festival, and render to the gods what is due to them. *Acacius:* How can I do sacrifice to him whose sepulchre is unquestionably in Crete? What, is he risen again?

Marcian: Either sacrifice or die. *Acacius:* This is the custom of the Dalmatian robbers; when they have taken a passenger in a narrow way, then leave him no other choice but to surrender his money or his life. The dispute is not what is most reasonable, but who is the strongest. But for my part, I fear nothing; the public laws punish adulterers, infamous persons, thieves, poisoners, and murderers; if I am guilty of any of these crimes, I am ready to condemn myself first: but it is you that are without excuse; for it is written, That every one shall be judged as he judgeth. *Marcian:* I have no orders to judge, but to compel you; therefore, if you do not obey, depend upon being punished. *Acacius:* I also have orders never to deny my God. If you obey a frail man, who in a little time must leave the world, and be eaten by worms; how much more ought I to obey the omnipotent God, who is eternal; and hath said, Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I deny before my Father which is in Heaven.

Marcian: You now confess the error of that doctrine which I have long desired to be informed of. You say then that God hath a Son? *Acacius:* Yes. *Marcian:* Who is the Son of God? *Acacius:* The Word of truth and grace. *Marcian:* Is that his name? *Acacius:* You did not ask me his name. *Marcian:* Tell it me. *Acacius:* He is called Jesus Christ.

Marcian: Consider the Cataphrygians, people of an ancient religion: they have forsaken what they were, to sacrifice to the gods with us: Do you also obey: Let all the Christians unite and follow with them the religion of the Emperor; and do you bring over all those that are under your direction. *Acacius:* It is not I who govern them, but the command of God: Let them hear me when I advise them to what is right; but let them despise me

if I offer them the contrary. *Marcian:* Give me all their names. *Acacius:* Their names are written in Heaven in the book of God. *Marcian:* Where are the Magicians your companions, and the teachers of this cunningly devised error? by which he probably meant the Priests. *Acacius:* We are indeed very criminal in the sight of God, but we have an abhorrence for Magic. *Marcian:* Your Magic is the new religion which you introduce. *Acacius:* We destroy those gods whom you fear, though you made them yourselves. *Marcian:* Give in the names if you would avoid the torture. *Acacius:* I am before the Tribunal, and do you ask my name? Do you hope to overcome many, you whom I alone confound? If you are curious in respect of names, I am called Acacius, my proper name is Agathanges; and these here are Piso, Bishop of Troas, and Menander, a Priest; now do as you think fit. *Marcian:* Thou shalt be put in prison that the Emperor may see your process, and appoint what shall be done with thee. This examination was made on the fourth of the Calends of April, i. e. on the twenty-ninth of March; and the verbal process being shewn to the Emperor Decius, he only laughed at this dispute; however, he gave Marcian the government of Pamphylia, but admired Acacius so much, that he restored him to his liberty. Orig. de Martyr.

The Proconsul of Africa coming to Carthage about the beginning of April, the persecution became more violent than ever it had been under the city magistrates, by whom it began, they contenting themselves with sending people to prison or into banishment: But they now made use of tortures, scourges, clubs, wheels, talons of iron, and burning torches; and they so often repeated the torments, that it was not so much the bodies as the wounds of the Martyrs that were torn by them. On the sixth of this month Mappalicus was tortured before the Proconsul, who said to him, amongst other things, To morrow you shall see the combat; and, indeed, he, the next day, suffered martyrdom with some others. Immediately after, Cyprian wrote to the Martyrs and Confessors who were in prison, having already endured the torture, or being appointed to suffer it. He greatly commendeth them, and sets forth the cruelty of the persecution, and the greatness of their courage with all his eloquence. He exhorts them to perseverance; but adds; That if before the day appointed for their combat, God should give peace to his Church, they should not grieve at being deprived of the external glory of martyrdom, because God, from whom they expected that crown, knows their intention. From hence it appears, that the saints had need of consolation, even when they were neither put to death, nor tormented for the sake of Jesus Christ.

In Asia, about this time, viz. on the fourteenth of May, a merchant, whose name was Maximus, was brought before Optimus the Proconsul; who, after asking him his name, inquired also after his condition. He replied, I was born free, but I am the slave of Jesus Christ. Of what profession are you, says the Proconsul. I am a man of the world, answers Maximus, who live by my dealings. Are you a Christian? says the Proconsul. Though I am a sinner, yet I am a Christian, says Maximus. Do you not know the Emperors orders, says the Proconsul, that are lately arrived. What orders? says Maximus. That all the Christians, says the Proconsul, forsake their superstition, acknowledging the true Prince, whom all obey, and adore his gods. I know, answers Maximus, the unjust ordinance of the Prince of this world, and for that reason appear in public. Do sacrifice then to the gods, says the Proconsul. I never do sacrifice, replies Maximus, but to him who is God alone, and rejoice that I have sacrificed to him from my infancy. If you will save your life, says the Proconsul, sacrifice; otherwise, I will put you to death by various torments. This is what I always desired, answers Maximus; it was for this that I appeared, that I might be delivered out of this miserable life, and arrive at that which is eternal. Then the Proconsul caused him to be bastinadoed; and in the meantime said to him, Sacrifice, Maximus, to free yourself from these torments. These are not torments, replies Maximus, which we suffer for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; they are wholesome unctions; but if I depart from his precepts, real torments wait for me, which are eternal. The Proconsul then caused him to be laid upon the wheel, and whilst he was tortured, said to him, Now, wretch, own thy folly, and sacrifice to save thy life. I shall save it, says Maximus, if I do not sacrifice, and I shall lose it if I do. Neither your clubs, nor your talons of iron, nor your fires, give me any pain, because the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ dwelleth in me. After he had so said, the Proconsul pronounced this sentence on him: I command that Maximus, who will not obey the laws, and sacrifice to the great Diana, to be stoned, in order to terrify the rest of the Christians. Whereupon he was immediately seized by the executioners, and carried without the city walls, where they stoned him.

Under the same Proconsul Optimus, and on the sixteenth of May, they seized, at Lampsacus, near the Hellespont, a young man named Peter, who was comely in his person, and had a good understanding. After he had told his name, and confessed that he was a Christian, the Proconsul said to him, You see here the ordinances of our invincible Princes, sacrifice therefore to the great goddess Venus. I am surprised, answers Peter, at your

desiring me to sacrifice to a lewd infamous woman, who hath been guilty of actions, which it is a shame even to mention. Much rather ought I to offer the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving to the true God and Jesus Christ. The Proconsul hearing this, caused him to be extended by wheels, with pieces of wood all round him fastened by iron chains, which pressed his whole body, and broke all his bones into little pieces. But the more he was tortured the more resolute he was: so that smiling and looking up to heaven, he said, I thank thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, for having given me patience to overcome this cruel tyrant; upon which, the Proconsul, observing his perseverance, caused his head to be cut off.

At the same time, when the Proconsul went to Troas, a neighbouring city, which Alexander the Great had caused to be built upon the ruins of ancient Troy, there were three other Christians brought before him, viz. Andrew, Paul, and Nicomachus. He asked from whence they came, and what religion they were of; and Nicomachus answered with impatience, and with a loud voice, I am a Christian. Says the Proconsul to Andrew and Paul, And what are you? They answered, We are Christians. The Proconsul says to Nicomachus, Sacrifice to the gods as you are commanded. Nicomachus replies, A Christian, as you well know, ought not to sacrifice to devils. Upon which the Proconsul ordered him to be seized and put to the torture. As he was almost ready to expire, by the violence of the torture, he cried with a loud voice, I never was a Christian, I sacrifice to the gods. Then the Proconsul caused him to be taken from the rack, but as soon as he had done sacrifice, the devil entered into him, and he beat himself against the ground, bit out his tongue, and so expired.

Amongst the crowd of spectators, a certain young woman, whose name was Denisa, who was about sixteen years of age, cried out, O wretch, why didst thou bring upon thyself eternal torments for a moment's ease? The Proconsul hearing this, caused her to be brought into the midst of the place, and asked her if she was a Christian. Yes, replies she, I am; and therefore I bewail this unhappy wretch for not having undergone a a little more, in order to attain eternal rest. Says the Proconsul, he found it when he appeased the gods and the Emperor by sacrificing; and lest he should suffer reproach on account of your vain religion, the great goddess Venus condescended to take him to herself. Do you sacrifice immediately, for fear, after having treated you shamefully, I should cause you to be burnt alive. My God, replies Denisa, is greater than you; wherefore I am not afraid of your threatenings; he can give me strength to bear all that you inflict upon me. Then the Proconsul delivered her

to two young libertines to abuse her, and sent Andrew and Paul to prison; and these young men took Denisa and carried her home with them; but after they had endeavoured to overcome her resistance until midnight, they found it impossible; and about that time there appeared to them a young man glittering with a light, which enlightened the whole house; upon which they were seized with fear, and threw themselves at her feet. She raised them up, saying, Fear not, this is my defender and guardian; and they intreated her to intercede for them, that no harm might happen unto them.

The day being come, all the people came to the Proconsul, and demanded with outcries to have Andrew and Paul delivered to them; and the most zealous exciters of this sedition were two of Diana's priests, Onesicrates and Macedonius. The Proconsul, therefore, having caused the Martyrs to be brought forth, says to them, Sacrifice to the great Diana. Andrew and Paul reply, We neither know Diana, nor the rest of the demons, whom you worship; and have never adored any but one God alone. At these words, the people desired the Proconsul to deliver them up to be put to death: And he, finding that he could not alter their resolution, caused them to be scourged, and then delivered them to the people to be stoned; who seized them, and tying their legs, dragged them out of the city.

Whilst they were under execution, Denisa heard the noise of it, and began to weep and wail; and having escaped from those who guarded her, she ran to the place where they were, and threw herself upon them, saying, That I may live with you in heaven, I will die with you here on earth. The Proconsul having been informed of Denisa's being preserved by a young man, who appeared all over light, and of her having got away from her guards, in order to throw herself upon the bodies of Andrew and Paul, ordered her to be taken from them and carried into another place, and to be beheaded, which was accordingly executed.

We find several other Martyrs in Africa under this persecution: At Nicomedia, Quadratus, who after several times undergoing the torture, had his head cut off; at Nice, Tryphon and Respicius; in Lycia, the famous Martyr Christopher; at Cesarea in Cappadocia, Mercurius, who had a considerable post in the army; and at Melitene in Armenia, Polymetes. It is also at this time of Decius, that the seven sleepers are placed, i. e. seven brethren, who, flying from the persecution, left Ephesus, and retired into a cave, where they were shut up, and thus fell asleep in the Lord; and when their bodies were found there a long time after, they were called the *Seven Sleepers*.

Alexander and Epimachus, of Alexandria, were apprehended for being Christians; and, on confessing the accusation, were beat with staves, torn with hooks, and at length burnt; and we are informed by Eusebius, that four female martyrs suffered on the same day, and at the same place, but not in the same manner; for these were beheaded. Lucian and Marcian, two pagans, and magicians, becoming converts to Christianity, to make amends for their former errors, lived the lives of hermits, and subsisted upon bread and water. After spending some time in this manner, they reflected that their lives were inefficacious, and determined to leave their solitude in order to make converts to christianity. With this pious and laudable resolution, they became zealous preachers. The persecution, however, raging at this time, they were seized upon, and carried before Sabinus, the governor of Bythynia. On being asked by what authority they took upon themselves to preach, Lucian answered, "That the law of charity and humanity obliged all men to endeavour to convert their neighbours, and to do every thing in their power to rescue them from the snares of the devil." Marcian also said, that "Their conversion was by the same grace which was given to St. Paul, who, from a zealous persecutor of the church, became a preacher of the gospel."

When the Proconsul found that he could not prevail on them to renounce their faith, he condemned them to be burnt alive, which sentence was executed soon after. Trypho and Respicius, two eminent men, were seized as Christians, and imprisoned at Nice. They were soon after put to the rack, which they bore with admirable patience for three hours, and uttered the praises of the Almighty the whole time. They were then exposed naked in the open air, which benumbed all their limbs. When remanded to prison, they remained there for a considerable time; and then the cruelties of their persecutors were again evinced. Their feet were pierced with nails, they were dragged through the streets, scourged, torn with iron hooks, scorched with lighted torches, and at length beheaded, on the 1st of February, A. D. 251.

Agtha, a Sicilian lady, was remarkable for her beauty, and endowments; her beauty was indeed so great, that Quintain, governor of Sicily, became enamoured of her, and made many attempts upon her virtue. The governor being known as a great libertine, and a bigotted Pagan, the lady thought proper to withdraw from the town, but being discovered in her retreat, she was apprehended and brought to Catana, when finding herself in the power of an enemy, both to her soul and body, she recommended herself to the protection of the Almighty, and prayed for death. In order to gratify his passion with the greater conveniency, the governor transferred the virtuous lady to Aphrodica, an infamous

and licentious woman, who tried every artifice to win her to the desired prostitution, but all her efforts were in vain. When Aphrodica acquainted Quintain with the inefficacy of her endeavours, he changed his desire into resentment, and, on her confessing that she was a Christian, he determined to gratify his revenge.

He therefore ordered her to be scourged, burnt with red hot irons, and torn with sharp hooks. Having borne these torments, with admirable fortitude, she was next laid naked upon live coals, intermingled with glass, and being carried back to prison, she there expired on the 5th of February, A. D. 251.

Cyril, bishop of Gortyna, was first seized by order of Lucius, the governor of that place, who first exhorted him to obey the imperial mandate, perform the sacrifices, and save his venerable person from destruction; for he was then eighty-four years of age. The good prelate replied, that he could not agree to any such requisitions. But as he had long taught others to save their souls, that now he should only think of his own salvation. When the governor found all his persuasion in vain, he pronounced sentence against the venerable Christian, in these words, "I order that Cyril, who has lost his senses, and is a declared enemy of our gods, shall be burnt alive."

The worthy prelate heard this sentence without emotion, walked cheerfully to the place of execution, and underwent his martyrdom with great resolution.

At the Island of Crete the persecution raged with fury; for the governor being exceedingly active in executing the imperial decrees, that place streamed with the blood of many Christians. The principal Cretan Martyrs, whose names have been transmitted to us, are as follow: Theodulus, Saturnius, and Europus, were inhabitants of Gortyna, who had been grounded in their faith by Cyril, bishop of that city; and Eunicianus, Zeticus, Cleomenes, Agathopas, Bastides, and Euaristus, were brought from different parts of the island on accusations relative to their professing christianity.

At the time of their trial they were commanded to sacrifice to Jupiter; which declining, the judge threatened them with the severest tortures. To these menaces they unanimously answered, "That to suffer for the sake of the Supreme Being would, to them, be the sublimest of all pleasures." The Judge then attempted to gain their veneration for the heathen deities, by discanting on their merits, and recounting some of their mythological histories. This gave the prisoners an opportunity of remarking on the absurdity of such fictions, and on pointing out the folly of paying adoration to ideal deities, and real images. Provoked to hear his favourite idols ridiculed, the governor

ordered them all to be put to the rack; the tortures of which they sustained with surprising fortitude. They at length suffered martyrdom, A. D. 251; being all beheaded at the same time. Babylas, a Christian of a liberal education, became bishop of Antioch, A. D. 237, on the demise of Zebinus. He acted with inimitable zeal, and governed the church during the most tempestuous times with admirable prudence. The first misfortune that happened to Antioch during his mission, was the seige of it by Sapor, king of Persia; who, having over-run all Syria, took and plundered this city among others, and used the Christian inhabitants with greater severity than the rest. His cruelties, however, were not lasting, for Gordian the emperor, appearing at the head of a powerful army, Antioch was retaken, the Persians driven entirely out of Syria, pursued into their own country, and several places in the Persian territories fell into the hands of the emperor. On Gordian's death, in the reign of Decius, that emperor came to Antioch, where, having a desire to visit an assembly of Christians, Babylas opposed him, and refused to let him come in. The emperor dissembled his anger at that time; but soon sending for the bishop, he sharply reproved him for his insolence, and then ordered him to sacrifice to the pagan deities as an expiation for his supposed crime. Having refused this, he was committed to prison, loaded with chains, treated with great severities, and then beheaded, together with three young men who had been his pupils. On going to the place of execution, the bishop exclaimed, "Behold me, and the children that the Lord hath given me." They were martyred, A. D. 251; and the chains worn by the bishop in prison were buried with him.

During this first year of the persecution, there were several martyrs at Alexandria, who courageously suffered both torments and death. The chief of those named Julian, was so old and afflicted with the gout, that he could neither stand nor go, but was brought with two men who carried him; one of whom immediately renounced the faith; but the other, whose name was *Chronion*, and his sirname *Ennus*, confessed before Julian. They set them upon camels, and, in this posture, they whipped them throughout all this city, which was one of the greatest in the world; and, at length, they were burnt in a very fierce fire, in the sight of the people, who crowded by turns to see them, as they were led along to the place of execution: a soldier, named Besa accompanied them, and opposed those who insulted them: Whereupon, the people began to cry out against him; then they carried him before the judge, where, at last, he had his head cut off. A certain African, named Machar, whom they could not prevail upon to deny the faith, was burnt alive. Afterwards, Epimachus and Alexander, who had been a great while in pri-

son, having been tormented by talons of iron, scourged and tortured various ways, were also burnt. There were also four women with them; the first called Ammonarium, a virgin, whom the judge tormented a great while, and very severely, because she boasted that she would never repeat what they ordered her; she accordingly kept her word, and was carried to execution: The second woman was Mercuria, who was venerable for her age; the third was Denisa, the mother of several children; and the fourth another Ammonarium. The prefect, fearing lest he should torment them to no purpose, and be overcome by women, caused them to be beheaded.

Hero, *Ater*, and *Isidore* an Egyptian, were also brought before him, and a youth of fifteen years, named *Dioscorus*.. The judge began with this young man, and after having vainly endeavoured to overcome him, both by promises and torments, being surprised at his courage, and the sagacity of his replies, he let him go, saying, he would allow him some time to reflect with himself, because of his age. The other three were cruelly tormented, and at length burnt; but Dioscorus, being at liberty, retired to St. Dyonisius, the bishop. Another Egyptian, named Nemesion, was accused of herding with robbers; but clearing himself of this calumny before the centurion, he was cited as a Christian, and carried in chains to the governor, who caused him to be scourged and tormented twice as much as the thieves, and burnt amongst them. Four soldiers, whose names were Ammon, Zeno, Ptolomæus, and Ingenes, or Ingenuus, came of a sudden, with a person named Theophilus, and presented themselves before the tribunal; and a Christian being at that time under the torture, and almost ready to abjure, they made signs to him by their looks, and with their body, gnashing their teeth, and stretching out their hands. All the people cast their eyes upon them; but before any body laid hold of them, they ran to the scaffold, saying that they were Christians. The prefect and his council were surprised at it, and the martyrs coming from the tribunal, went joyfully to the place of execution. Several in the other cities and towns were cut to pieces by the heathens. A certain person named Isolyrion, being employed by a magistrate, his master commanded him to sacrifice; upon his refusal, he abused him both by words and blows, and he still bearing all that he did to him, he at length took a large stake, with which he pierced his entrails, and so killed him.

The terror of this persecution caused abundance of Christians to flee into the desarts near Egypt, or into the mountains; where several wandering about, perished with hunger and thirst, cold, and sickness, or were killed by the wild beasts and robbers. Several, getting as far as Mons Arabicus, were taken by the Sara-

zens; some of whom were, with much difficulty, bought again at a great price, and the rest remained slaves. Cheremon, Bishop of Nilopolis, a person of a great age, having fled with his wife towards this mountain, nobody knew what was become of them; the Christians sought for them a long time, but could not so much as find their bodies.

In the lower Thebais, there was a young man named Paul, to whom, at fifteen years of age, his parents had left a great estate; he was well skilled in the Greek and Egyptian learning, was of a very mild disposition, and full of the love of God. He had a sister who was married, with whom he lived; but the persecution obliged him to withdraw privately to a country seat; however, his sister's husband designed to discover him, that he might have his estate; of which Paul being informed, retired to the desert mountains; where, waiting till the persecution ceased, he became fond of that solitude, in which he was at first engaged by necessity. He advanced farther and farther, and then stopt from time to time, and often went forward again. At length, he found a rocky mountain, at the foot of which there was a large cave shut up with a stone: this he opened out of curiosity, and found within it a great room open at top, and shaded by an old palm-tree, which extended its branches over it; a very clear spring of water rose out of it, and formed a sort of rivulet, which having run out a little space, returned again under ground. Paul made choice of this place for his retreat, and lived there fourscore and ten years; for he was then twenty-three, and he lived to be an hundred and thirteen years old.

The emperor Decius having erected a pagan temple at Ephesus, in the year 251, he commanded all who were in that city to sacrifice to the idols. This order was nobly refused by seven of his own soldiers, viz. Maximianus, Martianus, Joannes, Malchus, Dyonisius, Constantinus, and Seraion. The emperor, wishing to prevail on the soldiers to prevent their fate by his entreaties and lenity, gave them a respite till he returned from a journey. But in the absence of the emperor, they escaped, and hid themselves in a cavern; which he, being informed of at his return, the mouth of the cavern was closed up, and they all were starved to death.

Theodora, a beautiful young lady of Antioch, on refusing to sacrifice to the Roman idols, was condemned to the brothel, that her virtue might be sacrificed. Didymus, a Christian, then disguised himself in the habit of a Roman soldier, went to the house, informed Theodora who he was, and prevailed on her to make her escape in his dress. Thus, being found in the brothel instead of the beautiful lady, he was taken before the president, to whom confessing the truth, sentence of death was im-

mediately pronounced against him. In the mean time, Theodora, hearing that her deliverer was likely to suffer, came to the judge, threw herself at his feet, and begged that the sentence might fall only on her, as the guilty person; but the inflexible judge condemned both; and they were executed accordingly, being first beheaded, and their bodies afterwards burned.

Secundianus having been accused as a Christian, was conveyed to prison by some soldiers. On the way, Verianus and Marcellinus said, "Where are you carrying the innocent?" This interrogatory occasioned them to be seized, and all three, after having been tortured, were hanged, and their heads were cut off when they were dead.

In the city of Antioch, Vincentius, lib. 11, speaks of forty virgins, martyrs, who suffered in the persecution of Decius.

In the country of Phrygia, and in the town of Lampsar, Vincentius also speaks of one Peter, who was there apprehended, and suffered bitter torments for Christ's name, under Optimus the proconsul; and in Troada, likewise, of other martyrs that suffered, whose names were Andrew, Paul, Nichomachus, and Dionysia, a virgin. He adds, that in Babylon, many Christian confessors were found, who were led away into Spain to be executed.

In the country of Cappadocia, at the city Cæsarea, Germanus, Theophilus, Cesarius, and Vitalis, suffered martyrdom for Christ; and in the same book, mention is also made of Polychronius, bishop of Babylon, and of Nestor, their bishop, who died martyrs.

At Perside, in the town of Cardalia, Olympiades and Maximus; in Tryus also, Anatolia, a virgin, and Audax, gave their lives for the testimony of Christ's name.

The persecution, of which the bishops had received warning from heaven, was now begun, being occasioned by a violent plague which overspread several parts of the empire, The emperor Hostilius died; and it still increasing, Gallus and his son Volusianus had recourse to their gods; and accordingly sent edicts throughout the provinces, appointed sacrifices to be made to them. St. Cyprian was a second time called for in the circus by the people of Carthage, to be exposed to a lion; and it is thought to be at this time that he wrote his exhortation to martyrdom. Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, was the first who there confessed the name of Jesus Christ in this persecution; and his example so encouraged the faithful, that all those who knew that he was under examination, ran thither to confess with him; and several of the lapsed recovered themselves upon this occasion. Cornelius then, having refused to sacrifice to the false gods, was sent

into exile, by order of the emperor Gallus, to Centum Cellæ, now called Civita Vecchia, which is a very pleasant place, about forty-five miles from Rome. He there received an epistle from St. Cyprian, congratulating him and all the Roman church upon his glorious confession; he observes the difference between him and Novatian, whom the persecutors did not molest. Then he concludes: Since we are now warned by the divine Providence that the time of trial approacheth, let us employ ourselves incessantly, with all the people, in fasting, watching, and prayers. Let us mutually remember each other; and whosoever of us leaves this place first, by the mercy of God, let our charity remain with him, and let us not cease praying for our brethren. Thus spake the Confessor Cyprian to the Confessor Cornelius.

One of the most famous martyrs of Rome, who is reckoned to have suffered under this persecution, and in the year 252, was *Hippolytus*, a Presbyter, who had followed the schism of Novatus and Novatian. As they were carrying him to be martyred, the people whom he had under his care, and who, out of affection, followed him in great numbers, inquired of him which party was the best. Flee, says he, from the unhappy Novatus, and return to the Catholic Church: I now see things in a quite different light, and repent of what I had taught. After he had thus undeceived his flock, he was carried to Ostium, whither the prefect of Rome went that very day, to extend the persecution without the city, which he had already filled with blood. He was on his tribunal, surrounded by his executioners and instruments of torture, and before him several companies of the faithful, whose filth and the length of their hair showed, that they had been a long time in prison. But finding that torments availed nothing, and that he could not prevail with any of them, he condemned them all to be put to death. Some he caused to be crucified, and some to be put into rotten vessels, which immediately foundered. Ab. Fleu.

The old man, Hippolytus, was brought to him loaded with chains; and a crowd of young people cried about him, that he was the chief of the Christians, who ought to be put to death by some new kind of punishment. What is his name? says the prefect. They answered: His name is Hippolytus. Let him then be treated like Hippolytus, says the prefect, and dragged by wild horses; alluding to Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, celebrated by the heathen poets, who, flying from the indignation of his father, met a monster, at which his horses were affrighted; so that he fell from his chariot, and was dragged along, and torn to pieces. Upon this, they immediately took a pair of the most unruly horses they could meet with out of the place where they were kept, and tied a long rope between

them instead of a pole, at the end of which they fastened the martyr's feet. Then they excited the horses by loud cries, whipping them, and pricking them. The last words that the saint was heard to speak, were: Lord, they tear my body, receive thou my soul. The horses began then to carry him away furiously into the woods, over rocks and thorns; they beat down the hedges, and broke through every thing that came in their way; the ground was sprinkled with the blood of the martyr, and his body torn into various pieces, which lay scattered all about. The faithful followed after, pouring out tears: After this, they buried him at Rome in the Catacombs, near an altar.

The Eighth Persecution.

The persecution which took off Stephen, Bishop of Rome, and even Cyprian himself, began in the fifth year of the emperor Valerian, in the year of our Lord 257, and continued three years and a half, until he was taken by the Persians. It continued all this time in Egypt at least; for Dionysius of Alexandria applies to Valerian these words of the Apocalypse: And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies, and power was given unto him to continue forty and two months. The person who persuaded him to alter the good intentions which he had towards the Christians, was Macrinus, the best soldier, the ablest politician, the most experienced in affairs, and the rightest and greatest man in the empire; to which he aspired by the encouragement of the magicians; for this purpose, he used enchantments, and performed impious sacrifices with them, killing children, opening them, and curiously viewing their entrails; which delusions the Christians dissipated. Thus Macrinus, taking the magicians of Egypt under his protection, persuaded the emperor, whom he governed entirely, to persecute the Christians.

Stephen, Bishop of Rome, was one of the first martyrs under this persecution; he died on the second of August, when Valerian was the fourth time consul, and Gallienus the thirteenth, which happened in the year 257, and was buried in the Cemetery of Callistes: He had held the see of Rome four years and almost three months; into which, after twenty-two days vacancy, they, on the twenty-fourth of August, elected Sextus or Xistus, the second of that name, who governed that church not quite a year. A few days after Stephen's martyrdom, the soldiers met with Tarsicius, an Acolyth, who was carrying the holy Eucharist. They would know what it was that he carried; but he,

rather than discover the sacred mysteries to profane persons, suffered himself to be beaten to death with stones and clubs.

The persecution being begun, Æmelius, the prefect of Egypt, caused Dionysius of Alexandria to be brought before him, attended by Maximus the presbyter, and three deacons, Faustus, Eusebius, and Cheremon; there was also with them a Christian who came from Rome, named Marcelus. As soon as they came in, Æmelius said to them, I had a mind to speak to you myself also of the humanity with which our princes treat you; for they let your safety depend upon yourselves, if you will adore the gods who preserve the empire, and forget what is repugnant to nature: What then do you say to it? I expect that you will not be ungrateful for their goodness. Dionysius answers, All men do not adore all the gods; but every one adores those whom he believes in: For our part, it is the only God, the Creator of all things, who hath even placed the empire in the hands of the august Valerian and Gallienus, who are very dear to him; he it is whom we honour and adore; and we continually make prayers unto him for them, that they may always live in peace. Æmelius says to them, And who hinders you from adoring this God, if he is a God, with those who are so by nature? For you are commanded to honour the gods, and the gods whom all the world acknowledge. Dionysius answers, We adore no other. Æmelius: I perceive that ye are ungrateful and insensible of the goodness of the emperors; wherefore, ye shall not continue in this city, but I will send you towards Libya, into a place called Kefro, which I have chosen by their order; and neither you nor any one else shall be permitted to assemble people together, nor to enter into those places which ye call Cæmeteria. If any one of you doth not withdraw to the place which I appoint, or if he be found in any assembly, he will bring himself into danger, and he shall not fail of the punishment he deserves. Go then, whither you are commanded.

Although Dionysius was sick, they urged him to depart, without allowing him a day's respite. He knew not where this Kefro was, to which they sent him, and had scarcely ever heard it mentioned before; however, he went cheerfully. When he came thither, he assembled a numerous congregation; for several Christians followed him from Alexandria, and several assembled thither out of Egypt. In the mean time, he carefully exhorted the faithful of Alexandria to assemble as when he was present. The gospel had, as yet, not been published at Kefro, and the inhabitants at first persecuted Dionysius and his disciples, insomuch as to throw stones at them; but, at length, there were some who quitted their idols to turn unto God, neither was their number inconsiderable. It seemed as if God had sent

these holy confessors thither, on purpose to serve him in this manner; for, immediately after, they were removed to Collouthion in the Mareotis.

Æmelius's design was, to put them in those places that were most savage, and nearest to Libya; for which reason, he caused them all to come into the Mareotis, assigning to every one his particular town, that he might have them the more ready, when he had a mind to bring them all together; and he placed Dionysius, and those who attended him, upon the road, that he might have them first. When Dionysius heard that he was to be removed from Kefro to Collouthion, he was concerned; for though that place was more known to him, he apprehended that he should find there neither Christians nor reasonable people; and he knew that he should be exposed to the importunities of travellers, and to the inroads of robbers: but the brethren represented to him that he would be nearer Alexandria: it is true, said they, that there is a greater mixture of Christians assembled at Kefro out of Egypt, who form more numerous congregations; but here the neighbourhood of Alexandria will afford you the pleasure of more frequently seeing your real friends, and such as are most dear to you; and accordingly they came one after the other to the assemblies as to a distant suburb, and this was the consequence of their coming thither. Of those who accompanied Dionysius, whilst he continued as a confessor, Maximus succeeded him in the bishoprick, Eusebius the deacon was soon after bishop of Laodicea in Syria, and Faustus the deacon lived to the persecution of Dioclesian; during which he had his head cut off in a very advanced age.

Ruffina and *Secunda* were two beautiful and accomplished ladies, daughters of Asterius, a gentleman of eminence in Rome. Rufina, the elder, was designed in marriage for Armentarius, a young nobleman; and Secunda, the younger, for Verinus, a person of rank and immense wealth. These suitors, at the time the persecution commenced, were both Christians; but when danger appeared, to save their fortunes, they renounced their faith. They took great pains to persuade the ladies to do the same, but failed in their purpose; and as a method of safety, Ruffina and Secunda left the kingdom. The lovers finding themselves disappointed informed against the ladies, who being apprehended as Christians, were brought before Junius Donatus, governor of Rome. After many remonstrances, and having undergone several tortures, they sealed their testimony with their blood, by being beheaded in the year 257.

Cyprian was the first who confessed before the Proconsul in Africa in this persecution, and he was afterwards sent into exile, which happened thus: when Valerian was the third time, and

Gallienus the fourth time Consul, on the third day before the Calends of September; that is to say, on the thirtieth of August of the same year 257, at Carthage in the council chamber, the Proconsul Paternus said to Cyprian the bishop, The most sacred emperors Valerian and Gallienus have done me the honour to address letters to me, in which they have commanded me, that those who follow not the Roman religion acknowledge it immediately. I therefore demand your name; what answerest thou me? *Cyprian.* I am a Christian and a bishop; I acknowledge none other gods but one only true God, who hath made heaven and earth, the sea and all that therein is. This is the God that we serve who are Christians, and whom we pray unto day and night, both for ourselves and all men, and even for the prosperity of the emperors. *Proconsul.* You persevere then in this inclination? *Cyprian.* A good inclination founded upon the knowledge of God, ought not to be changed. *Proconsul.* You may then, according to the commands of Valerian and Gallienus, go into banishment to the city Curuba. *Cyprian.* I will go. *Proconsul.* They have done me the honour to write to me, not only concerning bishops but priests. I would therefore know what priests live in this city. *Cyprian.* It is wisely provided by your laws, that we should not be informers, for which reason I cannot discover them, but they may be found at home. *Proconsul.* I sought for them there to-day. *Cyprian.* As our discipline forbids any to offer themselves, and even you do not approve it, they cannot offer themselves; but when you seek for them you will find them. *Proconsul.* I will find them; and he added, They have also forbidden the holding of assemblies in any place, or cemetries; whoever observes not this wholesome ordinance, shall be put to death. *Cyprian.* Do what you are appointed. Then the Proconsul Paternus commanded Cyprian to be carried into banishment. Accordingly he set forward to Curuba, and arrived there on the fourteenth of September. This was a little town fifty miles distant from Carthage, situated by the sea-side, on the promontory of Mercury, over against Sicily; the place was healthy and stood in a good air; and Cyprian's lodgings were in a private place, as he had desired. The first night that he spent there he had a vision, which he thus related to the companions of his exile; amongst whom was Pontius the deacon, who wrote his life. "Before I was fallen asleep, says Cyprian, I beheld a young man of a more than human stature; I imagined that he led me to the Pretorium, and that they brought me before the tribunal, where the Proconsul sate. When he had looked upon me, he immediately began to write upon a tablet his sentence, which I knew not; for he had not examined me first as was usual: but the young man who stood behind him read all that

was written with abundance of curiosity, and informed me of it by signs, because he could not do it by words; for having extended his hand flatwise in the form of a sword, he represented the usual manner of executing criminals, and I understood that it was my sentence of death. Immediately I began to desire that I might have at least a day's space allowed me, until I had settled my affairs; and as I repeated this request, the judge began to write something again, I know not what, upon the tablets. However, I perceived, by the serenity of his countenance, that he was moved by the reasonableness of my request; and the same young man presently signified to me by his gesture, that they had granted me respite till the next day, by turning his fingers behind each other. In truth, this gesture was with the Romans a sign of stopping in a pursuit. This was Cyprian's vision, and the event shewed that the day of respite signified a year; for he suffered martyrdom at the end of the year, on the same day in which he had had the vision.

He was treated very friendly during his exile by the citizens of Curuba, and he often received visits from the Christians who lived out of the city. Whilst he was here, he heard that they had seized nine bishops, with several priests and deacons, and a great number of the faithful, even the very virgins and children, and after beating them with sticks, had sent them to work in the copper mines that were in the mountains of Mauritania and Numidia. Every one of these nine bishops had assisted at the last council of Carthage, and their names were Nemesus, Felix, Lucius, another Felix, Litteus, Polus, Victor, Jader and Dativus. Cyprian wrote to them and to the rest of the martyrs that were with them, a consolatory epistle; in which he says, that the glory of their sufferings is the recompense of their virtues and faith. He observes, that one part of them had already completed their martyrdom, and that the rest of them were still in prison; and describes their conditiou whilst they were at work in the mines. They had always irons on their legs, and when they were shut up at the conclusion of the day, they added fetters to them; after their labour, they had no other bed but the bare ground; their prisons were dark, and all the day long they endured the ill scent of the smoke; and not having the conveniency of baths, they were full of filth and dirt, and their hair long and neglected. Their food was only a little bread, and they had no clothes to defend them from the cold, arising either from the winter season, or the sharp air of the mountains; for otherwise the country is hot; but their greatest affliction was, that they could not offer the holy sacrifice to God. Cyprian concludes his epistle thus: Your prayers are now more effectual, therefore beseech God more earnestly to give us all grace to bring our

state of confession to perfection, and to deliver us gloriously with you from this darkness and these snares of the world. He sent this epistle by Herennius a sub-deacon, and by Lucian, Maximus, and Amantius Acolyths, and gave them also a sum of money for the relief of the confessors. They went to them in three different places, where they were dispersed, and brought letters of thanks from them. Cyprian continued about eleven months in exile at Curuba, and took that opportunity to regulate the affairs of the Church, particularly in relation to the care of the poor.

In the following year 258, when Memmius Fuscus and Pomponius Bassus were consuls, the emperor Valerian being busy in the east, in carrying on his war with the Persians, left all the management of his affairs to Macrinus, the great enemy of the Christians: it is probable, therefore, that it was at his instance that the emperor wrote a letter to the senate, importing, that they should put to death, without delay, all bishops, priests, and deacons; that the senators, and those who were stiled Egregii, and the Roman Knights, should lose their dignity, and be moreover deprived of their estates; and if after this they continued to be Christians, they should also be put to death. The women of quality were to lose their goods, and to be sent into exile; the Cæsariani, or freedmen of Cæsar, who had already confessed, or who then confessed, were to be forfeited as slaves to the emperor, to be chained and sent to labour on his estate. To this letter which was directed to the senate, the emperor had joined copies of those letters which he sent to the governors of provinces concerning the Christians.

In pursuance of these orders, they put to death Sextus, bishop of Rome, in that city; he was seized. with some of his clergy, whilst he was in the cemetry of Callistes, in order to celebrate the sacred mysteries. Whilst they were carrying him to execution, Laurence, the chief of the deacons of the Roman Church, followed him weeping, and said to him, Whither goest thou, my father, without thy son? You are not accustomed to offer the sacrifice without ministers; in what have I displeased thee? Try whether I am worthy of the choice which you have made of me, to intrust me with the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Sextus replied, It is not I who leave thee, my son; but a greater trial is reserved for thee; they spare us on account of our age; but you shall follow me in three days. Sextus was beheaded on the sixth of August, in the cemetry of Callistes, together with Quartus, having held the see of Rome eleven months and six days. The most remarkable thing that he did, was removing the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul to the catacombs, probably that they might be the more secure: this he did in this year 258, on the

twenty-ninth of June, the day of their festival. After the death of Sextus the see was vacant almost a year, during which the presbyters governed the Church of Rome.

In the mean time the Prefect of Rome, imagining that the Christians had hid considerable treasures, and desiring to secure them, he sent for St. Laurence, to whose care they were committed, as being chief of the seven deacons of the Roman Church. As soon as he appeared, he said to him: You generally complain that we treat you cruelly; but there are no tortures here; I only inquire mildly after what concerns you. It is said, that in your ceremonies the priests offer libations on golden vessels; that the blood of the victims is received into silver cups; and that, in order to give light at your nocturnal sacrifices, you have wax tapers fixed in golden candlesticks. For the supplying these offerings, we are told, that the brethren sell their inheritances, and often reduce their children to poverty: bring to light these concealed treasures, the prince has need of them for the maintenance of his forces: besides, I am informed, that according to your doctrine, you must render unto Cæsar the things that belong to him.

Laurence replies, without shewing any concern: I own that our Church is rich, and the emperor hath no treasure so considerable. I will shew you the most valuable part of them; give me only a little time to set every thing in order, to see what condition they are in, and to take an account of them. The prefect being satisfied with this answer, and imagining that he already possessed the treasure of the Church, granted him three days time. In this space Laurence went all over the city seeking in every street for the poor who were supported by the Church, and with whom no body was so well acquainted; they were the blind, the lame, the maimed, and such as were full of sores. These he gathered together, wrote down their names, and ranged them before the church; and the day appointed being come, he went to the prefect, and said to him, Come, behold the riches of our God, you shall see a large court full of golden vessels, and talents heaped up upon the galleries. Accordingly the prefect followed him, but seeing all these poor wretches, who made an horrid sight and cried out, asking alms, he turned towards Laurence with looks full of disorder and threatenings. What are you displeased at? replies he; the gold which you so eagerly desire is but a vile metal taken out of the earth, and serves as an incitement to all manner of crimes; the true gold is that light of which these poor wretches are the disciples. The weakness of their body is an advantage to their mind; vices and passions are the real diseases: the great ones of the world are the poor who are truly miserable and contemptible. These are

the treasures which I promised you; to which I will add pearls and precious stones: behold these virgins and widows, they are the Church's crown; make use then of these riches for the advantage of Rome, of the emperor, and yourself.

Do you thus mock me then? says the prefect. I know that you value yourselves for contemning death; for which reason you shall not die immediately. Then he caused an iron bed to be brought, and live coals almost extinguished to be thrown under it, that the martyr might be burnt more slowly. Accordingly they stripped him, extended and tied him upon this grid-iron. His face appeared to the Christians newly baptised, to be surrounded with an extraorninary light, and the smell of his broiled body seemed agreeable to them; but the unbelievers neither saw this light, nor perceived this smell. When the martyr had continued a considerable time upon one side, he said to the prefect, Let me be turned, I am sufficiently broiled on this side: and when they had turned him, he said, It is enough, you may eat. Afterwards, looking up to heaven, he prayed to God for the conversion of Rome, and then gave up the ghost: and certain senators who were converted by the example of his constancy carried away his body upon their shoulders: he was buried in a grotto at Veran near the Tiburian way on the tenth of August, in the same year 258.

Cyprian was now returned from exile by the emperor's permission, and lived in a garden near Carthage, which he had sold when he was first converted, and which providence restored to him: and he would have sold it again to bestow in alms, had he not been apprehensive of the envy of the pagans, in this season of persecution. It was in this place that he made an end of regulating the affairs of the Church, and of distributing to the poor what he had left; and he was there informed that the persecution had begun again, he sent some on purpose to Rome to get certain information of it. These gave him an account of what Valerian had written to the senate, of the martyrdom of Sextus; and that at Rome the prefects daily forwarded the persecution, that they might put those to death who were brought before them, and confiscate their estates. He gave notice of this to his clergy, though not immediately, but as soon as he had an opportunity; because all those who were about him, only waiting for the time of trial, could not be separated. He desired that this news might be imparted to the rest of the bishops, that they might every where prepare the faithful for martyrdom; insomuch, says he, that every one of us thinks more of immortality than death.

The Proconsul Gallerius Maximus had succeeded Aspasius Paternus, and people daily expected when he would send for

Cyprian. A great number of senators and other persons, very considerable for their offices and their birth, came to him; and being influenced by the friendship which they had long had for him, advised him to withdraw from thence, and they offered him places to retire to; but he, who had nothing left in the world, would not consent to it, though he neglected no opportunity of assisting the faithful, and exhorting them to contemn the sufferings of this life; and he wished, that when he suffered martyrdom, it might be whilst he was in discourse concerning God. Nevertheless, being informed that the Proconsul, who was at Utica, had sent some soldiers to bring him thither, he complied with the advice of his best friends, and retired from his garden to a place where he was more concealed. From thence he wrote his last epistle, which was directed to the Priests and Deacons, and to all the people of his Church, to whom he assigned this reason for his retiring, namely, that it became a Bishop to confess the Lord in the city where he governed the Church: For, says he, what the Bishop says at the time of his confession, seems to be said by his whole flock: It would be staining the honour of so glorious a Church, if I should receive my sentence at Utica, and leave it to go and receive the crown of martyrdom; wherefore I cease not earnestly to desire and beg of God, in all my prayers, that I may confess the Lord with you, both for your sake and mine own, and that I may depart to go unto him. And afterwards, As to you, my Brethren, observe discipline, and following the precepts of the Lord and the instructions which I have so often given you in my discourses, keep peace and quietness: Let none of you make a noise, because of our brethren, or offer themselves to the Pagans; it is sufficient for them to speak when they are taken, because then it is the Lord who speaketh in us. Thus spake Cyprian in his last epistle.

The Proconsul being returned to Carthage, Cyprian also returned to his garden: whilst he was there, on the thirteenth of September, there suddenly came to him two officers belonging to the Proconsul, viz. the princeps, or chief of the band, and the Marshal of his lodging, with soldiers: They thought to surprise him, but he expected to be taken, and they caused him to get into a chariot between them, and carried him to a place called Sextus, six miles from Carthage, by the sea-side, and in that diocess, whither the Proconsul had retired for the recovery of his health. Cyprian went thither with a cheerful countenance and steady resolution, being confident that he should be martyred; but the Proconsul deferred it to the next day, and he was carried back from the prætorium to the lodgings of the chief of the officers, in the street of Saturn, between that of Venus and Salus. In the meantime it was reported throughout Carthage, that

Thascius Cyprianus had been carried before the Proconsul; and as he was known to every body, especially for his good works, a great number of people came to see him; the faithful to strengthen their faith, and the unbelievers out of compassion. The multitude was very great, in proportion to the extent of the city of Carthage, which was inferior to none but Rome for the number of its inhabitants.

Cyprian was guarded by the chief of the officers, after a courteous manner; so that he could eat with his friends, and had them about him as usual. Nevertheless, the faithful, who were afraid lest they should do something to him unknown to them, during the night, passed it in the street before the door of his lodgings; so that they seemed to be assembled to celebrate the eve of his martyrdom; and Cyprian, who was always watchful for his flock, ordered them to be careful of the young women who were amongst the crowd. The next day, being the fourteenth of September, in the morning, the Proconsul sent for Cyprian, who went out of the house of the chief of the officers attended by a great number of people; the sky was very clear, and the sun bright; the distance from the prætorium was about a stadium, i. e. one hundred and twenty-five paces. When he came thither the Proconsul was not yet come, and they caused him to wait for him in a private place, where he sat down. He being all over sweat, by reason of his walking, a soldier, who had been a Christian, offered him fresh clothes; but Cyprian replied, Shall we seek a remedy for what will perhaps last no longer than to day.

The Proconsul was immediately told that he was there, and caused him to be brought into the judgment-hall where he sat. The Proconsul says to him, Are you Thascius Cyprianus? He answers, Yes, I am. *Proconsul:* Are you he who have made yourself the Pope of sacrilegious people? *Cyprian:* Yes. *Proconsul:* The most sacred emperor orders you to sacrifice. *Cyprian:* I will not. *Proconsul:* Consider with yourself. *Cyprian:* Do as you are ordered: in so just a cause, there is no room for deliberation. Then the Proconsul having advised with his council, with abundance of difficulty pronounced sentence, because he was out of order: it was conceived in these words: You have lived a great while with a sacrilegious disposition, and assembled a great number of people in an unlawful conspiracy, and have been a declared enemy to the gods of the Romans and our sacred laws: Nor could our most sacred Princes, Valerian and Gallienus Augustus, and Valerian our most noble Cæsar, bring you over to their ceremonies; for which reason, you shall be made an example to others whom you shall have made partakers of your crime, and our polity shall receive satisfaction from your blood.

Having said this, he read the decree, which was written upon a tablet in these words: It is enacted, that Thascius Cyprianus shall die by the sword. Cyprian said, God be praised. The Christians who were present in crowds, said, Let us be beheaded with him.

As he went out of the door of the Prætorium, a troop of soldiers attended him, and the Centurions and Tribunes marched on each side of him: They led him into the country, into a plain surrounded with trees; and many climbed up to the top of them, the better to see him at a distance, by reason of the crowd. Cyprian, being arrived at that place, took off his mantle, fell upon his knees to the ground, and prostrated himself before his God; then he put off his dalmatic garment, which he gave to the Deacons, and remained in his shirt. The dalmatic was a certain kind of tunick, the fashion of which was invented at Dalmatia, and was commonly worn in those times. The executioner being come, Cyprian ordered twenty-five golden denarii to be given him. He himself bound the napkin over his eyes, but as he could not tie his own hands, Julian the Presbyter, and Julian the Deacon bound them for him, and the Christians laid before him napkins and handkerchiefs to receive his blood. In this manner he had his head cut off on the fourteenth of September, in the consulship of Tuscus and Bassus, i. e. in the year 258, about the same day of the year in which he had the vision concerning the death. The Proconsul Galenus Maximus died shortly after.

Amongst all the Bishops of Carthage, Cyprian was the first that suffered martyrdom. To prevent the curiosity of the Gentiles, they laid his corpse in a place adjoining, in the fields of Macrobius Candidus, the Procurator, in the Mappalian way near the fish-ponds. Flavius, a Deacon of the Church of Carthage, had this vision: He thought he saw Cyprian, and asked him if the martyrs felt the blows that were given them. Cyprian replied, The flesh suffers not, when the spirit is in heaven, and the body is insensible when the soul is entirely devoted to God. Cyprian's successor in the See of Carthage was Lucius, who was succeeded by Mensusius. We have a great number of Cyprian's writings which have been much celebrated in every age since his time. Laziardius Celestinus made an abridgment of his works, or rather what is now called ANA, in which, amongst many others, are the following pithy sentences, which we quote on account of their excellence.

Ne dormiat in thesauris tuis, quod pauperi prodesse potest.
Let nothing sleep in thy treasures, that may profit the poor.
Duo nunquam veterascunt in homine: cor semper novas cogitationes machinando: lingua, cordis vanas conceptiones proferendo.

Two things never wax old in man,—the heart, ever imagining new cogitations, the tongue, ever uttering the vain conceptions of the heart.

Disciplina est morum præsentium ordinata correctio, et malorum præteritorum regularis observatio.

Discipline is an inordinate amendment of present manners, and a regular observation of evils past.

Integritas ibi nulla esse potest, ubi, qui improbos damnent, desunt: et soli, qui damnentur, occurrunt.

There can be no integrity, while they who should condemn the wicked, are ever wanting, and they only who are to be condemned, are ever present.

Avari ad hoc tantum possidem quæ habent, ut ne alteri possidere liceat.

A covetous man only possesseth his goods for this reason, because another should not possess them.

Sericum et purpurum indutæ Christum induere non possunt.

Women that advance themselves in putting on silk and purple, cannot lightly put on Christ.

Qui se pingunt in hoc seculo, aliter, quam creavit Deus, metuant, ne cum resurrectionis venerit dies, artifex creaturam suam non recognoscat.

They who love to paint themselves in this world, otherwise than God hath created them, let them fear, lest when the day of resurrection cometh, the Creator will not know them.

Qui pauperi eleemosynam dat, Deo suavitatis odorem sacrificat.

He that giveth an alms to the poor, sacrificeth to God an odour of sweet smell.

Contemnenda est omnis injuria præsentium malorum, fiducia futurorum bonorum.

All injury of evils present, is to be neglected, for the good hope of good things to come.

Nihil prodest verbis proferre virtutem, et factis destruere.

To set out virtue in words, and to destroy the same in facts, is nothing worth.

Quo plures domi sunt tibi liberi, hoc plus tibi non recondendum, sed erogandum est, quia multorum jam delicta redimenda sunt, multorum purgandæ conscientiæ.

The more children and greater household that thou hast at home, the more cause thou hast not to hoard up, but to disperse abroad, for that many sins are to be redeemed, many consciences are to be purged.

Eincetianus observes, that in another book of Cyprian, not mentioned in the catalogue of his works, he describes twelve principal abuses or absurdities in the life of man, which are in the following order, and are unfortunately too frequently to be

met with in every age of the world; but perhaps more at present than at any former period.

1. *Sapiens sine operibus.*	A wise man without good works.
2. *Senex sine religione.*	An old man without religion.
3. *Adolescens sine obedientia.*	A young man without obedience.
4. *Dives sine eleemosyna.*	A rich man without alms.
5. *Fœmina sine pudicitia.*	A woman without modesty.
6. *Dominus sine virtute.*	A guide without virtue.
7. *Christianus contentiosus.*	A Christian man contentious.
8. *Pauper superbus.*	A poor man proud.
9. *Rex iniquus.*	A king unrighteous.
10. *Episcopus negligens.*	A bishop negligent.
11. *Plebs sine disciplina.*	People without discipline.
12. *Populus sine lege.*	Subjects without law.

After this there were two churches erected to his memory; the one in the place of his martyrdom, called, The Table of Cyprian; the other, where he was interred, named Mappalia.

In the same persecution, many martyrs suffered together at Utica, to whom the Governor gave their choice, either to be thrown into a pit of burning lime, or to offer incense to idols. The martyrs took no time to consider of it, but, resigning themselves to their hard fate, were consumed. They were above a hundred and fifty in number, others say near three hundred. Theogenes, bishop of Hippone, who had assisted at the last council of Cyprian, concerning Baptism, suffered martyrdom about the same time. He hath since had a Church erected in his name; there suffered three noble persons at Tuburbis, viz. Lucernaria, Maxima Donatilla, and Seconda; the last of whom was but twelve years old.

After the death of Galenus Maximus, Proconsul of Africa, Solon, Procurator for the public there, continued the persecution, waiting for the arrival of a new Proconsul from Rome. He caused eight Christians to be apprehended, most of them of the clergy and disciples of Cyprian; namely, Lucius, Montanus, Flavius, Julian, Victorius, Primolus, Renus, and Donatian. Flavius was a Deacon, and Donatian was only a catechumen; and having been baptised in prison, immediately gave up the ghost. Primolus died at the same time. As soon as they were taken, they were given in custody to the officers of the quarter, when the Governor's soldiers told them they should be condemned to the flames: They prayed to God with great fervour to deliver them from that punishment, which he accordingly granted them. The Governor altered his first intent, and ordered them to be put into a very dark and incommodious prison. The day following, there were persons sent to bring them before the Procurator, who executed the office of the deceased Proconsul.

They were dragged thither loaded with chains, which made a great noise all the time they were going towards the place, not knowing that the Governor would hear them. He ordered them to be brought into his closet, and, after they had generously confessed, he remanded them to prison. He commanded they should be kept without meat or drink for several days, insomuch that water was refused them after their work. Flavius, the Deacon, endured extraordinary fasts, refusing that little refreshment which was allowed them with a sordid parsimony at the public charge. Then Victor, the Presbyter, one of the Martyrs, had this vision: He saw an infant, whose countenance was of a wonderful brightness, who entering into the prison, took them from all parts of it, to make them go out, and still they would not. He then says to them, You have still some concern at your being retained here; but be of good courage, I am with you; and he added, Tell them that they shall have a more glorious crown. Victor asked him, Where is paradise? The infant replied, Out of the world. Shew it me, says Victor. The infant answers, Where then will be your faith? Victor says, I cannot retain what you command me; tell me a sign that I may give them. Presently after this vision, Victor the Presbyter died.

A Christian, named Quartillosa, was in the same prison; her husband and son had suffered martyrdom about three days before; she followed them quickly after, but had first this vision: I saw, says she, my son who suffered; he was in the prison, and told me, God hath seen your sufferings. The martyrs had received no nourishment the preceding day, nor had they any on the day that followed this vision: But at length, Lucius, then a Presbyter, and afterwards Bishop of Carthage, surmounted all obstacles, and got food to be carried to them in abundance, by the Subdeacon Herennius, and a catechumen, whose name was Januarius. This Herennius was probably the same with him that Cyprian had formerly sent to the martyrs condemned to the mines. This relief exceedingly comforted the martyrs that were prisoners, especially those who had fallen sick for want of fresh water.

Montanus had likewise this vision: It appeared to me that the Centurions were come to us, and that they conducted us through a long path, into an exceeding large plain, where we found Cyprian and Lucius. This Lucius is plainly the very same with him, who in his exile had written to Cyprian. We came into a very luminous place, our garments became white, and our flesh still whiter than our garments, and so transparent, that I could see even into the bottom of the heart; but in looking into myself, I could discover some filth in my own bosom. I thought myself awake, but being still asleep, I met Lucius, and told him my

vision, and said to him, Do you know that this filth signifies that I was not presently reconciled to Julian? Upon this I awaked. After this manner Montanus related his vision. Hitherto the Martyrs themselves wrote in prison what happened to them there, and the rest was written by those persons who were present, to whom Flavius, the Deacon, one of the martyrs had recommended it. The Martyrs continued several months in prison, and suffered for a long time both hunger and thirst. At length they were presented to the Governor, and they all gloriously confessed; but Flavius's friends demanded him again, affirming he was no Deacon, as he declared he was, and consequently was not comprehended within the Emperor's decree, to be condemned to death. He was then sent back to prison, and the rest were adjudged to die, to wit, Lucius, Montanus, Julian, and Victoricus: They brought them to the place of execution, where there was a great concourse of the Gentiles, and all the faithful went thither; for the instructions they had received from Cyprian made them particularly honour these Martyrs: They marched forwards with a cheerful countenance, and each of them gave exhortations to the people. Lucius, who was naturally mild and modest, was somewhat dejected, by reason of his distemper, and the inconveniences of a prison; he therefore went before the rest, accompanied but by a few persons, lest he should be oppressed by the crowd, and so not have the honour to spill his blood: However, he ceased not to speak to those who followed him, as well as he could. The Brethren said to him, Remember us. Do you also, says he, remember me. So much did he presume upon the glory of his martyrdom. Julian and Victoricus exhorted a long while the brethren to peace, and recommended to their care the whole body of the clergy, especially those who had relieved their wants in prison.

Montanus, who was endued with great strength, both of body and mind, cried out, He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the Lord only, he shall be utterly destroyed. This he repeated divers times. He checked the pride and temerity of the Heretics, telling them, they might know the true Church, at least by the multitude of her Martyrs. He exhorted those that had lapsed, not to be over-pressing, but fully to accomplish their penance, the rest to continue steadfast, for, says he, this is to suffer for Jesus Christ, to imitate him, and to give, by our example, proofs of the sincerity of our faith. The executioner having lifted up the sword over his head, he stretched out his hands to God, and prayed with a loud voice, insomuch that the heathens themselves could hear, saying, that Flavius should follow them the third day after. He rent in pieces the handkerchief with which he was to cover his eyes, and ordered one half of it to be reserved for Flavius: he caused them like-

wise to keep for him a place in the field, where he was to be interred, that they might not be separated even in the grave.

Flavius returned to the prison, very sorrowful to be thus separated from good company; but he submitted to the will of God. His mother, who had not stirred from him all the time, was as much afflicted as he was at this delay. You know, mother, says he, that I have often desired to enjoy my martyrdom. One night, as he was afflicted at his staying behind the rest of his Brethren, a man appeared to him, and spake thus, Why do you afflict yourself? You have been three times a Confessor, and shall suffer martyrdom by the sword, which proved very true. He believed likewise that he saw Successus, the Bishop, who had suffered with Paulus and others. Successus had a countenance and garments so shining, that Flavius scarce knew him. I come, says he, to declare to you, that you must suffer martyrdom. Immediately came two soldiers, who dragged Flavius to the place where his brethren were assembled; his mother was also there; I commend you for this, says she, that no person hath suffered martyrdom like thee. These visions comforted Flavius.

In the mean time, two days passed, and the third day he was ordered to be brought before the procurator, according to the prediction of Montanus. As the brethren pressed round about him to salute him, he told them they should carry peace from him to all in Fuscius. Being come into the prætorium, he continued among the prisoners, expecting to be called upon. Some Pagans who had studied with him, advised him, with tears in their eyes, to sacrifice at that time, and do as he pleased for the time to come, and not to dread a second uncertain death more than the present. He thanked them for the friendship they showed him, and for giving him the advice which they judged best for him; but he told them, that as to his preserving his liberty, he had rather die than worship stones: That there was one sovereign Lord, who had made all things by his command, and consequently ought only to be adored: adding, that we live after death, which is what the Pagans hardly believe, though they have some good sentiments concerning the Deity.

The governor having ordered him to come before him, demanded of him, why he dissembled in saying he was a deacon, when he was not one. Flavius answered, I did not dissemble. The Centurion said, that it was declared to him that he had feigned himself to be a deacon. Flavius answered: Is it so likely that I should be, in this case, guilty of an untruth, as he that hath made that declaration. The governor immediately passed sentence on him, and condemned him to death. Being certain of suffering, and filled with joy, he had likewise the consolation

of speaking to his friends, and gave them orders to write an account of his martyrdom.

He went to his execution with a great company, and very majestically. There fell abundance of small rain, which gave occasion for this saying to Flavius, that water would be mingled with blood in his passion, after the example of our Saviour. This rain served also to hinder the impious curiosity of the Gentiles. The last thing he said to them, and which was, as it were, his last will, was to recommend earnestly to them Lucius, the Presbyter, who had, a little before, in a manner, been elected Bishop of Carthage. Having done speaking, he descended to the place of his martyrdom; he bound his eyes with that half of the handkerchief which Montanus had ordered to be kept for him two days before: being upon his knees, he ended his martyrdom with his prayers.

In Numidia, a certain Bishop in his travels, accompanied by James the Deacon, and Marius the Reader, arrived at a place called Muguas, near Cirtha, a Roman colony, at present called Constantine, where the persecution was very hot. There was a strict inquiry made after those that had been exiles, to put them to death. Among them, were the Bishops Agapius and Secondinus, both highly esteemed for their charity. When they were brought from the place of their exile to be presented to the governor, they went to the place where other confessors were kept, and lodged near them. They strengthened them both by their example and discourses, and earnestly exhorted them to constancy. Two days after they were gone from thence, a company of infidels came to the village of Muguas, where the confessors were, and conducted them to Cirtha; there they were put in prison, and afterwards exposed to torments by a stationary, accompanied by some centurions, and the municipal magistrates of Cirtha. Now those officers under the governor, who are dispersed into different places, to advertise the governor of what passes, are called Stationarii. Marius confessed himself to be a reader: then they hung them up by the thumbs, with heavy weights at their feet; and after having thus tortured them, they were remanded to prison.

There was in the same prison a confessor, whose name was Æmilius, of the equestrian order, about fifty years of age, he kept fasts in prison for two days together, and was frequent in prayer. He fell asleep at noon-day, and then recounted what he had seen. I was taken out of prison, says he, and I met a Pagan, who is my brother according to the flesh; he asked me out of curiosity, and with design to insult me, how we liked the darkness and fastings of a prison? I answered him, that the word of God serves both for light and nourishment to the sol-

diers of Jesus Christ. Afterwards he added: But you who thus despise life, I would have you be certain, whether or not all of you shall, without distinction, have the same reward in heaven. I am not capable, said I to him, to decide so grand a question; but lift up your eyes to heaven; the innumerable stars that are there, have they all the same lustre? He replies to me: If there be any difference, who are they whom God prefers? Those, said I, whose victory is most extraordinary and difficult, as for instance, over-riches. After this manner Æmilius related his vision. He suffered martyrdom at the same place, viz, at Cirtha. The bishops Agapius and Secondinus ended their lives in the same place, together with two virgins, Tertulla and Antonia. They had often begged of God, that he would grant that they might suffer martyrdom; and it was answered them, Why do you so often ask that which hath been granted you from the first time of asking it?

James and Marius stayed some days longer in prison: afterwards, they were brought forth in public, and presented to the magistrates of Cirtha. One of the faithful among the spectators drew the eyes of all the infidels upon him, by the marks of zeal which appeared in his countenance: They angrily demanded of him, if he was of the same religion; he presently confessed he was, and was placed amongst the martyrs whom the magistrates sent back to the governor of the province. They went diligently to find him through a tedious and difficult road; and when they had been presented to him, they were put in the prison of Lambesor: For many days together, the governor put to death a great number of the laity among the faithful, before he fell upon James and Marius. In the prison, James saw, in his sleep, Agapius the bishop, who prepared a great feast, and expressed a great deal of joy; he and Marius were invited to it, as one of the Agapæ, or feasts of charity; and they there met an infant, being one of two twins who had suffered with their mother three days before. This infant had round his neck a crown of roses, and held in his right hand a very green palm. He said to them, And whither go you so fast? Rejoice, for to-morrow you shall sup with us.

The next day, Marius, James, and the rest, were condemned to die. They were brought to the place of execution, which was on the borders of a river, in a valley, with hills on each side, for the benefit of the spectators; because there was a great number of them, they were ranged in order, that the executioner might conveniently pass from one to the other, in cutting off their heads; otherwise, the execution had been very tedious, and there had been too many bodies in a heap together, if they had not come one after the other to the same place. Marius said

boldly, that vengeance for innocent blood was nigh at hand, and that the world would be afflicted with divers plagues, viz. the pestilence, captivity, famine, earthquakes, and insects, which denoted the taking of the emperor Valerian, and the wars which followed under the thirty tyrants.

In Spain, *Fructuosus*, Bishop of Taragona, was seized on a Sunday the fifteenth of February, in the year 259, and with him two deacons Augurius and Eulogius. As Fructuosus was in his chamber, six of those soldiers who are stiled Beneficiarii, and who were of the first rank, came to his house. Having heard them strike their sticks against the door, he rose immediately and went down to them. They said to him, Come with us, the governor requires you with your deacons. As soon as they came thither, they were put into prison. Fructuosus, assured of the crown of martyrdom, and full of joy, prayed without ceasing: the brethren which he found there, recommended themselves to him; and the day following he baptized Rogatian; they were six days in prison. They were presented to be heard on Friday the twentieth of January. Æmilius the governor said, Bring hither Fructuosus the bishop, Augurius, and Eulogius. The officers said, They are here. Æmilius said to Fructuosus, Have you heard what the emperors order? They have commanded that all men worship the gods. Fructuosus says, There is one God alone whom I adore, who made the heavens and the earth, and all that is contained in them. *Æmilius:* Do you not know that there are more gods than one? *Fructuosus:* I am altogether ignorant of that. *Æmilius:* You shall know it presently. Fructuosus, with his eyes lifted up, began to pray to himself. *Æmilius:* Whom do they hear? whom do they fear? whom do they adore, if they serve not the gods, nor reverence the face of the emperor? Then he said to Augurius the deacon, do not imitate the discourse of Fructuosus? Augurius said, I adore the Almighty God. *Æmilius:* Do you adore Fructuosus also? *Augurius:* I serve not Fructuosus, but I serve him whom he himself likewise serves. Æmilius then said to Fructuosus, Art thou a bishop? Yes, answers he. *Æmilius:* You shall be no longer so: and commanded them to be burnt alive.

Then Fructuosus and the deacons were brought into the amphitheatre, and all the people lamented him, for he was greatly beloved by the infidels themselves, by reason of his virtue. The Christians more rejoiced at his glory than they were afflicted to lose him. Some, out of charity, offered him a cordial drink to strengthen him. When they were arrived at the amphitheatre, a certain person, whose name was Augustulis, who had been his reader, came to him weeping, and said, Permit me to undress you. Fructuosus answers, Forbear my son, I will joyfully un-

dress myself. I am certain of the promise of the Lord. After he was undressed, a Christian named Felix came and took him by the hand, praying him to remember him. Then Fructuosus spake aloud, so that the whole assembly heard him: It is my duty to have in my mind the whole Catholic Church, which is extended from east to west. Being at the porch of the amphitheatre, and ready to begin the combat, he again comforted his brethren, and assured them they should not want a pastor. After the cords with which they tied his hands were burnt, the bishop fell upon his knees, and continued praying according to custom, being confident of a resurrection.

We may refer to this persecution of Valerian, the martyrdom of *Saturninus*, the first bishop of Toulouse, who had been established in that see about ten years before. By his powerful prayers, the oracles of the demons ceased; he discovered their impostures, and weakened their authority; for as the church was near the capitol, and his house at some distance from thence, he passed and repassed before the capitol every day. The Pagan pontiffs perceived it, and resolved upon his ruin. On a certain day, when the people were assembled together, and had a bull ready for sacrifice to appease their gods, they saw Saturninus passing by, who went, as his custom was, to celebrate the divine offices. Behold, say they, the enemy of the gods, and the author of this new religion; let us revenge their injury; let him sacrifice or die. They then surrounded him in great numbers, and dragged him alone to the capitol: for a presbyter and two deacons who attended him had fled.

When they pressed him to sacrifice, he said with a loud voice, I acknowledge but one God, I know that your gods are devils; why would you have me fear them, who, as you say, stand in fear of me? Then the multitude being enraged, took the bull which they brought to be sacrificed: they surrounded him with a cord which they left hanging down behind, and to that fastened the feet of the saint; then they pricked the bull with a goad, and drove him from the top of the capitol to the bottom: as he went down the first steps, his head was broken, his brains ran about, and afterwards all the rest of his body was torn to pieces. The bull still dragged him on till the rope broke: then the body lay where he left it, and was interred near the same place by the care of two women, who put him into a coffin of wood, and laid him deep under ground, lest the pagans should endeavour to remove him. The rest of the Christians, who were but a few in number, being afraid to bury him, there were none but those two women who had the courage to undertake it. The place where the corpse of Saturninus was laid, goes still by the name of Taurus.

It is very probable that the same persecution took off *Dionysius*, the first bishop of Paris, who was sent at the same time with Saturninus. The received tradition is, that he had his head cut off, together with a certain priest named Rusticus, and Eleutherus, a deacon, in a place which we still call Mons Martyrum, or, The Martyrs Mount. The dungeon where he was confined is still shewn at St. Denis de Chartre and at St. Denis Qupas, where he was put to the torture.

To this persecution may be referred with great probability the last sufferings of *Felix* of Nola. His father's name was Hermias, a Syrian by birth, who came to settle at Nola in Italy, and left two sons very rich, viz. Hermias and Felix. Hermias continued in the world, but Felix dedicated himself solely to God, and was ordained a reader in his younger years; afterwards an exorcist, and at length a priest under Maximus, an old man, who was bishop of Nola, and who loved him as his own son, and designed him for his successor. The persecution having been begun under Decius or Gallus, Maximus, the bishop, fled into the desarts: there was then great search made after Felix as the chief of the flock; he was taken and put into prison, and loaded with irons; they put fetters on his legs, and sprinkled the place where he was with potsherds, to prevent his lying down to repose himself. In the mean time Maximus the bishop was ready to perish with hunger and cold in a desart mountain, whither he had retired, lying upon the bare ground, exposed to all the injuries of the air, without nourishment, being overwhelmed with years, sorrow, and concern for the safety of his flock. But he was not forsaken of God.

At Cæsarea in Cappadocia, a child named *Cyril* shewed an uncommon resolution; he continually called upon Jesus Christ, nor could threats or blows prevent him from saying he was a Christian. Many children of the same age declared themselves his enemies; nay, his own father drove him out of his house, refusing him any assistance, and many commended and applauded him for it. The judge enraged against Cyril, ordered him to be brought before him by his officers, and thought to frighten him, but found him intrepid, esteeming nothing in comparison of the faith.

At Cæsarea in Palestine, three considerable men, *Priscus*, *Malcus*, and *Alexander*, suffered martyrdom in this persecution of Valerian. They were then in the country, but presently condemned themselves of cowardise, for neglecting so glorious an opportunity of purchasing the crown of martyrdom. Then, having taken a resolution together, they went to Cæsarea and presented themselves before the judge, and were condemned to be exposed to wild beasts.

There were at Antioch a presbyter named *Sapricius*, and a lay-man called Nicephorus, who loved each other like brethren. After having lived a long time in this strict friendship, they separated, and became such bitter enemies, that they avoided even saluting each other in the street. But Nicephorus relented, and reflecting that hatred is a diabolical vice, he desired his friends to go and find out Sapricius the presbyter, and intreat him to pardon him, and to accept his repentance; but Sapricius would by no means forgive him. Nicephorus therefore sent a second time other friends, but Sapricius would not so much as hear them; he sent again a third time by some of his best friends, begging him to forgive his fault; but Sapricius continued inflexible. At length Nicephorus ran to the house of Sapricius, and threw himself at his feet, saying, Pardon me, my father, for the Lord's sake. But the presbyter was obstinate, and would not be reconciled.

In the mean while the persecution came suddenly upon them. Sapricius was taken and carried before the governor, who asked his name, and afterwards of what family he was. I am a Christian, says Sapricius. A clergyman or layman, says the governor? Sapricius said, I am of the order of presbyters. The governor replies, The emperors Valerian and Gallienus have commanded, that they who call themselves Christians, do sacrifice to the immortal gods, under the pain of being tormented and put to death. Sapricius answers, We who are Christians acknowledge for our king, Jesus Christ, who is the true God, Creator of heaven and earth. Let idols perish, who can do neither good nor hurt. The governor, enraged at this, ordered him to be put into a press, where he was cruelly tormented for a long time; and, as he continued in his resolution, he ordered him to be beheaded.

Nicephorus hearing that he was led to execution, ran before him and threw himself at his feet, saying, Martyr of Jesus Christ pardon me, if I have offended you. Sapricius made no reply. Nicephorus, however, overtook him in another street, before he got out of the city, and said to him, Martyr of Jesus Christ, forgive me, and pardon any offence I may have committed through human frailty. You are going to receive a crown at the hands of our Lord, whom you have confessed. But Sapricius continued his hardness of heart, and would not so much as vouchsafe him an answer. Being arrived at the place where Sapricius was to be executed, he could not work upon the obstinacy of Sapricius; for which God punished him, and withdrew the grace of his Holy Spirit from him.

The executioners said to him, Kneel down upon your knees to have your head cut off. For what reason, says Sapricius? Because, say they, you would not sacrifice, and have contemned

the ordinance of the emperors, for the sake of a man named Christ. Sapricius said, Strike me not, I will do as the emperors command, and sacrifice to the gods. Then Nicophorus said to him, Do not apostatize, my brother, and renounce not our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; lose not the crown which you have gained with so many torments. But Sapricius hearkened not to him. Nicephorus seeing him lost, said to the executioners, I am a Christian, and believe in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom this man hath renounced: put me then to death. But they dared not touch him without the order of the governor; but were amazed at his offering himself to death. For he said, I am a Christian, I will not sacrifice to your gods. One of the executioners ran to the governor and told him, Sapricius hath promised to sacrifice to the gods; but there is another who will die for Christ, and cries out boldly, I am a Christian, I will not sacrifice to your gods, nor in the least obey the ordinances of your emperors. The governor then condemned him, saying, since it is so, let him die by the sword; and according to this order Nicephorus had his head struck off, and received the crown of martyrdom to recompense his faith in Jesus Christ, and his charity and humility towards his neighbour.

The emperor Valerian had already reigned six years with his son Gallienus; when seeing his affairs in a bad condition in the east, he was for purchasing peace of Sapor, King of Persia, by giving him a sum of money. Sapor refused to treat with any other person but the emperor himself, who went imprudently to the conference with but few attendants, and was seized by the King of Persia, who detained him in captivity all the rest of his life, and would never give him up, notwithstanding intercessions were made for him by all the neighbouring kings. Sapor caused Valerian to be brought out, when he mounted on horse-back, and set his foot on his neck instead of a stirrup; and at length had him flead and salted. His skin was dyed red, and hung up in a temple to be afterwards shewn to the Roman ambassadors. The Pagans were surprised at his misfortune, for they looked upon him as one of their best emperors; but the Christians acknowledged it to be the divine vengeance, as a punishment for his persecuting the Christians. Valerian was taken in the seventh year of his reign and 259th of Jesus Christ, and he lived ten years afterwards in captivity. His son Gallienus, who had reigned seven years with him, reigned eight afterwards, and, in all, fifteen.

Although the Emperor Gallienus had restored peace to all the Churches, Marinus, a person remarkable both for his wealth and family, and one who held a considerable rank amongst the officers of the governor, suffered martyrdom at Cæsarea in Palestine. He was in course to succeed to the place of a centurion,

which was vacant, and was about to obtain it, when another person came up to the tribunal, and said, that, according to the laws, Marinus could not have that post, because he was a Christian, and did not do sacrifice to the emperors; but that he who accused him ought to have it according to his rank. The governor of Palestine, whose name was Achæus, asked Marinus of what opinion he was; whereupon he resolutely confessed that he was a Christian. The Judge gave him three hours space to consider what to do. Being withdrawn from the tribunal, Theotecnes, the bishop, came to him, and discoursing with him, took him by the hand and led him to the church; he even caused him to come into the sanctuary; and having turned aside his cloak, he pointed to the sword which he wore, and at the same time gave one of the books of the gospel into his hand, bidding him choose which of them two he preferred. Marinus, without any hesitation, stretched out his right hand, and took the sacred book. Be steadfast then, said Theotecnes, be steadfast unto God, and he will strengthen you, and you shall obtain what you have chosen; go in peace. As he came out of the church, the crier summoned him to appear before the judge, the time allotted him being expired. He came to the tribunal, and having acknowledged his faith with greater resolution than before, he was immediately led away, just as he was, and put to death. Ab. Fleur.

About this time Alexandria was afflicted with famine, because Æmilius had made himself master of the public granaries; and the war and famine soon after brought upon them the plague. In the mean time the emperor Gallienus sent Theodotus with an army into Egypt; and at length Æmilius was taken and strangled in prison.

Whilst the plague raged at Alexandra, the festival of Easter drawing near, Dionysius wrote an epistle to the faithful, wherein he takes notice of the melancholy condition of that city. To those who are not Christians, it seems not a proper time to celebrate a festival, considering the state of things: there is nothing but mourning; every body is afflicted, the city echoes with their groans; there is no house without some dead body in it; they deserve this, they drove us out; and yet where any of us happen to be during this oppression, that serves us for a place to assemble in; the fields, the desart, a ship, an inn, or a prison; and those who have celebrated the feast most joyfully, are the martyrs that have been admitted to the heavenly banquet. He afterwards says, that this sickness was the greatest of calamities to the pagans; but an exercise and trial to the Christians. Then he adds, The greatest part of our brethren, through an excess of charity, have not secured themselves: they have gone in their turns to visit the sick, without any precaution, and have relieved them,

and served them diligently, so that many have died themselves by curing others. The best of our brethren are departed after this manner; some of the most valuable both of priests, deacons, and layicks; and it is thought that this kind of death is a martyrdom. The pagans acted quite otherwise; for, from the beginning of the sickness, they avoided, and fled from their dearest friends; they threw them into the streets half dead, they left their bodies without burial, like dung; so fearful were they of catching that mortal distemper; which, however, it was very difficult to avoid, notwithstanding all their precautions. Eus.

The Ninth Persecution.

In the year 274, the emperor Aurelian commenced a persecution against the Christians; the principal of the sufferers was *Felix*, bishop of Rome. This prelate was advanced to the Roman see in 274, and was beheaded in the same year on the 22d of December. *Agapetus*, a young gentleman who sold his estate, and gave the money to the poor, was seized as a Christian, tortured, and then brought to Præneste, a city within a day's journey of Rome, where he was beheaded. These are the only martyrs left upon record during this reign, as it was soon put a stop to by the emperor being murdered by his own domestics, at Byzantium. Aurelian was succeeded by Tacitus, who was followed by Probus, as was the latter by Carnius: this emperor being killed by a thunder-storm, his sons, Carnerius and Numerian, succeeded him; and, during all these reigns, the Church enjoyed rest.

The emperors Dioclesian and Maximian were a great while favourable to the Christians, and passed no edicts against them till the latter end of their reign. We always, before this, find martyrs in the beginning of the reigns, which may be attributed to particular occasions, or the humour of the governors of provinces, who acted by virtue of the former laws. At Ægea in Cilicia, Claudus, Asterius, and Neon, were carried before the civil magistrate, by their mother-in-law, as Christians and enemies to the gods. Domnina and Theonilla were accused of the same crime, and they were all imprisoned till the arrival of the proconsul Lysias.

The proconsul visiting the province, came to Ægea, where, being seated on his tribunal, he said, Let them bring before me the Christians whom the officers have delivered to the magistrates of this town. Eulalius the gaoler said, According to your orders, my lord, the magistrate of this town doth present you with what Christians he could apprehend. There are three young men brethren, two women, and one little child; one of them is now

brought before you, what would you have done to him? Lysias said to him, What is your name? He answered, Claudus. *Lysias:* Throw not away thy youth by this folly, sacrifice to the gods, according to the command of the emperor, in order to escape the torments that are prepared for thee. *Claudus:* My God hath no need of such sacrifices; he rather loves alms and innocency of life; but your gods are impure demons who delight in those sacrifices, and prepare eternal punishments for those who offer them; but you shall never prevail on me to worship them. *Lysias:* Let him be seized, that he may be beaten with rods, otherwise I shall not bring him to reason. *Claudus:* Though you inflict the most cruel torments on me, you will not offend me; but you prepare eternal punishment for your own soul. *Lysias:* The emperors have commanded that the Christians sacrifice to the gods, and that they who refuse so to do should be punished, and that honours and rewards be promised to them that will obey. *Claudus:* Their rewards are only temporal; but the confession will save us eternally.

Then the proconsul commanded him to be placed upon the rack, that fire should be applied to his feet, and little bits of flesh cut off from his heels which they should give him. *Claudus:* Neither fire nor torments are any evil to them who fear God, this is to them eternal life. Then Lysias commanded that they should tear his flesh with iron talons; after this they rubbed his sides with potsherds, and applied lighted torches to them. *Claudus:* Your fire and all your tortures will save my soul. I esteem it a great benefit to me to suffer for the sake of my God, great riches to die for Jesus Christ. Our condition is such, that by suffering we acquire life eternal. *Lysias:* Take him hence, carry him back to prison, and bring another.

Eulalius, the keeper of the prison, says, According to your orders, my lord, we have brought hither *Asterius* the second brother. Lysias says to him, Believe me, and sacrifice to the gods: you have before your eyes the torments that are prepared for them that refuse. Asterius answers, There is one God, who dwelleth in the heavens, and who in the greatness of his power regardeth the meanest things: him my parents have taught me to love and adore. I know not those whom you worship and call gods. Lysias then ordered him to be put upon the rack, saying, Squeeze his sides, and bid him believe instantly, and sacrifice to the gods. Asterius replies, I am the brother of him whom you just now examined; we have the same mind and the same confession: my body is in your power, but my soul is not. *Lysias:* Take chains and bind his legs, and torment him violently. *Asterius:* O mad man, why dost thou torment me? Dost thou not reflect on the recompense which the Lord will give thee for this?

Lysias: Put burning coals under his feet, and lash him on the back and belly with a whip of thongs. Do it, do it, says the martyr, that every one of my members may suffer. *Lysias:* Take him hence, put him with the rest; and bring the third.

Then *Neon* was brought forth: Lysias says to him, My son, come hither and sacrifice to the gods, that you may escape the torture. Neon answered, If your gods were gods of power, they would not stand in need of your defence, but defend themselves against those that denied them. If you be a companion of their wickedness, I am of more value than either you or your gods; seeing I do not obey you, adoring the true God who made heaven and earth. *Lysias:* Strike him on the neck, and say to him, do not blaspheme the gods. *Neon:* You suppose I blaspheme in speaking the truth. *Lysias:* Extend him by the feet, put coals upon him, and scourge his back with thongs. After this was done, Neon says, I will do that which is profitable for my soul; no man shall deprive me of that resolution.

Lysias said, Eulalius, the keeper, and Archelaus, the executioner, shall take care that these three brethren be crucified without the town, that the birds of the air may devour their bodies. Then says Eulalius, Pursuant to your orders, here is *Domnina.* *Lysias:* You see, woman, the fire and torments which are prepared for you: if you would avoid them, draw near and sacrifice. *Domnina:* I shall not do it, lest I fall into eternal fire and perpetual torments. I worship God and his Son Jesus Christ, who hath made heaven and earth, and all that is therein. Your gods are wood and stone, the work of men's hands. *Lysias:* Take off her garments, stretch her out there, and scourge her with rods. Archelaus, the executioner, said to Lysias, May it please you, Sir, Domnina is already dead. *Lysias:* Throw her dead body then into the midst of the river.

Eulalius said, Here, Sir, is *Theonilla:* You have seen, woman, says Lysias, with what torments and flames they have been punished, who have not obeyed; for this reason pay honour to the gods, and sacrifice. Theonilla replied, I dread eternal flames, which will destroy both body and soul, and especially those who forsake the true God, and worship idols and demons. *Lysias:* Beat her and throw her on the ground, tie her feet, and torment her violently. *Theonilla:* Is it reasonable to inflict such punishments on a woman that is a stranger, and free? you know it is not, and God sees what you do. *Lysias:* Hang her up by the hair of her head, and strike her on the face. Eulalius, the gaoler, and Archelaus, the executioner, said, My lord, she is already dead. Then said Lysias to them, Sew her body in a sack, tie it fast, and throw it into the water. Eulalius and Archelaus said, We have executed your orders, with respect to the

bodies of the Christians. These holy martyrs suffered at Ægea on the tenth of the Calends of September, in the consulship of Dioclesian and Aristobulus; that is to say, the twenty-third of August, in the year of our Lord 285. Two illustrious martyrs, *Cosmus* and *Damian*, brethren and physicians, suffered in the same town of Ægea, by the command of the same Lysias, under whom a great number of martyrs suffered.

The emperor Maximian went into Gaul in the beginning of his reign, against Elian and Amandus, and the faction of the Bagaudi, whom he defeated. He brought out of the east a legion called the *Theban Legion*, consisting entirely of Christians; and when he would have made use of them to persecute the Christians, as the other legions did, they refused to obey him. The emperor, to refresh himself, after the fatigue of his march, stayed at a place in the Alps, named Octodura, now Martinach, in Valois; and the Theban legion was then near Agauna, at the foot of the Alps, which is at present called Great St. Bernard. Maximian, enraged at their disobedience, commanded the legion to be decimated, and repeated his orders to oblige the rest to persecute the Christians. Decimation is a military punishment, appointed to be inflicted on a great body of criminals. The Theban soldiers, hearing of the second order that was given, began to cry out over all the camp, that they would suffer all extremities rather than do any thing contray to the christian religion. Maximian ordered that they should be decimated a second time, and that the remainder of them should obey his orders. Then every tenth man was put to death, according as the lot fell, and the rest exhorted one another to persevere.

They were principally encouraged by three of their general officers, Mauritius, Exuperus, and Candidus, who proposed to them the example of their comrades, whom martyrdom had already conducted to heaven. By their advice they sent a remonstrance to the emperor; the substance of which was this. My lord, we are your soldiers, but the servants of the true God, as we freely confess: we owe you service in war, and him innocence; we receive pay from you, from him life: we cannot obey you by renouncing God our Creator, our Master, and your's likewise, even when you reject him. If we are commanded nothing that gives just offence, we readily obey, as we have done to this present time; otherwise we will obey him rather than you. We will readily oppose all your enemies, whosoever they are; but think not that we can be allowed to dip our hands in the blood of innocent persons. We have taken an oath to God, before we took one to you, and you can place no confidence in our second oath, should we violate the first. You command us to search out for Christians in order to punish them; you need not

inquire after others, behold we are here. We confess God the Father, Author of all things, and his Son Jesus Christ; we have seen our companions slain in our sight, without lamenting for them: we rejoice at the honour they have had to suffer for their God; neither this extremity, nor despair, hath urged us to revolt: we have arms in our hands, but resist not; because we had rather die blameless than live culpable.

Maximian having no hopes of overcoming so great constancy, ordered them all to be put to death, and commanded his troops to surround them and cut them in pieces. They made no resistance, but dropped their arms, and presented their necks to their executioners. The ground was covered with their dead bodies, and streams of blood flowed on it. Their number is supposed to be about six thousand; of which number a legion did generally consist.

A veteran soldier, named Victor, who was not of that legion, but out of the service, met him as he was passing along, among those soldiers who had put the martyrs to death, and rejoicing over their spoils. They invited him to eat with them, and related with pleasure what had passed. As he retired, detesting the feast, and those that made it, they inquired of him if he was not also a Christian. He answered, that he was, and should always continue one: upon which they instantly fell upon him and slew him. They compute that there were about fifty who suffered martyrdom at Cologn, either a little before, or soon after the legionary soldiers.

Felician and *Primus*, two brothers, were seized by an order from the imperial court, and owning themselves Christians, were accordingly scourged, tortured, and finally beheaded. Marcus and Marcellianus were twins, natives of Rome, and of noble descent. Their parents were heathens, but the tutors, to whom the education of the children was entrusted, brought them up as Christians. Being apprehended on account of their faith, they were severely tortured, and then condemned to be beheaded.

A respite of a month was obtained for them by their friends, when their father, mother, and all their relations, attempted to bring them back to paganism, but in vain. At last their constancy subdued their persuaders, and their parents and the whole family became converts to a faith they had just before satirized.

Tranquillinus, the father of the two young men, was sent for by the prefect to give him an account of the success of his endeavours; when he confessed, that so far from having persuaded his sons to forsake the faith they had embraced, he was become a Christian himself. He then stopped till the magistrate had overcome his surprise, and resuming his discourse, he used such

powerful arguments, that he made a convert of the prefect, who soon after sold his estate, resigned his command, and spent the remainder of his days in a pious retirement.

The prefect, who succeeded the above mentioned convert, had nothing of the disposition of his predecessor; he was morose and severe, and soon seized upon the whole of this Christian race, who were accordingly martyred by being tied to posts, and having their feet pierced with nails. After remaining in this situation for a day and night, their sufferings were put an end to by thrusting lances through their bodies. *Zoe*, the wife of the gaoler, who had the care of the before mentioned martyrs, being greatly edified by their discourses, had a desire to become a Christian: this, as she was dumb with a palsy, she could only express by gestures. They gave her instructions in the faith, and told her to pray in her heart to God to relieve her from her disorder. She did so, and was at length relieved: for her paralytic disorder by degrees left her, and her speech returned again.

This enforced her belief, and confirmed her a Christian: and her husband, finding her cured, became a convert himself. These conversions made a great noise, and the proselytes were apprehended. Zoe was commanded to sacrifice to Mars, which refusing, she was hanged upon a tree, and a fire of straw lighted under her. When her body was taken down it was thrown into a river, with a large stone tied to it, in order to sink it.

Tibertius, a native of Rome, was of a family of rank and distinction. Being accused as a Christian, he was commanded either to sacrifice to idols, or to walk upon burning coals. He chose the latter, and passed over them without damage, when Fabian passed sentence upon him that he should be beheaded: which was performed in the month of August, A. D. 286, and his body was afterwards buried by some pious Christians.

There were many more celebrated martyrs whom we may reckon to have suffered, during Maximian's several marches among the Gauls; not only against the Bagaudi, but likewise against Carausus's party. This person was a great general, who had it in commission to scour the seas on the Belgick and Armorick coasts, against the invasions of the Franks and Saxons, and who being at last suspected, revolted and made himself master of the greater Britany, where he continued seven years. There are two mentioned as suffering at Nantz in Armorica; *Donatian* and *Rogatian*. They were two brothers, of an illustrious family, Donatian being the youngest, but was first converted; and having been baptized, laboured to make converts of others. Rogatian, his eldest brother, was sensibly affected by it,

and was desirous to become a Christian, and earnestly entreated Donatian to procure baptism for him, before the persecution, that it might not surprise him either as a pagan or catechumen; but the absence of the bishop who had fled, prevented his being baptized. In the mean time, the governor who persecuted the Christians, being come into the town, Donatian was accused before him, as perverting persons from the worship of the gods, and particularly his brother. The governor ordered him to be brought to him: he resolutely confessed himself to be a Christian, and was fettered and clapt into prison. Rogatian being brought before the governor, he spoke mildly to him, and strove to gain him by his promises; but seeing him as resolute as his brother, he remanded him to prison. Rogatian was much grieved at being apprehended before he had been baptized. His brother prayed for him, that his faith and blood which would be shed on the morrow, might serve instead of baptism; so they past that whole night in watching and prayer. The next day the governor commanded them to be brought again before his tribunal; and finding them resolved, he first put them upon the rack, where they were tortured, and afterwards caused their heads to be cut off.

It was in Belgia where Maximian most commonly resided, and it is there that we find most of the martyrs of his time. At Amiens, *Firminus* the bishop, and in the same city *Victorius* and *Fuscius*, with *Gentius* their host. At Augusta, the capital city of Vermundois, since ruined, *Quintinus*. At Soissons *Crispin* and *Crespinian;* at Tournay, *Piatus* or *Piatos*, a presbyter; at Fismes, near Reims, the virgin *Macra;* at Louvre in Parissi, *Justus* or *Justin*, who going to Amiens with his father and brother, and not being willing to discover to his persecutors those who accompanied him, was beheaded. There were many more martyrs at Treves under Rectiovarus, governor of Gallia Belgica, to whom we may attribute likewise a great part of those already mentioned. In Britany, among others, was *Alban;* who having received into his house a clerk, who fled from the persecution, delivered himself up to save him.

Alban, from whom St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire received its name, was the first British martyr. This island had received the gospel of Christ from Lucius the first Christian king, but did not suffer by the rage of persecution. This man was originally a pagan, but, being of a very humane disposition, he sheltered a Christian ecclesiastic, named Amphibalus, whom some officers were in pursuit of on account of his religion. The pious example, and edifying discourses of the refugee made a great impression on the mind of Alban; he longed to become a member

of a religion which charmed him; the fugitive minister, happy in the opportunity, took great pains to instruct him; and, before his discovery, perfected Alban's conversion.

Alban now took a firm resolution to preserve the sentiments of a Christian, or to die the death of a martyr. The enemies of Amphibalus having intelligence of the place where he was secreted, came to the house of Alban in order to apprehend him. The noble host desirous of protecting his guest, changed clothes with him in order to facilitate his escape; and when the soldiers came, offered himself up as the person for whom they were seeking. Being accordingly carried before the governor, the deceit was immediately discovered: and Amphibalus being absent, that officer determined to wreak his vengeance upon Alban: with this view he commanded the prisoner to advance to the altar, and sacrifice to the pagan deities. The brave Alban however declared, that he would not comply with the idolatrous injunction, but boldly professed himself a Christian. The governor therefore ordered him to be scourged, but he bore the punishment with fortitude, and seemed to acquire new resolution from his sufferings: he was then beheaded.

The venerable Bede states, that upon this occasion, the executioner suddenly became a convert to christianity, and entreated permission either to die for Alban or with him. Obtaining the latter request, they were beheaded by a soldier, who voluntarily undertook the task. This happened on the 22d of June A. D. 287, at Verulam, near St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, where a magnificent church was erected to his memory about the time of Constantine the Great. This edifice was destroyed in the Saxon wars, but was rebuilt by Offa, King of Mercia, and a monastry erected adjoining to it, some remains of which are still visible.

In Aquitain, St. Caprais of Agen hid herself for fear of the persecution; but at last she appeared, and suffered martyrdom, being moved to it by the example of St. Foy, a virgin: Also near Agdæ, Tiberius, Modestus, and Florentia; at Vienne, Ferreolus, a military tribune; and one of the soldiers named Julian, had his throat cut at Briond in Auvergne; at Embrun, Vincent, Orontius, and Victor; at Arles, Dionysius, a register, but a young man, and a catechumen, hearing the order read for persecuting the Christians before the tribunal, and resolving within himself not to write it, threw the wax tablets on which he wrote at the feet of the judge, and fled, and hid himself. The judge ordered him to be seized; but as they could not find him, he condemned him to lose his head as soon as should be found. In the mean while, the martyr desired of the Bishop, by some of the faithful, to be baptized: But the Bishop, suspecting

his youth, sent him for answer, that it would be sufficient for him to be baptized in his own blood. At length, God permitted him to be discovered; however, he would have escaped by swimming over the Rhosne, but was taken on the other side, and beheaded. The time of his martyrdom is not certainly known; however, it is too memorable to be omitted for want of knowing this circumstance. Acta Sinc.

As to *St. Victor* of Marseilles, it is certain that he suffered martyrdom, by order of the present emperor Maximian, and after the Theban legion: He was a Christian soldier, and so zealous, that he went in the night time to visit the faithful, and encourage them to martyrdom. Being seized, he was immediately brought before the prefects, who exhorted him not to resign his expectations and the favour of his prince, for the worship of a dead man; such they took Jesus Christ to be. He answered with abundance of freedom, which drew upon him the looks and insults of all the infidels about him; but because he was a person of distinction, the prefects referred him to the emperor himself; and he showed no less constancy at his tribunal. The emperor being highly incensed, ordered him to be dragged through the city: Whereupon, they tied him hand and foot, and dragged him in this manner, exposed to the blows and insults of the populace. He was then brought back, mangled and bloody, to the tribunal of the prefects; and believing him sufficiently humbled by this usage, they still pressed him by the reasons which the Pagans commonly made use of. The martyr, on the other hand, encouraged by this beginning of a victory, answered them, expressing both his fidelity to the emperor, and his contempt of their false gods, whose infamous actions he exposed, opposing to them the true greatness of Jesus Christ. After having spoken a long time, the prefects said to him, Victor, will you not leave off philosophising? Choose in one word, either to appease the gods, or miserably to perish. Since you have made this proposal to me, says he, it is necessary that I should confirm my discourse by my example. I despise your gods; I confess Jesus Christ; inflict upon me all the torments you can invent. The prefects being enraged, and one of them being willing to torment him more than the other, they were divided in their opinion: one of them, named Eutichius, retired, and the charge of tormenting the martyr fell upon Asterius. He ordered him to be bound, and very cruelly tormented a long time. The martyr held his eyes fixt towards heaven, praying for patience, which was accordingly granted him. Jesus Christ said to him, Peace be with you, Victor; I am Jesus, who suffer in the persons of my saints: Be of good courage, I will assist you in the combat. These words dispersed both his grief and torments. The martyr then

began to praise God with a cheerful countenance; and the executioners being fatigued, and seeing they could prevail nothing with him, the prefect ordered him to be taken from the rack, and put into a very dark dungeon.

The next day in the morning, the emperor sent his officers, who took Victor, and brought him to the public place, where the whole city was assembled together. Then he was lashed, hung up, and cruelly beaten with sticks and leather thongs. He was then remanded to prison, where he continued three days in prayer, recommending himself to God with great contrition of heart, and abundance of tears. After this, the emperor ordered him to be brought before him; and after having examined and threatened him, ordered him to brought to the altar of Jupiter, near which the sacrificer stood ready. Then the emperor says to Victor, Put in incense, appease Jupiter, and become our friend. The martyr went near it, as if to sacrifice, and removing the priest's hand from the altar, he threw it to the ground by a stroke of his foot. The emperor commanded his foot to be immediately cut off; then they put him under the grinding-stone of a hand-mill, which the executioner turned round, and thus began to crush and break his bones: but the machine itself broke, and as he seemed still to breathe a little, they despatched him by cutting off his head. Acta Sinc.

At this time, the Christians, upon mature consideration, thought it unlawful to bear arms under an heathen emperor. Their reasons were:

1. That they thereby were frequently under the necessity of profaning the Christian sabbath.—2. That they were obliged, with the rest of the army, frequently to be present at idolatrous sacrifices, before the temples of idols.—3. That they were compelled to follow the imperial standards, which were dedicated to heathen deities, and bore their representations.—Such reasons induced many to refuse to enter into the imperial army, when called upon so to do; for the Roman constitution obliged all young men, of a certain stature, to make several campaigns.

Under the consulship of Tuscus and Anulinus, on the fourth of the Ides, that is to say, on the twelfth day of March, in the year 296, at Tebesta in Numidia, Fabius Victor was presented, with his son Maximilian, in the public place, before the proconsul Dion; and Pompeianus the advocate demanded, if that young man had been measured in order to be inlisted into the service: For amongst the Romans, all their young men were obliged to serve a certain number of years in the army; and out of the great number of those who were of age to serve, they chose the largest and best proportioned. The proconsul Dion asked his name. Maximilian, answered him, wherefore would

you know my name? It is not allowed me to bear arms, because I am a Christian. Now it was not the profession of arms that the Christians particularly rejected, but the idolatry which was inseparable from it, after the orders Dioclesian had given, as may be seen in other public acts. The proconsul then said, Measure him by the standard. Maximilian said, I cannot bear arms; I dare not do evil; I am a Christian. The proconsul ordered him to be measured: He was so; and an officer said aloud, He is five feet and ten inches, which was a proper height. Dion said to the officers, Mark him; it being the custom to mark them by some pricks upon the skin, or otherwise. Maximilian resisted, saying, I will not suffer it; I cannot bear arms. Dion says to him, You must either carry arms, or die. Maximilian said, I will not do it: Cut off my head if you please; I serve not this world, but I serve my God. Who persuaded you to this? says Dion. My own mind, replies Maximilian, and he that called me to this profession. Dion says to Victor, Advise thy son better. Victor answers, He can advise himself; he does what he thinks right. Dion then said, Maximilian, receive the mark. Maximilian replies, I will by no means receive it; I have already the mark of Jesus Christ my God. Then will I instantly send you to your Christ, says Dion. I would have you do it this moment, replies Maximilian; that is my glory. Dion says to his officers, Mark him; but he resisted, saying, I will not receive the mark of the world, if you give it me; I will deface it, because it is of no use; for I am a Christian. It is not lawful for me to lay a weight upon my neck, after receiving the salutary sign of Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, whom you know not. The proconsul, after having pressed him to it several times, says to him, In the army of our masters Dioclesian and Maximilian, Constans and Maximus, there are Christian soldiers who do duty. Maximilian answers, They know what they have to do; but as for my part, I am a Christian, and dare not do ill. What ill do they do, says the proconsul, who serve in the army? Maximilian says, You know what they do. Here we may observe, that the Christians refused not military service as an evil in itself, but because it was the occasion of sinning, especially under pagan emperors.

Dion perceiving that he could not prevail upon him, said, Put down his name; then he added, Since, out of a rebellious spirit, you have refused the service, you shall be condemned as you deserve, for an example to others: And then recited his sentence, as it was written on the tablet. Because Maximilian hath refused the military oath, through a rebellious spirit, it is ordered, that he shall be punished by the sword. Maximilian answered, God be praised. His age was twenty one years, three

months, and eighteen days. As he was going to receive his punishment, he said, My dear brethren, hasten with all your might, and all possible earnestness, to go unto the Lord, and to obtain of him the like crown. He says to his father, with a smiling countenance, Give this executioner the new garment which you had provided for me for the war; so we may enter together into glory with our Lord; and then he immediately was executed. A lady, named Pompeiana, obtained his body of the judge; she put it into her litter, carried it to Carthage, and interred it under a little hill, near St. Cyprian. She died thirteen days after him, and was interred in the same place. Victor, the martyr's father, returned to his house with great joy, giving thanks to God, to whom he had sent such a present before him, which he was to follow soon after; but it is not certain which of the many martyrs it was, of the name of Victor, who is honoured by the African Church.

It was in the year 298, under the consulships of Faustus and Gallus, that the Christian soldiers began to be persecuted by Veturius, commander of the militia. We may also fix the date of the martyrdom of forty Christian soldiers at the same period of time, who suffered great torments at Lauriac in Norica, a city that is now ruined, seated on the river Ens, near the place where it runs into the Danube: They were joined by Florian, their fellow-soldier, whom the prefect, or lieutenant, Aquilinus, commanded to be beaten with clubs, and afterwards thrown into the river Ens.

At Tingi, or Tanger, in Mauritania, near the Streights, while every one was employed in feasting and sacrifices, it being the emperor's birth-day, *Marcellus*, a centurion in the legion of Trajan, looking upon these feasts as profane, took off his military belt before the whole legion, and cried aloud, I am the soldier of Jesus Christ, the eternal King. He immediately threw down his vine branch and his arms, and added, I will not fight any longer under the banners of your emperors, or serve your gods of wood and stone, that are deaf and dumb idols. If the condition of a soldier is such, that he is obliged to sacrifice to gods and emperors, I abandon the vine branch and the belt, and quit the service. We plainly see the cause that forced the Christians to desert, viz. their being obliged to partake in their idolatrous worship. We are to observe, that the belt where the sword hung, was the characteristic of a private soldier, and the vine branch that of a centurion; for they employed them in beating the soldiers, and never struck them with any thing else.

The soldiers were surprised to hear Marcellus speak in this manner; upon which they seized him, and gave notice of it to Anastatius Fortunatus, the president of the legion, who threw

him into prison. When the festival was over, he being seated in his judgment seat, gave orders to have the centurion Marcellus brought in. Upon which, as he was coming, Fortunatus said to him, How durst you presume to throw away the belt and vine-branch, against the rules of war? Marcellus answered, Ever since the twelfth of the calends of August, when you celebrated the birth-day of the emperors, I answered, with a loud voice, in the most public manner, and before the ensigns of the legion, that I was a Christian, and that henceforward I could not fight under any banners, but those of Jesus Christ the Son of God, the Almighty Father.

Marcellus was then sent under a guard, by Mauritania Tingitana to Aurelian Agricolaus, and was brought before him on the thirtieth of October, when one of the officers said to him, Anastatius Fortunatus, president of the legion, sends to you Marcellus, the centurion, who now stands before you. I have here the letter which he hath written to you upon that subject, which I will read if you command it. Agricolaus replied, Let it be read; whereupon, an officer said, This soldier has thrown away his military belt, has owned himself a Christian, and has uttered several blasphemous expressions against the gods and Cæsar before all the people, which is the reason of his being sent to you, that you may direct what shall be done with him. When the letter was read, Agricolaus said, Did you, Marcellus, speak these words before the president; to whom Marcellus replied, that he had spoken them. Agricolaus said, Were you a common centurion? Marcellus answered him, that he had been so. Agricolaus said, What fury could inspire you to throw away the tokens of your oath, and to utter such expressions? *Marcellus:* Those who fear God are not inspired with fury. *Agricolaus:* Did you repeat all those words that are mentioned in the acts of the president? To which Marcellus answered in the affirmative. *Agricolaus:* Did you throw down your arms? *Marcellus:* I did, and that because a Christian, who is a servant of Jesus Christ, cannot fight for the disorders of this world. Then Agricolaus said, It is ordered, that Marcellus, who was a common centurion, and who has dishonoured himself by breaking his oath in a public manner, and who has uttered other expressions, flowing from a spirit of rancour and fury, before the tribune, shall be put to death; upon which, he was beheaded: Thus he died, laying down his life for the sake of Jesus Christ.

The name of the Register who was to take down this sentence, after having written what has been already mentioned, was Cassianus, who seeing the intrepidity of Marcellus, cried out aloud, that he was shocked with that sentence, and immediately threw down his wax tables and the stile or pin with which he wrote.

All the officers were in the greasest consternation; but Marcellus smiled. The judge rose from his seat in a great passion, and asked him why he had thrown away the tables with so disdainful an air. Because, says Cassianus, you have pronounced an unjust sentence; upon which he immediately commanded him to be seized and thrown into prison. Marcellus, who smiled for joy, foreseeing that Cassianus would be his fellow-martyr, was executed on the same day, viz. on the thirtieth of October. As they were leading him to execution, he said to the judge Agricolaus, May God shower down his blessings upon you: after which he was beheaded. A month after, viz. on the third day of December, Cassianus was brought again to the same place where Marcellus had been examined, who answering much to the same effect, obtained also the crown of martyrdom.

The Tenth Persecution.

The Emperors were very favourable to Christians, insomuch that they intrusted them with the government of provinces, and offices in the household, permitting them to talk freely of the true religion before them, and to exercise it in their families; and they were distinguished and encouraged more than the rest of their servants. They found the like treatment at Nicomedia from Dioclesian, for Dorotheus was the greatest favourite, and the most faithful person among all his officers; to whom the governors and magistrates paid great honours, and Gorgonius was likewise in high esteem. The assemblies of Christians became so numerous in all the towns, that the former buildings were not sufficient to contain them; so that they were obliged every where to erect new from the foundation, nor did any one obstruct those great works.

This prosperity caused them to be remiss in their discipline. The Christians were at enmity, and abused one another by injuries and reproaches. The people were seditious, and their governors divided one against the other. Hypocrisy and dissimulation exceedingly prevailed: The pastors forgot the laws of God, entertained jealousies amongst themselves, indulged themselves in hatred and animosities, used menaces, and ambitiously sought after the offices of the Church, as if they had been temporal governments. These crimes brought on them the persecution which ensued, and began after this manner.

The Emperor Dioclesian came and spent the winter at Nicomedia, in the nineteenth year of his reign, and in the year of our Lord 302. Cæsar Galerius Maximian, after having vanquished the Persians, came there also to induce him to persecute the Christians; to this he was excited by his mother, who was a

superstitious woman, and adored the gods of the mountains, and made daily sacrifices and feasts of meats that had been offered: But the Christians, far from partaking in it, spent their time in fasting and prayer. This caused her hatred against them; whereupon she besought her son, who was no less superstitious, to put them to death. He consulted upon this affair with Dioclesian, during the whole winter; and as nobody was suffered to be privy to their consultations, it was thought that they were employed in affairs of the greatest consequence to the empire. The old Emperor opposed for a long time the cruel inclinations of Galerius, telling him of what dangerous consequence it would be to disturb the tranquillity of mankind, and to shed so much blood. That all the Christians sought after was to die; that they should content themselves with preventing the officers of the palace and the soldiery from embracing those principles. But Galerius was not satisfied with these reasons; whereupon Dioclesian resolved to assemble the council; for he was malicious enough not to consult any person when he was about doing any good action, that he alone might have the honour of it; but whenever he was for doing any thing that was wicked, he always advised with others, in order to throw the blame upon them. Dioclesian, however, would not agree with them, but said that above all things the gods ought first to be consulted; whereupon he sent a diviner to Apollo of Miletus. Apollo replied, from the bottom of a dark cave, that the righteous who were upon the earth prevented his speaking truth; which was the reason why the oracles which he pronounced from the Tripod were false. Dioclesian asked his officers, who were understood by those righteous persons that were upon the earth; to which one of those who administered in the sacrifices, answered, Without doubt they are the Christians that are meant by it. The Emperor listened to him with pleasure, and resolved upon the persecution, being unable to resist the instances of his friends, of Cæsar, and of Apollo. He resolved, however, to observe moderation, that no blood should be shed; whereas Galerius was for having all those burned alive which would refuse to sacrifice.

The day that was appointed for the execution, as one that was convenient and fortunate, was the feast of Terminalia, (or that of Terminus, the god of bounds and limits) which was the last day of the Roman year, or the twenty-third of February, that they might put an end as it were to the Christian religion on that day. The day therefore being come, in the year of our Lord 303, and the twentieth of Dioclesian's reign, the eighth of his consulship, and the seventh of Maximian Herculius, very early in the morning, a prefect with certain captains, tribunes, and treasurers, came to the Church of Nicomedia, where, breaking open the doors, they burnt all the writings which they found in it, and left every thing to be

plundered; they seized on every thing, running up and down every where.

On the morrow an edict was set up; the substance of which was, That the Churches should be razed to the ground, and the writings burnt: That all those who professed that religion should be deprived of all their honours and dignities; that they should be liable to be tortured, though they were of the highest rank and dignity; that any one might sue them at law, but that they might not sue any body, not even in claiming what they had been unjustly deprived of, or to complain of any injury received, though even in the case of adultery; and that those who were free should lose their liberty. A Christian of great quality, inspired with an uncommon zeal, had the boldness publickly to pull down this edict, and tear it to pieces, making a jest of the victories which had been obtained over the Goths and Sarmatæ, which were mentioned in it; whereupon he was immediately seized, tortured, and burnt; all which he underwent with surprising marks of patience. This edict was soon followed by another, which commanded that the Bishops should be seized in all places, should be loaded with chains, and that afterwards all sorts of methods should be made use of to oblige them to offer sacrifice. They wrote to the Emperor Maximian Herculius and to Cæsar Constans to proceed after the same manner on their side, although they had not waited for their opinion in an affair of so great consequence.

But Cæsar Galerius, not satisfied with the rigour of these edicts, and in order to excite Dioclesian to a more cruel persecution, caused the palace to be secretly set on fire; part of which being by that means burnt down, they accused the Christians of it, as being enemies to the public peace. They said that they had entered into a conspiracy with the eunuchs, in order to take off the two Emperors, who had like to have been burnt alive in their own palaces. Dioclesian, though master of the utmost artifice, was yet far from suspecting this imposture; but being inflamed with rage, gave orders, that all his domestics or others, that had any dependance on him, should be cruelly tortured. He caused those innocent persons to be broiled, he himself sitting in his chair. All the judges and chief officers of the palace put them upon the rack, by the authority with which he had invested them; they strove who should first discover something, but all to no purpose, because they did not torture the servants of Galerius, among whom were the guilty. He himself was then present, and was very eager in fomenting the old emperor's cruelty. A fortnight after he attempted a second fire; but it was discovered in good time, though they did not know the author of it. Galerius, who had prepared for his journey, set out that same day, though it

was in the depth of winter, saying publickly, that he fled for fear of being burnt alive.

Dioclesian's resentment did not only break out against his own servants, but fell upon all men without distinction. He first obliged his daughter Valeria, and his wife Prisca to offer sacrifice. He put to death the eunuchs who had once been very powerful, and who had been the support both of his palace and of himself. Dorotheus, who was one of the principal among them, together with Gorgonius, and several others under his dependance, were strangled, after having first been very cruelly tortured. Peter, having refused to sacrifice, was hung up naked in the air, and whipped on all parts of his body. After they had torn his flesh in such a manner that his bones started out, without being able to shake his constancy, they poured salt and wine into his wounds; had a grid-iron brought and a fire made, where they broiled him as we do meat, telling him at the same time that he should continue in that condition, if he would not obey; but he was resolute to the last, and died under the torture. Among the Emperor's domestics that suffered martyrdom, are also reckoned the eunuch Indes, Mygdonius, and Mardonius.

They seized upon the Priests and Deacons, and without any examination, sentenced them to death on their bare confessions, and led them to execution, with all that belonged to them. Anthimus, Bishop of Nicomedia, was beheaded; many more were murdered, and great numbers of every age and sex were burnt, and that not singly, but in great crowds, by setting fire round about them. Others, being tied together in great numbers by the hands of the executioners, were put into large boats, and cast into the sea with great stones about their necks. They also threw into the sea the bodies of the Emperor's officers that had been first buried, but they had them afterwards dug up, for fear of their being adored as gods, if they should leave them in their graves; for this was the opinion which the heathens had of those honours which were paid to martyrs. Nevertheless, Dioclesian and Maximian themselves had resolved, that all criminals who were executed, should not be deprived of burial.

Cyprian, known by the title of the magician, to distinguish him from Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was a native of Antioch. He received a liberal education in his youth, and applied himself to astrology; after which he travelled through India, Egypt, Greece, &c. He afterwards settled near Babylon, and being skilled in the Chaldean mysteries, he employed his talents in endeavouring to draw women from chastity and conjugal faith, and in persecuting the Christians, and ridiculing Christianity. He became acquainted with Justina, a young lady of Antioch, of high birth, beauty, and accomplishments, who had been educated

in idolatry, but being converted to christianity, she induced her father and mother to embrace the same faith. Her modesty was remarkable. A pagan gentleman falling in love with her, and not being able to obtain a favourable return to his addresses, applied for assistance to Cyprian, who undertook the design, but with a treacherous intent: for under the pretence of acting for his friend, he determined if possible, to possess the lady himself. To effect this, he employed all his skill, but his endeavours proving ineffectual, he was fully convinced that a superior power protected her from his evil intentions. His reflections, on this account, caused him to search into the truths of christianity, and his inquiry became so beneficial, that he renounced the errors of paganism. His repentance was truly sincere; he determined to reform his conduct, and to make every amends in his power for the crimes he had committed. Cyprian, therefore, burnt his books of astrology and magic, received baptism, and became animated with a powerful spirit of grace. The conversion of Cyprian had a great effect on the pagan gentleman who paid his addresses to Justina, and he, also, in a short time, embraced christianity.

During the persecution of Dioclesian, Cyprian and Justina were seized upon as Christians, when the former was torn with pincers, and the latter chastised; and after suffering other torments, both were beheaded.

Sergius was an officer in the Roman army, and attended the emperor Maximian into Syria. Being accused as a Christian, he was ordered to sacrifice to Jupiter; but refusing, he was stripped of his military habit, and, by way of derision, dressed in woman's clothes. He then was forced to walk a considerable way with nails in his sandals, and had a conclusion put to his sufferings by being beheaded. Bacchus, an officer of the same rank as Sergius, being apprehended at the same time, underwent similar sufferings, and was beheaded on the same day, A. D. 303.

This persecution spread itself all over Nicomedia; for the judges dispersing themselves up and down the temples, forced every body to sacrifice; so that the prisons were full of them. Unheard-of tortures were invented; and for fear of committing any mistake, by doing justice to the Christians, they caused altars to be erected before the tribunals, and in the closets of the judges, that those who came for justice might be forced to sacrifice before their causes were pleaded. A governor of the same province of Bythinia, was observed to be as much transported with joy as if he had made a conquest of some barbarous nation; because a Christian, who had made a vigorous resistance for two years together, seemed at last to comply.

At the same time that they were pulling down the Church of Nicomedia, two writers published certain pieces against the Christian religion. One of these was a professed Philosopher, but whose way of life was contradictory to his doctrine. In public, he recommended temperance, frugality, and poverty; but he was a lover of money, pleasure, and extravagance, and always fed better at his own house than he did at the palace.

The other writer was one of the judges, and of the number of those that had advised the persecution. His name is thought to be Hierocles; he was born in a little city of Caria, and was afterwards governor of Alexandria. He composed two books under the title of Philalethes, that is to say, the friend of truth, and addressed his discourse to the Christians themselves, that he might not seem to write against them, but to give them wholesome advice. He endeavoured to discover contradictions in the holy Scriptures, and seemed to be so well acquainted with them, that one would have been apt to take him for a Christian. He was particularly severe against St. Peter, St. Paul, and the other disciples, whom he accused of being impostors, owning them, however, to have been plain and ignorant fishermen; not reflecting how impossible it was for ignorant people to be artful deceivers. He said that Jesus Christ having been driven away by the Jews, had got nine hundred men together, with whom he plundered the country. Being zealous to confute his miracles, without daring to deny them, he endeavoured to shew that the same or greater had been performed by Apollonius Tyanæus. Thus were the Christians in Nicomedia attacked both by words and actions.

A little after, the empire was attacked about Melitene in Armenia, and also in Syria, where a certain person, named Eugenius, was saluted Emperor by his soldiers. This occasioned the publishing a new edict against the Christians; the substance of which was, That all those who presided over Churches should be put in chains; so that it was a horrid sight to behold them. The prisons were every where filled, not with murderers and vile wretches, but with Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Readers, so that there was no room left for malefactors. Other letters were afterwards issued out, importing, that those prisoners who would sacrifice should be set at liberty, and that those who persevered should suffer all kinds of tortures; which occasioned an infinite number of martyrs in every province, particularly in Africa, Mauritania, and Thebais, in Egypt; several of whom went from one city and province to another. One among the rest, Donatus by name, to whom Lactantius inscribes his book relating to the death of the persecutors, was tortured nine times by three different judges, viz. by Flaccus, Prefect of Bythinia, by Hierocles

one of those who had advised the persecution; and, lastly, by Priscillian his successor.

Procopius was the first that suffered martyrdom in Palestine; he had exercised himself in every virtue from his youth; his body, worn out by mortification, appeared to be dead, and seemed to be kept alive only by the strength of his mind: he lived upon nothing but bread and water. He meditated on the Scriptures day and night, but applied himself very little to human learning. He was born at Jerusalem, but resided at Scythopolis, where he officiated in the Church in three different functions, viz. that of Reader, Interpreter of the Syriac tongue, and Exorcist. He used to read the Scripture in public in Greek, and he explained it to the people in the Syriac, which was his mother tongue.

Being sent from Scythopolis to Cæsarea, in company with some others, he was seized at the gate of the city, and carried before the governor, whose name was Flavian; so that he was not thrown into prison, but immediately brought before the tribunal, and commanded to sacrifice to the gods. He answered, that he knew but of one God, to whom we are to sacrifice, as he himself has taught us; and when he was ordered to offer libations to the four Emperors, he repeated a verse in Homer; the substance of which is, That it is not good to have many masters; upon this his head was immediately struck off, viz. on Wednesday the seventh of July, at Cæsarea in Palestine. After him several Bishops in that country suffered excessive torments in the same city.

Some basely complied at the very first attack; and there was one who had his hands held, when they dragged him to the altars of the idols, on which they offered the profane sacrifice, that he might seem to partake of it; and though he had not once touched it, he withdrew without saying a word, the people crying out, that he had sacrificed. Another protested aloud, that he would not obey; but they smote him on the face, and several laid their hands upon his mouth, and drove him away by force, though he had not sacrificed. The pagans thought they had made a great conquest, when they but seemed to have gained their point. There were two only in this number, viz. Alpheus and Zacheus that received the crown of martyrdom; the last of which was a deacon of the Church of Cadara or Gaddi. These, after having been whipped, mangled, and variously tortured, were kept night and day in shackles that were extended to the fourth hole, and lastly were beheaded the seventeenth of the month Dios or November. Romanus suffered on the same day at Antioch; he was a native of Palestine, and a deacon of the Church of Cæsarea. He happened to be at Antioch when they were pulling down the churches in that city; and observing great crowds of men, wo-

men, and children that were running to the idols, he was prodigiously shocked at the sight; upon which when he drew near to them, he reproached them with an audible voice. This bold action made them seize him: and as the judge Asclepiades was inflicting the most cruel torments on him, he did not forbear in the midst of all his tortures to shew the vanity of idolatry, and the excellency of the Christian religion. He afterwards desired the judge to ask an innocent child what he thought of those proceedings: whereupon one Barulas a child of about seven years old was pitched upon, whom Romanus asked, whether it were better to adore Jesus Christ and the Father through him, or a great number of gods. The child replied, that there is but one God, and Jesus Christ is the true God. The judge ordered his mother to draw near, and had him whipped so cruelly before her, that not one of the spectators, or even the executioners themselves could refrain from tears. His mother encouraged him, and reprimanded him for discovering too much weakness, because he had asked for some drink. The child was thrown into prison, and they began to torture Romanus afresh, whom they at last sentenced to be burnt, and the child to be beheaded. His mother carried him in her arms to the place of execution, and delivered him to the executioner, without once shedding a tear; she only kissed him, and besought him to pray for her; then held out her hand to receive his head, which she carried away in her bosom.

In the mean time Romanus was carried to the same place: they fixed him to the stake, and set wood round him; to which they were going to put fire, waiting only for the emperor Galerius's orders, who was then at Antioch. There were some Jews who said, Our three Hebrew children were saved from the fiery furnace, but these burn. Whereupon the sky presently began to grow dark, and there fell so great a quantity of rain, that they could not light the fire. Upon which the martyr cried aloud, Where then is this fire? The emperor caused him to be set free; but the judge sentenced him to have his tongue cut out. A physician named Aristo, who had been so weak as to deny the faith, happened to be there at that time. He had about him the proper instruments for performing that operation; for physicians at that time practised surgery. Him they forced to cut the martyr's tongue out, though against his will. The martyr was sent to prison, and as he was going in, the gaoler asked him his name, which he told him: and spoke afterwards upon all occasions, speaking better than he used to do before his tongue was cut out, for he naturally had a hesitation in his speech; which coming to the ears of the emperor and the judge, they suspected that the physician was a Christian, and had therefore not executed the

sentence. Upon which they sent for him, and he shewed them the tongue, which he had preserved, and said to them, Let any man be brought to me that is not assisted by God's Holy Spirit, and let as much of his tongue be cut out, and if he lives after it, I am willing to pass for an impostor. Whereupon a condemned malefactor was brought in, and he taking the exact length of the tongue which had been cut out, they cut just as much of his; but he died upon the spot. In the mean time Romanus was still in chains, where he remained a long time, having his legs extended to the first hole. At length the festival of the twentieth year of the emperor's reign drawing near, at which time all prisoners were set free, he alone was left in prison, where they strangled him without taking off his shackles. This happened in the first year of the persecution, when it was levelled only against the ministers of the Church.

At Tyre several martyrs, after having received innumerable stripes, with the greatest resolution and constancy, were delivered up as a prey to leopards, bears, and wild boars, which were enraged by fire and sword. These beasts advanced towards them with a most hideous noise; but the martyrs waited their coming with the utmost intrepidity; and they were afraid of coming forward, and turned back upon the pagans, who set them on. They spared none but the martyrs, although they were naked, and made motions with their hands to make them fall upon them; for so they were commanded. Sometimes the beasts rushed upon them; but seemed to be kept back by a divine power. The first beast having done no execution, they set on a second and a third against the same martyr: one of that number, who was not yet twenty, stood upon his feet with his hands extended, and prayed with the utmost unconcern, without making the least motion in the midst of those beasts, which one would have imagined were going to devour him, and who turned back by an imperceptible power. Five others, who were Egyptians, were exposed to a furious bull; this beast threw up those pagans, that ventured to come near him, into the air with his horns, and left them half dead; but rushing afterwards furiously upon the martyrs, he was not able to come up to them, but stamped with his feet, and butted with his horns on every side. Other beasts were set upon them; but at last their heads were struck off, and thrown into the sea. Eusebius, who was afterwards bishop of Cæsarea, relates all these particulars, of which himself was an eye-witness.

In Egypt, a great multitude of men, women, and children suffered various kinds of deaths; nevertheless the pagans themselves saved several, concealing those who addressed themselves to them, and running the hazard of losing their goods, and of

being thrown into prison rather than betray them. We are indebted to Athanasius for the account of this circumstance, who tells us, that he had received it from his forefathers. As to the martyrs, some were burnt, after having been torn with talons of iron, as well as whipped and tortured; others were thrown into the sea: others had their heads struck off; others died under the torture; others were starved to death; others were crucified, some of them the ordinary way like malefactors; and others nailed with their heads downward, where they were kept till they died with hunger upon the stake. Incredible cruelties were exercised in Thebais; for instead of iron talons they made use of potsherds to tear the martyrs' bodies to pieces till they expired. They hung up women by one foot, and pulled them up on high with engines; so that they remained with their heads downwards and stark naked; a sight equally shameful and cruel. There were some men whom they tied by the legs to large branches of two different trees, which they had drawn near to each other with engines; then they were let loose in order to recover their natural situation, and at the same time tore the limbs of the martyrs to pieces.

These cruelties were not exercised only a short space; but continued for whole years together. They sometimes put to death ten every day; sometimes twenty, thirty, sixty, an hundred, together with their wives and young children. Eusebius tells us, that he himself heard in the very places that were the scene of cruelties, that on a certain day they blunted the edge of the instrument of execution, by the great number of heads which they cut off; nay, that the instrument was sometimes shivered to pieces; and that the executioners were so wearied with the slaughter that they were forced to relieve one another. He says, that he himself was a witness, that as soon as any Christians were condemned, others ran from all parts, and surrounded the tribunal, confessing themselves Christians, and joyfully receiving their own condemnation with smiles, singing songs of thanksgiving to the last gasp. Some of these were famous for their birth, their reputation, their learning, and their skill in philosophy.

Such was Philomorus who had a considerable employment at Alexandria, and who daily administered justice, surrounded with guards, according to the custom of the Roman magistrates. Such also was Phileas, bishop of Thmouis, who had passed through the several public employments in his country with honour and applause, and was famous for his philosophy. Both these were earnestly entreated by a great number of friends and relations, by the magistrates, and even by the judges, to save themselves, and to have compassion on their wives and children; but they

were resolute to the last, and were both of them beheaded. Some time before, when Phileus was at Alexandria, he wrote a letter to his people of Thmouis; in which, speaking of the martyrs, he has these words:

Who could possibly enumerate all the examples of virtue, which they have given? For, as every one was allowed to treat them ill, they made weapons of every thing, in order to abuse them; they beat them with clubs, sticks, whips, leather straps, and ropes. Some had their hands tied behind their backs, and then were fastened to stakes, where they were extended with engines; they afterwards tore them with talons of iron, and not only on their ribs as they did murtherers, but also on their bellies, their legs, and their cheeks. Others were hung up by one hand in the gallery, who suffered incredible torments from the stretching of their joints. Others were tied to pillars, with their faces turned towards them, their feet not being allowed to rest upon any thing, that the weight of their bodies might draw their bonds close. In this condition they continued not only all the time the governor was examining them, but almost the whole day together; for whenever he went to judge others, he left officers to watch those that were left, and to see if there were not some who might be prevailed upon to comply by the violence of the torments. He ordered them to bind the bands as hard as possible, and when they were just ready to expire, to loose them and drag them along the ground.

There were some, who, after having been tortured, were put into shackles extended to the fourth hole, so that they were forced to lie down upon their backs, being no longer able to stand upright. Others, that were dashed against the pavement, were a more dismal spectacle than while they were under torture, because of the many wounds with which they were covered. Others died with great resolution under the torture; others, who were thrown into prison half dead, died a few days after, through the violence of their torments; others, having their wounds dressed, have been inspired with fresh courage by time and long imprisonment: so that when they have had the choice of either procuring their freedom, by drawing near to the profane sacrifices, or of being sentenced to die, they chose the latter without the least hesitation; for they knew what is written in the Holy Scriptures, that he who sacrifices to strange gods, shall be cut off; and further, thou shalt have no other gods but one. In these terms, the martyr Phileas wrote a little before death, to encourage his flock, he being still in prison.

When he was upon the scaffold, Culcian the governor of Egypt, pressed him earnestly to sacrifice, at least to that Being whom only he looked upon as God. Phileas replied, He does

not desire such sacrifices, meaning the bloody sacrifices. Then said Culcian, What are those sacrifices that he delights in? *Phileas:* Purity of heart and mind, and truth in whatever we say. *Culcian:* Did not Moses sacrifice? *Phileas:* The Jews were commanded to sacrifice to God alone, at Jerusalem, and the Jews sin now in celebrating those solemnities in any other place. *Culcian:* Leave these useless words, and sacrifice. *Phileas:* I will not defile my soul. *Culcian:* Do we then destroy the soul? *Phileas:* Both soul and body. *Culcian:* Will this same body, this very flesh, rise again? Yes, replied Phileas. *Culcian:* Did not Paul deny Jesus Christ? No, answered Phileas, God forbid. *Culcian:* Was not Paul a plain, ordinary man, a Syrian, who spoke the Syriac language? *Phileas:* He was not, for he was an Hebrew and spoke Greek, and was endued with a wisdom superior to all men. *Culcian:* You will perhaps say, that he was wiser than Plato. *Phileas:* He was not only wiser than Plato, but than all the philosophers together; for he has convinced the wise men, and if you desire it, I will repeat his discourses to you.

Culcian. Sacrifice therefore. *Phileas.* I will not. Is it for conscience sake? says Culcian. Yes, replied Phileas. Why, therefore, replied Culcius, do you not make a conscience of leaving your wife and children? Because, replied Phileas, I am bound to love God more than these. What God, replied Culcian? Then Phileas lifted up his hands towards heaven, and said, that God who has made the heaven, the earth, the sea, and all that is therein. The lawyers would have prevented Phileas from speaking so much, and said to him, Why dost thou resist the governor? *Phileas.* I answer what he demands of me; and continued, It is not only the Christians that have acted in this manner; consider the example of Socrates, who, as he was leading to execution, his wife and children presented themselves before him, without being able to make him alter his resolution. *Culcian.* Was Jesus Christ God? *Phileas.* Yes. *Culcian.* How art thou persuaded that he was God? *Phileas.* He made the blind see, and the deaf hear, he hath cleansed the lepers, raised the dead; given speech to the dumb, healed a great number of diseases, and performed many other miracles. *Culcian.* Is one that is crucified God? *Phileas.* He has been crucified for our salvation; he knew he was thus to suffer, and that he was to bear insults and reproaches, and he gave himself up to all these sufferings for our sake. For all these things had been foretold of him by the Holy Scriptures, which the Jews imagine they have, but have not; let any one that is so disposed come and see the truth of this. *Culcian.* Dost thou not remember that I was careful of thine honour; for I might have treated thee ill in thy own city, which I have not done. *Phileas.* I thank you for it;

but I beseech you complete your favour. What do you desire? replied Culcian. *Phileas.* Follow your own inclinations; do as you are commanded. *Culcian.* Are you desirous of dying in this manner, without any cause? Not without cause, replied Phileas, but for God and his truth. *Culcian.* Was Paul God? No, answered Phileas. What was he then? said Culcian. *Phileas.* A man like one of us; but the Holy Ghost was in him, by virtue of whom he performed miracles. *Culcian.* I will be so favourable to you as to put you into the hands of your brother. *Phileas.* Complete your goodness, follow your inclinations, and do as you are commanded. *Culcian.* If you were poor I would not pardon you; but as you are very rich, and are able to maintain almost all the whole province, I spare you, and would advise you to sacrifice. We see by this instance how very charitable the rich Christians were to the needy. *Culcian.* Thy unhappy wife looks upon thee. *Phileas:* Jesus Christ is the Saviour of all our spirits, he hath called me to the inheritance of his glory, and he may also call her to it. The lawyers would have made them believe he desired to have his trial adjourned, and threw themselves at his feet, with all the officers, the Curator, and all his relations, beseeching him to consider his wife, and to take care of his children. But he continued firm and resolute like a rock that is beaten with the tempest, saying, that he ought to look upon the holy martyrs and apostles as his relations.

Philomorus, a magistrate of Alexandria, happened to be present upon this occasion, and observing the resolution of Phileas, he cried out, Why do you vainly endeavour to shake that man's resolution; why would you make him unfaithful to God: do you not perceive that he neither looks upon you, nor hears you, and that he is entirely taken up with celestial glory. These words caused every body's resentment to fall upon Philomorus; and they all required to have him condemned as well as Phileas by the same sentence: the judge willingly consented to it, and ordered them both to be beheaded. As they were carried to the place of execution, the brother of Phileas, who was one of the advocates, cried out, Phileas desires to be cleared. Culcian then called him back, and said to him, Hast thou appealed? Phileas replied, I have not appealed, God forbid that I should: regard not that wretch; for my part I thank both you and the emperors, for having made me a joint heir with Christ. When they came to the place of execution, Phileas stretched out his hands towards the East, and said with a loud voice, My dear children, you that seek God, watch over your hearts, for the enemy, like a roaring lion, seeketh to devour you: we have not yet suffered; we begin now to suffer, and to become disciples of Jesus Christ. My dear children, stick fast to his precepts. Invoke him that is

without spot, who is incomprehensible, and sitteth between the cherubim, and is the author of all things; the Beginning and the End; to whom be glory for ever, and ever, Amen. When he had thus spoken, their heads were struck off by the executioner.

Timothy, a deacon of Mauritania, and *Maura* his wife had not been married above three weeks, when they were separated from each other by the persecution. Timothy was carried before Arrianus, the governor of Thebais, who did all in his power to induce him to embrace the pagan superstition. But perceiving his endeavours vain, and knowing that Timothy had the keeping of the Holy Scriptures, the governor commanded him to deliver them up, that they might be burnt: to which Timothy answered, "Had I children, I would sooner deliver them up to be sacrificed, than part from the word of God." The governor, much incensed at this reply, ordered his eyes to be put out with red-hot irons, saying, "The books shall at least be useless to you, for you shall not see to read them." He endured the punishment with such great patience that the governor grew more exasperated; and ordered him to be hung up by the feet, with a weight tied about his neck, and a gag in his mouth.

This treatment the Christian underwent with the greatest courage, when some person acquainted the governor that he had been but newly married to a wife, of whom he was extremely fond. Arrianus accordingly ordered Maura to be sent for, and promised a handsome reward, with the life of her husband, if she could prevail upon him to sacrifice to the idols. Maura, wavering in her faith, tempted by a bribe, and impelled by an unbounded affection for her husband, undertook the impious affair.

When conducted to him, she assailed his constancy with all the persuasive language of affection. When the gag was taken out of his mouth in order to give him an opportunity of replying, instead of consenting to his wife's entreaties, as they expected, he greatly blamed her mistaken love, and declared his resolution of dying for the faith. Maura repeated her importunities, till the martyr, her husband, reproached her so strongly with her weakness, that she returned to his way of thinking, and resolved to imitate his courage and fidelity, and either to accompany, or follow him to glory. Timothy advised her to repair her fault by declaring that resolution to the governor, by whose order she had undertaken the sinful commission. On which being strengthened by his exhortations, and the grace of God, she went to Arrianus, and told him that she was united to her husband in opinion as well as love, and was ready to suffer any thing to atone for her late crime, in wishing to make him an apostate. The governor immediately ordered her to be

tortured, which was executed with great severity; and after this Timothy and Maura were crucified near each other, A. D. 304.

There were at Alexandria several martyrs, who had their noses, their ears, and hands cut off, and then the rest of their bodies cut in pieces; many of them were broiled at Antioch, in order to prolong their sufferings: Others chose rather to burn their right hands, than touch the profane sacrifices of the heathens. There were at Antioch two sisters, virgins, who were remarkable for their nobility, their beauty, and singular piety, whom the persecutors ordered to be thrown into the sea. In the same city Basillissus, Anthony the presbyter, Anastasius, and many other of the clergy suffered martyrdom with Marcionilla, and a child called Celsus, seven brethren, and many others. As did also in Upper Syria, which is called Augusta Euphratesia, Sergius and Bacchus, who were afterwards very famous for their miracles. In Mesopotamia, many were hung up by the feet, and stifled to death by kindling a gentle fire under them. In Arabia many were hewn to pieces with hatchets. In Cappadocia they broke the martyrs' legs. In Pontus they thrust reeds that were sharpened at the point, under their nails; and others had melted lead poured upon their backs; and such horrid kinds of tortures were inflicted on them, as it is impossible for words to express. The judges put their invention on the rack, to devise new kinds of tortures, as if each of them had been contending for a prize. There was a little town in Phrygia, where the governor, the treasurer, all the officers, and the people confessed themselves to be Christians, and refused to obey those who required them to commit idolatry. Whereupon soldiers were sent into the town, who set it on fire and burnt them, together with their wives and children, invoking the name of Jesus Christ their sovereign Lord. But the person in the town, who signalized himself most, was a Roman officer called Adaucus, of a very noble family in Italy, who had born many offices, and amongst the rest that of Catholicus, or receiver general.

The governor of Galatia, whose name was Theotecnes, was a violent and cruel man, and had promised the emperor that he would extirpate Christianity. On the bare report of his arrival in that province, the Churches were scattered, and a great number of the faithful fled into the desarts and mountains; for he had sent several officers before him, at several times, with terrible threatenings, and at last with edicts, commanding the churches, and whatever had escaped the persecution, to be demolished. The pagans were at their feasts banquetting and revelling; they then forced open the houses of the Christians,

taking away every thing that they found there; nor did the Christians dare to make the least resistance, so much as with words; otherwise they had been accused of sedition: nor did the Christians any longer venture to appear in public. The chief among them were put in prison, loaded with irons; the women of condition were dragged about the streets by insolent ruffians, and the greater part of them retired into the desarts, where they concealed themselves in caves, and were reduced to live upon herbs and roots. But having been used to a more delicate manner of living, they sunk under this misery, some dying, and others returning to the city, were apprehended.

At Ancyra, the capital city of this province, there was a Christian, whose name was *Theodotus*, he mas married, and lived to all appearance very freely, insomuch that he kept an inn; but in effect was strictly virtuous. He had been a contemner of riches and pleasures from his youth, and had exercised himself in fasting and acts of charity. He relieved and comforted the sick and afflicted, and took abundance of pains for the conversion of sinners, and by his exhortations many became martyrs. He had the gift of miracles, and healed many of incurable diseases, by his prayers and the imposition of hands.

Whilst the persecution lasted, he was assisting to the confessors in prison, and interred the bodies of the martyrs; although it was forbidden on pain of death. He supplied them with bread and wine for the celebration of the Holy Eucharist; for there was none to be bought, because the governor had ordered all the provisions that could be found to be offered to the idols. But Theodotus had stocked himself with provisions, and his business gave him opportunities both of feeding and lodging many people, insomuch that his inn became a kind of a church, where the holy mysteries of Christianity were celebrated, and a place of hospitality for the reception of strangers, and a refuge for all Christians. He went to a town named Mal, about forty miles or thirteen leagues distant from the city. He there met with some Christians, who a little before his coming thither had been seized by their relations, for having overturned an altar of Diana, whose liberty he, with much difficulty and great expense, at length obtained. They returned him thanks as a common benefactor and patron of the afflicted. He entreated them to eat with him, and afterwards continue their voyage; so they sat down together on the grass near a cave, on the bank of a river, about two furlongs from the town, in a place adorned with flowers, surrounded with pleasant trees, from whence they might be entertained by the music of the birds. Then he proceeded

on to the city, where he found all things in the utmost disorder, by means of the persecution, like the effects that are produced by a violent earthquake.

There were seven virgins, who were advanced in years, and long exercised in virtue, even from their very childhood, whom the governor observing to be unaffected by their torments, had delivered over to the insults of some young people, giving them the liberty of using them at pleasure, in contempt of their religion. They lifted up their hands and eyes to heaven, invoking Jesus Christ, by whom the pure are defended. The most abandoned of the whole company, having taken away Tecusa, the eldest of the virgins, she, bursting into tears, embraced his feet, and said, My son, what would you do with persons, who, as you see, are worn out with old age, fasting, diseases, and torments? I am above seventy years old, nor are the rest of us younger than I am. You will presently see us torn in pieces by wild beasts and birds of prey; for the governor hath forbid every one to give us burial. When she had said this, she took off her veil to show her white hairs, and then continued, You have, perhaps, a mother of the same age; leave us to our tears, and hope for a recompence, which you shall receive from our Lord Jesus Christ. The young men then began to weep with them, and retired.

The governor, to try them after another manner, would have them be consecrated priestesses to Diana and Minerva. It was the custom to wash those idols every year in a neighbouring pond; and as this happened to be the time of the celebration of that festival, it was usual for them to be carried after a pompous manner in chariots, he ordered the seven virgins to be also set up in derision in the chariots, in a standing posture, and naked. After them followed the idols, and a great crowd of people with flutes and cymbals, and women who danced with their hair hanging loose about them, like Bacchanals. In the mean time, Theodotus prayed for the virgins, who were thus barbarously exposed, distrusting the weakness of their sex. He was shut up in a little house belonging to a certain person, named Theocaris, near the Church of the Patriarchs, with Polychronius, nephew to the virgin Tecusa, and some other Christians. They had continued prostrate in prayer all the morning to the sixth hour, when the wife of Theocharis came to tell them that the virgins had been drowned in the lake. Then Theodotus, raising himself from the pavement, but continuing still upon his knees, burst into tears, and stretched out his hands to heaven, saying, I thank thee, O Lord, that my tears have not been fruitless. Then he asked her what had passed: she who had been present all the time, with several others, said, All the promises of the

governor were to no purpose; for the priestesses of Diana and Minerva, who presented to the virgins the chaplet and white robe, as ensigns of the priesthood, were rejected by them with scorn and reproaches. The governor then ordered stones to be tied about their necks, and commanded them to be put into little boats, and sunk to the bottom of the pond, and accordingly they were drowned.

The names of these seven virgins were Tecusa, Alexandria, Phaina, Claudia, Euphrasia, Matrona, and Juletta. The three first had renounced all temporal concerns, in order to lead an apostolic life.

Theodotus met two citizens who were his friends, and would have persuaded him, whilst he had it in his power, to save his life; but he told them, If you would oblige me, go and tell the magistrates, that Theodotus, whom the priests of Minerva and Diana accuse, together with the whole city, is now at the gate. Being come to the place of execution, he, with a smiling countenance, surveyed the fire, the boiling caldrons, the wheels and other instruments of torture, which were got ready upon this occasion. The governor proposed to rank him in the number of his friends, and to procure him the favour of the emperors. They shall do you the honour, says he, both to write to you, and receive letters from you; you shall be the priest of Apollo, and have power over the whole village, and shall appoint other priests under you. You shall represent to the magistrates the wants of the country, and shall send deputations to the emperors in common causes. Theodotus answered him, by enumerating, on the one side, the crimes of their false gods, and the infamous actions which the Pagans themselves attribute to them; and on the other side, extolling the greatness and the miracles of Jesus Christ. All the idolaters were incensed at his discourse; the priests rent their garments and crowns; and the people cried out the more to enrage the governor. He then ordered him to be fastened to the wheel, and several executioners tore his flesh for a considerable time successively, with talons of iron; then vinegar was poured upon the wounds, and fire put under him. The martyr perceiving the odour of his burning flesh, turned aside his head a little, which made the governor think that he began to yield under his torments. No, says Theodotus, but do you take care to be better obeyed; your officers do their duty carelessly: Invent new tortures to prove me, or rather take notice of the courage which Jesus Christ gives me, by which I am inspired. The governor ordered him to be struck on the jaw with a stone, in order to beat out his teeth. The martyr replied, Though you should cut out my tongue, yet God hears the Christians when they cannot speak. The governor then sent him back

to prison; but as he went along, he shewed every one his mangled body, as a proof of the power of Jesus Christ, and the strength which he gives to his servants, of whatsoever condition they be, without distinction of persons. It is but just, said he, to offer him such sacrifices, since he hath first suffered for us.

At the end of five days, the governor commanded Theodotus to be brought before him again; and after having opened his wounds, searing them afresh, he laid him upon burning firebrands, which put him to inexpressible torment; but finding him not to be overcome, he ordered him to be beheaded, and his body to be burned, lest the Christians should bury him. The martyr being come to the place of execution, begged again of Jesus Christ to put an end to the persecution, and grant peace to the Church. Then turning towards the brethren, he said to them, Weep not, but give thanks to Jesus Christ our Saviour, who hath given me grace thus gloriously to finish my course, and subdue the enemy. From hence forward, I shall pray to God for you in heaven with confidence. Having said this, he with cheerfulness received the stroke.

This account was written by Nilus, who was an eye-witness of it, he having lived with the martyr, and been in prison with him, and thoroughly informed of every particular of the whole transaction.

As Galierus bore a prejudiced and implacable hatred to Christians, we are informed, that "he not only condemned them to tortures, but to be burned in slow fires, in this horrible manner: they were first chained to a post, then a gentle fire put to the soles of their feet, which contracted the callus till it fell off from the bone: then flambeaux, just extinguished, were put to all parts of their bodies, so that they might be tortured all over; and care was taken to keep them alive, by throwing cold water in their faces, and giving them some to wash their mouths, lest their throats should be dried up with thirst, and choke them. Thus their miseries were lengthened out whole days, till, at last, their skins being consumed, and they just ready to expire, were thrown into a great fire, and had their bodies burned to ashes, after which, their ashes were thrown into some river."

The persecution began also in the West, when Maximian Herculius and Constantius Chlorus had received letters from their colleagues in the East: For Constantius, as well as other emperors, had a great number of Christians amongst his officers, and in his household. He gave them their choice, either to sacrifice and continue in their posts, or to be banished his presence, and lose his favour, if they refused. Many preferred their temporal interest to their religion, but several continued steadfast in the faith; but they were all astonished when Constantius declared,

that he esteemed the apostates as self-interested and base persons, supposing they would be as treacherous to him as they had been to their god, and therefore discharged them for ever from his service; on the contrary, they who had shown themselves to be true servants to their God, he thought deserved to be kept near his person, and that they were the faithfullest guard he could intrust himself and his empire with, and worthy to be esteemed as his best friends. Cæsar Constantius made use of this disguise, to put in execution the edict of Dioclesian. He indeed suffered the churches to be pulled down, considering, that afterwards they might be rebuilt; but he put no man to death, nor was there, at that time, any blood spilt in Gaul. In Italy, the elder Maximian, who was naturally cruel, willingly obeyed Dioclesian's orders.

On the fourteenth of April, in this year 303, when he was at Rome, celebrating the games in the grand circus; at the sixteenth course, he got the better of the blue party; and the greatest part of the people cried out, Take away the Christians, and let us be secure of our pleasures. This was repeated twelve times: By the life of the emperor, let there be no Christians. There were four parties of those who had the direction of the chariots in the circus, viz. the white, the blue, the green, and the red, according to the colour of their dress: The people made divers outcries, to obtain what they desired of the magistrates who presided at those games: Those acclamations had been carefully observed; but as they had been likewise often abused, the same emperors Dioclesian and Maximian had ordered, that no regard should be had to the vain acclamations of the people, when they demanded a criminal to be cleared, or the condemnation of an innocent person.

The people, addressing themselves to Hermogenius, the prefect of Rome, cried out ten times more, O Augustus, as you love victory, ask the prefect to grant what we desire. Then Hermogenius informed the emperor of what they had said. The emperor Maximian ordered them to be assembled at the capitol; and accordingly, on the nineteenth day of April, there met together in that place an innumerable company of people. The emperor spoke to them in these terms: You who are lovers of our religion, it seemeth just to us, that it be promoted under our reign, by your good advice. To which end, I shall grant a power for arresting all Christians, wheresoever they shall be found, either by the prefect of Rome, or his officers, and to compel them to sacrifice to the gods. Then all the people cried out with one voice, O Augustus, may you be victorious and prosperous with the gods.

Venustian, the governor of Tuscany, began then to make di-

ligent search in order to discover the Christians that had hid themselves. They discovered to him *Sabinus*, the Bishop, whom he caused to be seized at Assisa, where he was put in prison, with his two deacons, Marcellus and Exuperans, and many more of the clergy. Venustian came to Assisa, and the next day, having ordered a tribunal to be prepared in the midst of the town, the bishop and his two deacons were brought before him. The governor then asked his name and his condition, whether he was a slave or a freeman; so that he must have made but a very mean appearance. Sabinus answered, I am the servant of Jesus Christ, delivered from the bondage of Satan. Venustian asked him farther, what office he bore in the Church. Although I am a sinner and an unworthy person, says he, I am stiled a bishop. Then he adds, what is the office of these two persons? They are my deacons, says Sabinus. Venustian says to him, How could you have the boldness to give instructions in private, and teach the people to forsake our gods, and to follow a dead man? Sabinus says, Are you certain that our Saviour Jesus Christ is dead? Venustian replied, He hath been really put to death and buried. Sabinus said, Are you ignorant that he rose the third day? You ought, however, to know it thoroughly. Venustian replied, Choose one of those two particulars, either to do sacrifice to the gods and live, or to die by the torments which you deserve, and rise again hereafter, as Christ your Lord hath done. Sabinus answered, It is my desire to be martyred and die, that I may rise again, like unto our Lord Jesus Christ.

Sabinus continued discoursing of the majesty of Jesus Christ, and the vanity of idols; to demonstrate, says he, that it avails nothing to worship devils; let somebody bring hither your god. Venustian commanded the god to be brought, which he had in the chamber where he always lay; this was a Jupiter made of coral, a piece of curious workmanship, whose garments were made of solid gold. The messengers brought it in their hands with lighted torches, making great outcries; and Venustian said, Behold our protector. Sabinus desired that he might have leave to do with it what he pleased; and then, having taken the idol in his hands, he made a short prayer, and threw it on the pavement, and broke it in pieces. Venustian, overcome with rage and fury, beat his own face, and commanded them forthwith to cut off Sabinus's hands. Then Marcellus and Exuperans, his two deacons, were struck with fear, and trembled for a long time; but the bishop, who had his hands cut off, still encouraged them; and Venustian gathered together the broken pieces of his idol into a linen cloth, and put them into a silver box, which he sent to his own house, and put the two deacons upon the rack, in the presence of the bishop; and when he commanded

them to sacrifice, Marcellus said, We have already offered ourselves in sacrifice to God. They were beaten a long while with cudgels, and cried out, We are renewed in the name of Jesus Christ our Saviour: Upon which, Venustian said, I will renew you; and ordered their sides to be torn with talons of iron. They both died under the torture, and the judge ordered their bodies to be thrown into the river, and sent Sabinus the bishop to prison. A fisherman and a presbyter took up the bodies of the martyrs Marcellus and Exuperans, and buried them near the common road, on the last day of May.

A certain Christian lady, whose name was Serena, of the city of Spoleto, who had been a widow thirty-one years, and employed herself wholly in fasting, prayer, and alms-giving, having heard of this, came by night to attend the bishop Sabinus. Her grandson, named Priscianus, whom she entirely loved, became blind, although the physicians had used all the means they could think of to cure him. She carried him to Sabinus, and said to him, My lord, I conjure you, by Jesus Christ, in whom you believe, to put your arms on your servant who is here before you, and to pray unto God the Creator, and I believe he will receive his sight. Then falling upon his knees, and pouring forth abundance of tears, he said, O Lord, hear me, although a great sinner. Lighten our darkness, thou that art the light of truth and life, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, who liveth and reigneth with thee world without end. They all said Amen. Then Sabinus said, Let him open thine eyes who divided the sea, and let the children of Israel pass through the midst of it; let him bring light into thine eyes, that all the nations of the earth may know that he is the Creator of all things both visible and invisible; and that it was he who opened the eyes of the man born blind: upon which, the eyes of Priscianus were opened.

About a month after this, Venustian, the governor of Tuscany, had so great a distemper in his eyes, that he could neither eat nor sleep; nor could the physicians give him any relief. When he was told, that Sabinus, the bishop, had cured a blind man, he sent his wife and his two sons with great respect, to entreat the bishop's assistance. Sabinus gave thanks to God, and went to Venustian, whose friends took him in their arms, and laid him at the bishop's feet, who, seeing him in that posture, spoke aloud with tears in his eyes: Let Jesus Christ, who gave sight to the man that was born blind, restore thee thy sight. Venustian answered, weeping, together with his wife and children, We have sinned. Sabinus replied, If you believe with all your heart, and repent, nothing will be denied to your faith: Then adds he, Let the broken pieces of the idol be brought hi-

ther; which, being brought, he beat them to a powder, and threw them into the river. Venustian being disturbed with the anguish of his pain, Sabinus said to him, Do you believe with all your heart? Venustian answered, I believe; but urge not against me the sin I have committed against you; it is that which doth now torment me. Sabinus answered, My own sins were the cause of that, and I advise you only to repent and believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and be baptised; you shall then be healed, and obtain eternal life. Venustian said, Baptize me in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that I may receive the benefit of your promises. Then Sabinus prayed on his knees, and admitted him as a catechumen, with his wife and two sons; and having taken water, he baptized them.

At the same time that he was taken out of the fountain, his eyes healed, insomuch that after baptism he felt no pain. He held the feet of Sabinus, and bathed them with his tears, saying, Beseech God that he will pardon the evil I have done to you. Sabinus answered, My son, I have suffered all this by reason of my sins, you have not offended: After this they continued together. The Emperor Maximian, hearing that Venustian had been baptized, was highly incensed, and sent Lucius the tribune with a commission to put to death both him and Sabinus. Lucius came, and without any formal process, ordered the head of Venustian, the governor of Tuscany, to be cut off, together with his wife and two sons, in the city of Assisa. At the same time, the tribune took Sabinus, and carried him to Spoleto, where he commanded him to be beaten to death.

The edict for the persecution was then carried into Africa, where they demolished the Churches, and made strict search after the holy Scriptures. At Cirtha, a Roman colony of Numidia, Minutius Felix, who was curator, or chief magistrate in that place, and was also perpetual Flamen, that is, Priest of the idols, went with his soldiers to make this search on the nineteenth day of May. When they came to the house where the Christians usually assembled since the demolishing of the Churches, Felix, the curator, said to Paul, who was Bishop of the place, Shew us the writings of the Law, and all that you have there, that we may execute the orders we have received. The Bishop said, The Readers have the Scriptures, what we have here we give you. Victor, the son of Aufidius, wrote down in a memorial: Two chalices of gold, six chalices of silver, six silver flagons, a little caldron, seven golden lamps, two great candlesticks, seven little copper candlesticks with their lamps, eleven copper lamps with their chains, fourscore and two vestments for women, thirty-eight veils, sixteen vestments for men, thirteen pair of men's

stockings, and forty-seven for women. Those were garments that were kept for the poor; and a judgment may be formed of the riches of the great Churches, by the vessels of gold and silver that were found only in one city of Numidia.

When he came to the house of one of the Readers, named Eugenius, Felix said to him, Give us the sacred writings which you have, in obedience to our order. He then took out four books. Felix says, Shew us the Readers. Edusius and Junius said, My lord, we will conduct you to them. *When they came to the house of Felix, a stone-cutter, for the Clergy in those times exercised trades, he gave them five books.*

The edict for the persecution was fixed up in the little town of Tibiura, in Africa proper or proconsular, on the fifth day of June. Felix, who was Bishop of the place, was brought before the Proconsul, who said to him, What is the reason that you will not deliver those unprofitable writings? Felix said, I have them, but I will not give them up. The Proconsul then ordered him to be put, bound, into the very bottom of the prison. At the end of sixteen days they brought him, with his chians about him, before the Proconsul Anulinus, at the fourth hour of the night. It is probable, that the extraordinary heat of the season was the cause of having those processes in the night-time; for it was in Africa, and in the month of July. The Prefect then said, Let Felix be beheaded. The Bishop said with a loud voice, I thank thee, O Lord, that thou hast vouchsafed thus to deliver me. On the thirtieth of August he was brought to the place of execution. Felix lifted up his eyes to heaven, and spoke aloud, and said, I return thee thanks, O God, that I have lived fifty-six years in this world. I have preached faith and truth. O my Lord Jesus Christ, the God of heaven and earth, I bow my head to be sacrificed to thee, who livest to all eternity.

It was in this year the persecution of Dioclesian again began to prevail, and many Christians were put to cruel tortures, and the most painful deaths; the most eminent and particular of these were, Saturninus, a priest of Albitina, a town of Africa: he used to preach and administer the sacrament to a society of Christians, who privately assembled at the house of Octavius Felix; for the severity of the times was such, that they could not publickly perform their religious duties. Having been informed against, Saturninus, with four of his children, and several other persons, were apprehended; and that their punishment might be the more exemplary and public, they were sent to Carthage, the capital of Africa, where they were examined before Anulinus, the proconsul of that quarter of the globe.

Saturninus, on the examination, gave such spirited answers,

and vindicated the christian religion with such eloquence, as shewed that he was worthy to preside over an assembly that possessed a faith of purity and truth. Anulinus, enraged at his arguments, ordered him to be stopped from saying any more, by being put to a variety of tortures, such as scourging, tearing his flesh with hooks, burning with hot irons, &c.—Having been thus inhumanly tortured, he was remanded to prison, and there starved to death.

His four children, notwithstanding they were variously tormented, remained steady in their faith; on which they were sent back to the dungeon in which their father was confined, and were also starved to death in the same manner.

There were eight other Christians tortured on the same day as Saturninus, and much in the same manner. Two expired on the spot through the severity of their sufferings, and the other six being sent back to prison, were suffocated for want of a pure air.

Thelico, a pious Christian; Dativus, a noble Roman senator; Victoria, a young lady of considerable family and fortune, with some others of less consideration, who had been all auditors of Saturninus, were seized at the same time, tortured in a similar manner, and perished by the same means.

Bede also saith, that this persecution reached even unto the Britons, in his book, De Ratione Temporum. And the Chronicle of Martinus, and the Nosegay of Time, do declare, that all the Christians in Brittany were utterly destroyed. Furthermore, that the kinds of death and punishment were so great and horrible, as no man's tongue is able to express. In the beginning, when the emperor, by his subtilty and wiliness rather dallied than shewed his rigour, he threatened them with bands and imprisonment; but within a while, when he began to work the matter in good earnest, he devised innumerable sorts of torments and punishments, as whippings and scourgings, rackings, horrible scrapings, sword, fire, and ship-boats, wherein a great number being put, were sunk and drowned in the bottom of the sea. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 6, and 7. Also hanging them upon crosses, binding them to the bodies of dead trees, with their head downward, hanging them by the middles upon gallows, till they died for hunger; throwing them alive to such kind of wild beasts as would devour them; as lions, bears, leopards, and wild bulls. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 8. Pricking and thrusting them with bodkins and talons of beasts, till they were almost dead; lifting them up on high with their head downward, even as in Thebaide they did unto the women, being naked and unclothed, one of their feet tied and lifted on high, and so hanging down with their bodies,

which thing to see was very pitiful; with other devised sorts of punishments most tragical, or rather tyrannical, and pitiful to describe: As first, the binding of them to trees, and to the boughs thereof; the pulling and tearing asunder of their members and joints, being tied to the boughs and arms of trees. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 9. The mangling of them with axes, the choaking of them with smoke by small and soft fires, the dismembering of their hands, ears, and feet, with other joints; as the holy martyrs of Alexandria suffered the scorching and broiling of them with coals, not unto death, but every day renewed. With such kind of torments the martyrs at Antioch were afflicted.

In Spain, the persecution was carried on under the governor Dacian. At Saragosa they apprehended Valerius the Bishop, and Vincentius the chief of the Deacons, born at Huesca of an illustrious family; for Agessus his uncle by his father's side, had been consul. He was young and handsome, and had studied much: And the Bishop, after having instructed him in divine knowledge, intrusted him with the charge of instructing others in his stead, because he wanted a ready utterance. Dacian ordered them to be brought in chains to him at Valencia, where he then resided. When he exhorted them to sacrifice, Vincentius seeing that Valerius was silent, and knowing his difficulty of speech, said to him, My father, if you command me, I will answer. My dear son, said Valerius, as I have intrusted you with the word of God, I enjoin you to answer likewise for the faith which we here maintain. Then Vincentius declared that they were Christians, and ready to suffer for the true God. Dacian sent the Bishop into exile, and ordered Vincentius to be put to the torture. Then he was fastened to the rack, and his limbs were extended. He said, this is what I have always desired; this is the end of all my wishes. Then Dacian ordered him to be delivered to the executioners, commanding them to beat him with sticks and rods, thinking that it was their fault that he did not feel the torments. Then he ordered him to be laid on a gridiron, in the form of a bed of iron, which was red-hot and placed upon the fire, where they burned him alike in the upper parts, by applying to his body red-hot iron plates, and they threw salt upon the fire, which sparkling, entered into his body by his wounds. The martyr continued immovable, and prayed, with his eyes lifted up towards heaven. Dacian ordered him to be taken from the grid-iron, and to be put into a dungeon strewed with potsherds to renew his torture; he was shut in there alone, having his feet extended by fetters. He slept, and when he awoke, he found the dungeon enlightened by a celestial light.

Dacian, hearing of this, and desiring to deprive him of the glory of dying in torments, ordered him to be laid upon a soft bed, in order to repose himself, and then to be tormented afresh.

In the same city of Saragosa, where Vincentius was a Deacon, a great number of martyrs suffered under the same Dacian; and among others, eighteen, whose relicks were preserved in the same sepulchre; namely, Optatus, Lupercus, Successus, Martial, Urbanus, Julia, Quintillian, Publius, Fronto, Felix, Cecilianus, Evotius, Primitius, Apodemius, and four of the name of Saturninus. The virgin Encratis, or Encratia, was so barbarously treated, that she had her body mangled, one breast cut off, and part of her liver pulled out. In this condition she was sent back to prison, being still alive, and died by the mortifying of her wounds. Felix is mentioned as dying at Gironne under his tortures. Cocuphas, a famous martyr, and Eulalia, at Barcelonia; at Corduba, Acisclus and Zoilus. Hosius, who was bishop of that place, confessed the faith, and lived upwards of sixty years afterwards.

At Merida, the capital city of Lusitania, a virgin that was but twelve years old, and of a noble family, suffered martyrdom. From her very infancy, she behaved herself with a gravity much above her years. The governor, after having in vain attempted to make her alter her resolution, threatened her with the torture. Immediately two executioners tore her sides till the bones appeared: she counted the blows, and said, this was a writing by which the victory of Jesus Christ was engraven upon her. She neither shed a tear, nor groaned, and seemed insensible of pain. Then they applied lighted torches to her body, and the fire took hold of her hair, which she had spread over her bosom, through modesty, in order to hide her breasts, and the flame reaching her head, she opened her mouth to receive it, and thus was suffocated.

At Complutum, Justus and Pastor, two children, who were at school, but already well prepared for martyrdom, seeing all the Christians astonished at the arrival of Dacian, who came to persecute them, threw away their books, and both offered themselves cheerfully to martyrdom. Dacian ordered them to be first cruelly tormented, and then beheaded. The youth of these children might excuse the excess of their fervour, but a voluntary offering themselves to martyrdom was generally forbidden the Christians. These were the most illustrious martyrs in Spain, under this persecution. They thought that they had wholly extirpated christianity there, as appeared by these inscriptions afterwards found there, viz. Dioclesianus, Jovius, Maximianus, Herculius Cæsares

Augusti, after having enlarged the bounds of the Roman Empire, both to the East and West, and abolished the name of Christians, who overthrew the state, &c. And another, Dioclesianus Cæsar Augustus, after having adopted Galerius, in the East, and abolished every where the superstition of Christ, and enlarged the worship of the gods.

In Sicily, in the same year 304, under the ninth consulate of Dioclesian, and the eighth of Maximian, on the twelfth of August, in the city of Catana, Euplius, the Deacon, being brought to the governor's closet, cried out, I am a Christian, and desire to die for the name of Jesus Christ. The governor Calvisius, who was of consular dignity, having heard it, ordered them to bring him in. Euplius went into the judge's closet, carrying the Gospels with him. *Calvisius.* Where had you those writings; did you bring them from your own house? *Euplius.* Our Lord Jesus Christ knows I have no house. Did you bring them hither? said Calvisius. I brought them hither as you see, says Euplius, and was seized with them. *Calvisius.* Read them. Euplius opened and read, Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. And in another place, He that will come after me, let him take up his cross and follow me. Calvisius then pronounced this sentence, Since his confession is plain, let him be put to the torture, and delivered over to the executioners. And after having delivered him to them, they examined him by torture.

Euplius, whilst they tortured him, said, I thank thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, that I suffer for thee, save me, I beseech thee. *Calvisius.* Lay aside this folly, Euplius, and adore our gods, and you shall be delivered. *Euplius.* I adore Jesus Christ, and detest demons; do with me as you please; I am a Christian; I have long since desired this; do as you please; add other torments, for I am a Christian. After that the executioners had tormented him a long time, Calvisius bid them desist, and said, O wretched man, adore the gods, worship Mars, Apollo, and Æsculapius. Euplius replied, I adore the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; I worship the holy Trinity, besides which there is no God. Let those gods perish who have not made heaven and earth, and all that is contained in them! I am a Christian. *Calvisius.* Sacrifice, if you would be delivered. *Euplius.* I sacrifice myself now to Jesus Christ my God, I can do no more; your attempts to move me are vain, I am a Christian. Then Calvisius gave orders for increasing his torments. Euplius said, while they were tormenting him, I thank thee, Jesus Christ succour me, it is for thy name's sake, O Lord, that I endure these torments. This he

repeated several times. When his strength failed him, he repeated the same words, or others like them, with his lips instead of his voice.

Then Calvisius went behind the curtain, and dictated his sentence: afterwards he came out with the tablet in his hand and read it: I command that Euplius, a Christian, be put to death by the sword, for contemning the Prince's edicts, and blasphemy against the gods, and not repenting: take him away. Then they hung the Gospel about his neck, which he had with him when he was seized, and a crier said, Euplius, a Christian, an enemy to the gods, and the emperors. Euplius, very cheerful, still continued to say, I give thanks to Jesus Christ my God. When he was come to the place of execution, he prayed a long time on his knees, and once more returning thanks, he presented his neck to the executioner, who cut off his head. *Lucia*, a virgin and an illustrious martyr, suffered at Syracuse in the same persecution.

The emperor Dioclesian was in Italy, and spent there a great part of the year 304. He was at Rome the preceding year to celebrate the twentieth year of the reign of Maximian Herculius, which begun on the twentieth of November, and at the same time he triumphed for having conquered the Persians. To this time of rejoicing may he referred the martyrdom of *Genes*. He thus spake, Now therefore, O great Emperor, and all ye people, who have ridiculed these mysteries, believe with me that Jesus Christ is the true Lord; that he is the light and the truth, and that through him you may obtain remission of your sins. The emperor Dioclesian, highly enraged at these words, ordered him to be cruelly beaten with clubs, and he was put into the hands of Plotinus the prefect, that he might compel him to sacrifice. The prefect ordered him to be put upon the wheel, where he was torn with iron talons for a considerable time, and burned with torches; but he still persisted in saying, There is no other king than him whom I have seen; I worship and serve him; and although I should be killed a thousand times in his service, I will continue to adhere to him; no tortures shall remove Jesus Christ either out of my mouth or heart. I greatly regret my former errors, and the detestation I have had of his holy name, and that I have come so late into his service. In short, he had his head cut off on the twenty-fifth of August.

Dioclesian did not continue at Rome till the end of the year, but being disgusted at the freedom which the people took with him, went from thence and came to Ravenna, where he entered upon his ninth consulship. In this journey the rain and the

cold, but chiefly melancholy, brought on him a slight but lingering disease, which detained him at Ravenna the whole summer. Nevertheless, in the same year 304, there were many martyrs at Rome, and amongst the rest *Soteris*, a virgin nobly born, being of the same family from whence Ambrose descended: she had had prefects and consuls amongst her ancestors. She was commanded to sacrifice, but she refused: the persecutor ordered her to be beaten. She bore undauntedly both the ignominy and pain of the blows that disfigured her, without turning away her face, shedding a tear, or even sighing: at length she was beheaded as she desired. At the same time also suffered at Rome, *Pancras*, an illustrious martyr, who was but fourteen years old; and *Agnes*, a young virgin of twelve, who was beheaded, astonished her executioners by her constancy. *Sebastian* was martyred at the same time; he was of the city of Milan; but the persecution was not yet begun there, or was already abated; he came to Rome, where it was at the height, and there suffered martyrdom, *Marcellinus* the presbyter, and *Peter* the exorcist, had their heads cut off in a forest, by order of the judge, that the place of their burial might not be known. Many other martyrs suffered at Rome in this persecution, whose names may be seen in the Martyrologies.

There were a great number of martyrs in the other parts of Italy. Agricola was taken at Bologna with his slave Vitalis; his slave was put upon a cross and executed first, in order to terrify the master. They were both buried amongst the Jews, and were afterwards taken thence by Ambrose. At Milan suffered *Nazarius* and *Celsus*, *Nabor* and *Felix*, *Gervatius* and *Protais*. At Aquilætia, *Cantius* and *Cantian*, two brothers, and *Cantianilla* their sister, who were of the Anician, a consular family; they were got into a chariot drawn by mules, in order to retire from the city, one of which fell down when they were not gone far from it, so they were seized, and suffered martyrdom with *Protus* their governor.

In Rhetia at Augusta, now called Ausgbourg, they apprehended a woman, whose name was *Afra*, known to have been a common prostitute. The judge, named Gaius, having examined her, and knowing who she was, said to her, Sacrifice to the gods; it is much better to live, than die in torments. Afra replied, I have been a great sinner before I knew God; but I will never do what you command me. Gaius said, Go and sacrifice in the capitol. Afra answered, My capitol is Jesus Christ, which I have before my eyes; I every day confess my sins; and because I am unworthy to offer him any sacrifice, I desire to sacrifice myself for his name's sake, that that body in which I have sinned,

may be sacrificed by torments. Gaius says to her, As I have been informed, you are a common woman; sacrifice, since you are a stranger to the God of the Christians. Afra replied, Our Lord Jesus Christ hath said, that he came down from heaven to save sinners: the Gospels testify, that an abandoned woman washed his feet with her tears, and received pardon, and that he never rejected either that woman or the publicans whom he permitted even to eat with him. The judge said, Sacrifice, that you may enjoy your lovers, and be enriched by them. Afra replied, I will have no more of that detestable gain; I have thrown away what I had as an excrement, finding my conscience grieved by it: my poor brethren would accept none of it. Here you may observe the ancient discipline of the Church; according to which the Church would not receive, even for the benefit of their poor, the offerings of public sinners, nor money acquired by wicked means.

Gaius said, Jesus Christ will have nothing to do with you: in vain you acknowledge him for your God: a prostitute woman cannot be called a Christian. It is true, replied Afra, I deserve not the name of a Christian; but the mercy of God, who respects not our merit, hath been pleased to admit me to that name. *Gaius.* How do you know that? *Afra.* I know that God hath not rejected me, inasmuch as he hath permitted me to come to the glorious confession of his holy name, by which I hope to obtain pardon for all my sins. The judge said, These are idle tales, sacrifice to the gods, who will save you. *Afra.* My Saviour is Jesus Christ, who upon the cross promised Paradise to the thief that confessed him. *Gaius.* Sacrifice, lest I should order you to be whipped in the presence of your lovers. *Afra.* I am confounded at nothing but my sins. Sacrifice then, said the judge; I am ashamed that I have disputed so long with you; if not you shall die. *Afra.* That is what I desire, if I am not unworthy to find rest by this confession. *Gaius.* Sacrifice, or I will order you to be tormented, and afterwards burnt alive. *Afra.* Let that body that hath sinned undergo divers torments: as for my soul, I shall not taint it by sacrificing to demons.

Then the judge passed this sentence upon her: we condemn Afra, who hath declared herself a Christian, to be burnt alive, because she would not partake of the sacrifices. The executioners immediately seized her, and carried her into an island called Lec, where they stripped her and tied her to a stake. She lifted up her eyes to heaven, and prayed with tears, saying, O Lord Jesus Christ, God Almighty, who came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance, and who hast promised by thy Word, which is inviolable, that whensoever a sinner turneth

to thee, thou wilt forget his iniquities; receive now the penance of my sufferings; and by this temporal fire which is prepared for my body, deliver me from fire everlasting, which destroys both body and soul in hell. Then they encompassed her with vine branches, and set them on fire. She was heard to say, I return thee thanks, O Lord Jesus Christ, for the honour done me, in receiving me as a victim for thy name's sake; thou who hast been offered as one only sacrifice upon the cross for the sins of the whole world; the just for the unjust; he that was without sin for sinners: I offer my sacrifice to thee, O my God, who reignest with the Father and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever, Amen. And having said this she gave up the ghost. In the mean time Digna, Eumenia, and Enprepia, who had been her slaves, and were sinners as well as their mistress, and had been baptized with her, went into the island, and there found the body of Afra. A boy who was with them swam back, and carried the news to Hilaria, the martyrs mother. She came in the night with some presbyters, took up the corpse, and buried it about two miles from the city, in a sepulchre which she had built for herself and family. Gaius hearing of this, sent orders thither, if possible, to persuade them to sacrifice; if not, to burn them in the same sepulchre. The soldiers having in vain tried both promises and threats, seeing them resolute in refusing to sacrifice, filled the sepulchre with vine branches and dry thorns, and shut it upon them, and setting fire to it, went away; so that the very same day on which Afra had been buried, her mother and three servants likewise suffered martyrdom. The sepulchres of the ancients were lofty buildings, and big enough to contain many apartments.

At Sirmium, a famous city in Pannonia, the governor Probas began the persecution. He seized *Montanus*, a presbyter of the Church of Singidum, and put him to death. Afterwards, *Irenæus*, bishop of Sirmium was taken up; and because he steadily refused to sacrifice to idols, Probus ordered him to be cruelly tormented. His father and mother being eye-witnesses of his torments, intreated him to relent; and his little children embraced his feet, and said, Father have compassion on yourself and us; and the women dissolved in tears, endeavoured all they could to move him: all his relations, domestics, neighbours, and friends, exhorted him, weeping, to have compassion on his youth. The governor said to him, What say you? suffer yourself to be wrought on by their tears, preserve your youth, and sacrifice. He replied, I preserve myself to all eternity by not sacrificing. The governor sent him to prison, where he remained a long time, suffering divers torments. At the second time of

examination, after having pressed him to sacrifice, he asked of him if he had a wife. No, said Irenæus. Nor children? I have none. Nor relations? No. Who then were those, who wept for you at the first examination? Irenæus answered, Our Lord Jesus Christ hath said, He that loveth father or mother, or wife or children, or brethren or kinsfolk more than me, is not worthy of me. When he had said this, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, as intimating, that he would take no more notice of any person upon earth. *Probus.* Sacrifice at least for their sakes. *Irenæus.* My children have the same God that I have, who is able to save them. *Probus.* I will pronounce sentence against thee. I shall be obliged to you for it, says Irenæus. Then Probus passed sentence after this manner: I order, that Irenæus, for disobeying the orders of the emperors, be thrown into the river. *Irenæus.* After so many menaces I expected great torments, and that you would have put me to death by the sword. I entreat you to do it, that you may see with what a contempt of death the Christians are inspired by faith. Probus enraged at this, ordered his head to be struck off. Irenæus returned thanks to God as for a second victory. When he came upon the bridge, stripping of his clothes, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he said, Lord Jesus Christ, who condescended to suffer for the salvation of the world, open the heavens to me who suffer for thy name. Vouchsafe to receive me through thy mercy, and strengthen me in the faith. Then his head being cut off, he was thrown into the Save on the sixth of April.

Afterwards the governor Probus came to Cibala another city of Pannonia, which was then an episcopal city, though now there is not the least remains of it left. On the same day that the governor arrived, they took Pullio the chief reader, and presented him to Probus, as being a man who spoke disrespectfully of the gods and of princes. Probus then condemned him to the fire, and immediately the executioners brought him about a mile from the city, where he accomplished his martyrdom, praising God.

Philip, a venerable old man, was bishop of Heraclea, the metropolis of Thrace: he was by his merit preferred to the episcopal dignity, having gradually passed through the inferior orders of priest and deacon: he had among his other disciples Severus the priest and Hermes the deacon, whom he confirmed in the sacred doctrine by frequent conferences. At the beginning of the persecution, many advised him to leave the city, but he would not even stir out of the Church, continuing to exhort the brethren to patience.

In the mean time the government of Bassus was expired, and Justin succeeded him. The Christians were much afflicted at this, for he was much severer than Bassus, who often yielded to reason, because his wife had served God for some time. Then Zoilus the magistrate of the city, accompanied with soldiers and a crowd of people, brought Philip to the tribunal of Justin, who asked him if he was bishop of the Christians? I am, replied Philip; I cannot deny it. Justin declared to him the emperor's order, and pressed him to sacrifice. *Philip.* I am a Christian, and therefore cannot do it; you have orders to punish, but cannot force. *Justin.* Thou knowest not the torments which attend you. *Philip.* You may torment, but not conquer me; no man shall oblige me to offer sacrifice. *Justin.* Thou shalt be dragged by the feet into the midst of the city, and if thou art still alive, shalt be put in prison, and reserved for new torments. *Philip.* God grant that you may do it. Justin commanded them to tie his feet, and drag him along. They dashed him against so many stones, that he was torn all over his body, and the brethren carried him back to prison.

The martyrs coming to Adrianople, were kept in the country house of a certain person named Sempor, until the governor's arrival. Next day, holding his court in the Thermæ, he caused Philip to be brought; and finding him still the same, ordered him to be stript. He was beaten with rods till his bowels appeared. His courage astonished the executioners and Justin himself, who caused him to be put in prison. Then he called Hermes, to whom all the officers were favourable, because he had been Decurio, which had given him an opportunity of obliging them; but he went likewise to the prison, where the holy martyrs joyfully gave thanks to Jesus Christ for this beginning of victory.

Three days after this, Justin pronounced their sentence in these terms: We order that Philip and Hermes, who, despising the orders of the emperor, having rendered themselves unworthy of the name of Romans, be burnt, that others may learn to obey the emperor. They went joyfully to the fire.

When they came to the place of punishment, the executioners, according to their custom, covered Philip's feet with earth up to the knees; and having tied his hands behind his back, nailed them to the pile: fire was put to the pile, and the martyrs gave thanks to God as long as they were able to speak.

In the same year, at Thessalonica, the governor Dulcetius being upon his tribunal, Artimensas the register said to him, If you please I will read the information given in by the Stationary

concerning these persons here present. Know, my lord, that Agathon, Agapa, Chionia, Irene, Casia, Philippa, and Entichia, will not eat of that which has been sacrificed to the gods; therefore I have caused them to be brought before you. Then he read their sentence, which was written thus: Agapa and Chyonia, who have out of malice and obstinacy contradicted the sacred edict of the emperors and Cæsars, and who, at present, profess the rash and false religion of Christians, which all pious persons abhor; I condemn them to be cast into the fire; and he added, As for Agathon, Casia, Philippa, and Irene, let them be imprisoned during my pleasure.

After these holy women were consumed in the fire, they brought again Irene to the governor. Irene was then exposed in a public place of lewdness; but, by the grace of the Holy Ghost, who protected her, no man durst approach her, nor say or do any indecency to her. The governor caused her to be brought again before his tribunal, and said, Dost thou persist in the same folly? Not in folly, said Irene, but in piety towards God. The governor calling for paper, wrote this sentence against her: Since Irene will not obey the emperor's orders, nor sacrifice to the gods, but on the contrary persists still in the Christian religion, I order, that she immediately be burnt alive, as her two sisters have been. The governor Dulcetius having pronounced this sentence, the soldiers seized Irene, and brought her to a rising ground, where her two sisters had suffered martyrdom: and having lighted a large pile, ordered her to mount thereon. Irene singing psalms, and celebrating the glory of God, threw herself upon the pile, and was there consumed on the twenty-fifth of March, 304.

There were reckoned several other martyrs at Thessalonica during this persecution; the most remarkable of them all was Demetrius. He was arrested by those who were ordered to seize Christians. The emperor Maximian Galerius, who was at Thessalonica, went to the amphitheatre to see the gladiators; when he was near it, they presented Demetrius to him; and informing him that he was a Christian, he ordered them to keep him in a public bath hard by, and went to see the combats. There was a gladiator called Lipæus there, whom the emperor loved very much, and who was thought to be invincible. The emperor promised a great reward to any that would fight him. A young man named Nestor went up and accepted the challenge, though the emperor endeavoured to hinder him. He gave Lipæus a mortal wound, of which he died upon the spot. At which the emperor was so much enraged, that without ordering a reward

to Nestor, he rose that moment and returned in displeasure to his palace. They put him in mind of Demetrius, and in his anger he ordered him to be run through with a lance in the place where he was kept.

At Tarsus, the metropolis of Cilicia, the governor Numerius Maximus being seated upon his tribunal, Demetrius, the centurion, brought before him Taracus, Probus, and Andronicus; saying, You here see before your tribunal those who were presented to you at Pompeiopolis, as persons professing the impious religion of the Christians. The governor Maximus then said to Taracus, What is your name? for you must answer first, as being first in order, and most advanced in years. *Taracus:* I am a Christian. *Maximus:* Give over that impious word: What is your name, I say? *Taracus:* I am a Christian. *Maximus:* Strike him on the mouth, and bid him not answer one thing for another. *Taracus:* I tell you my true name; if you ask me what name I am commonly called by, my parents named me Taracus, and when I bore arms, they called me Victor. *Maximus:* Of what station are you? *Taracus:* I am of the military order, and of a Roman family; I was born at Claudiopolis, in Isauria, and because I am a Christian, I have now quitted the service. *Maximus:* It is because you are not permitted to serve on account of your impiety; who was it that gave you your dismission? *Taracus:* I entreated Fulvio, the chief of the file, and he dismissed me. And I also, says Maximus, in regard to your hoary head, will favour you, and procure you honour and the friendship of the emperors, if you will observe my orders. Draw near then, and do sacrifice to the gods, as the emperors themselves have done in all places. *Taracus:* They themselves are deceived, being carried away by the prevailing error of Satan. *Maximus:* Break his jaws for saying that the emperors are deceived. *Taracus:* I did say it, and will still persist in it, that they are deceived as they are men. *Maximus:* I bid you sacrifice to the god of our fathers, and quit your opinion. *Taracus:* I do serve the god of my fathers, not with bloody sacrifices, but with purity of heart; for God hath no need of such sacrifices. *Maximus:* Draw near then, and sacrifice. *Taracus:* I cannot be guilty of an impiety: I told you that I honoured the laws of my fathers. *Maximus:* What other law then is there, wretch? *Taracus:* Yes, there is one, and you violate it, by adoring wood and stone, the invention of men. *Maximus:* Strike him on the neck, saying to him, Quit thy folly. *Taracus:* I will not quit this folly, which is my salvation. *Maximus:* I will learn you to quit it, and make you wise. *Taracus:* Do as you please, my body is in your power.

Then Maximus said, Take off his tunic, and beat him with rods. *Taracus:* You have now made me truly wise, by strengthening me with your blows, in order to give me greater confidence in God, and his Son Christ. *Maximus:* Thou impious and wicked wretch, how comes it to pass that you deny the gods, who own that you serve two gods? *Taracus:* I acknowledge him who is God indeed. *Maximus:* You also gave the title God to a certain person named Christ. *Taracus:* It is true, for that Christ is the Son of the living God; he is the hope of the Christians; it is he who saves us by his sufferings. *Maximus:* Leave these idle discourses, draw near and sacrifice. *Taracus:* I am no speaker, I am now sixty years old, I have been brought up in this way, and will not forsake the truth. Demetrius, the centurion, said, My friend, save yourself, believe me and sacrifice. *Taracus:* Stand back, thou minister of Satan, and keep your advice to yourself. *Maximus:* Let him be put in double irons, and carried back to prison. Bring out him that is the second in years.

Demetrius, the centurion, says, Here he is, Sir. *Maximus:* Lay aside useless discourse, and tell me what is your name. *Probus:* First and chiefly, I am called a Christian; in the next place, amongst men I am called Probus. *Maximus:* Of what station are you? *Probus:* My father was a Thracian, and I was born at Sida, in Pamphylia, and am one of those people called Christians. *Maximus:* Believe me, that name is of no moment; sacrifice to the gods, that you may be honoured by the emperors, and enjoy our friendship. *Probus:* I want not the honour of the emperors, and am not solicitous for your friendship: I had a very considerable estate, which I disposed of for the service of God, living by Jesus Christ. *Maximus:* Take off his cloak, gird him, stretch him out, and beat him with the sinews of an ox. This manner of girding those who were punished, taken notice of even in the gospel, was probably designed that they might not be exposed naked, they therefore made them a sort of girdle with their tunic, or something else. Whilst they were beating Probus with the ox's sinews, Demetrius, the centurion, said to him, Spare yourself, my friend, you see how your blood runs upon the ground. *Probus:* I yield up my body to you; your torments are a sweet savour. *Maximus:* Will you not, at length, forsake your folly? What dost thou expect, wretch? *Probus:* I am not a fool; I am wiser than you, because I do not worship devils. *Maximus:* Turn him, and strike him on the belly. *Probus:* Lord, assist thy servant. Then says Maximus, Ask, as you strike him, where is he that assists you? *Probus:* He does assist me, and will assist me; for I so much despise your

torments, that I do not obey you. Look, wretch, upon your body, says Maximus, the ground is covered with your blood. Know, replies Probus, that by how much my body suffers for Jesus Christ, my soul is so much the more vigorous. *Maximus*: Put him in irons, and extend them as far as the fourth hole, and let nobody dress his wounds. Bring out the next before the tribunal.

Demetrius, the centurion, says, Here he is, Sir. *Maximus*: What is your name? *Andronicus*: I am a Christian, for that is what you want to know; I tell you, therefore, I am a Christian. *Maximus*: As that name has been of no use to those who have gone before you, tell me, in one word, your name, which is what I ask of you. *Andronicus*: If you want to know the name by which I am commonly called amongst men, It is Andronicus. *Maximus*: What are you by birth. *Andronicus*: I am noble, and the son of one of the chief men of the city of Ephesus. *Maximus*: Leave this idle discourse; believe me, I speak to you like a father; those who came before you, behaved as if they were mad, and they gained nothing by it. Honour the emperors, sacrifice to the gods of your fathers, and we will serve you. *Andronicus*: You do well to call them the gods of your fathers, since Satan is your father, and you are become demons, for his works ye do. *Maximus*: Your youth makes you insolent. *Andronicus*: I seem young to you in respect of my age, but my mind is far advanced, and prepared for all things. *Maximus*: Leave this discourse, and sacrifice, that you may escape the torments. *Andronicus*: Do you think, that, at my age, I have no understanding, and that I have less courage than the rest? I am prepared for whatever may happen.

The governor said: Pull off his clothes, gird him, and tie him. Demetrius, the centurion, said: Obey, my friend, before your body is destroyed. *Andronicus*: It is better to lose my body than my soul; do what you think fit. *Maximus*: Obey and sacrifice, before I go about to kill thee. *Andronicus*: I have never sacrificed to demons, even from my childhood, and I will not begin now. *Maximus*: Let him be seized. Athanasius, the Cornicularius, which was a sort of register, says to him, Obey the governor; I am your father, in respect of my age, and I advise you to it. *Andronicus*: Be gone; keep your advice to yourself; you are not the wiser for being old; you are very eager to give this good advice, to make me sacrifice to stones and devils. The governor said to him, Wretch, art thou insensible of torments, that thou wilt not have pity on thyself, nor give over thy foolishness? *Andronicus*: This foolishness is expedient for

us, who hope in Jesus Christ, but earthly wisdom leads those who have it to eternal death. The governor says, Who taught thee this folly? *Andronicus*: Our Saviour Jesus Christ, for whom we live and shall live in heaven, having our hope in him. *Maximus:* Leave this folly, before I cause thee to be put to death by the cruellest torments. *Andronicus:* My body is before you; you have power over it, do as you think fit. The governor says, Tear his limbs with violence. *Andronicus:* God sees it, and will speedily judge: I have done no evil, and you torment me like a murderer. *Maximus:* Thou art impious in respect of the gods, thou contemnest the emperors and my tribunal, and yet you say that you have done no evil. *Andronicus:* I contend for the piety that is due to the true God. *Maximus:* If you were pious, you would honour the gods, whom the emperors themselves religiously respect. *Andronicus:* It is impiety, and not piety, to forsake the living God to adore wood and stone. *Maximus*: Are the emperors then impious, thou villain? *Andronicus*: In my opinion, they are; and you yourself, if you would reason justly, would plainly perceive that it is impiety to do sacrifice to demons. *Maximus:* Carry him back, and prick him in the sides. *Andronicus:* I am before you; torment my body as much as you please. The governor says, Salt him, and rub his sides with firebrands. *Andronicus*: You have hardened my body with wounds. *Maximus:* I will cause thee to be put to death by degrees. *Andronicus*: I am not afraid of your menaces; my resolution is stronger than all your intentions, or than your malice: wherefore, I despise your torments. The governor says, Put chains about his neck and feet, and keep him in prison.

The second examination was held at Mopsuesta. The governor Maximus said, Bring hither those impious wretches, who follow the religion of the Christians. Demetrius, the centurion, said, Here they are, Sir. The governor says to Taracus, All men seem to reverence old age, because good sense attends on it: take, therefore, good advice from thyself, and do not follow thy former notions; sacrifice to the gods, and receive the praise that is due to piety. Taracus says, I am a Christian; as for the praise which you are speaking of, I wish that both you and the emperors would leave your blindness, to embrace more reasonable sentiments; that the true God might strengthen you, and give you life. The governor says, Believe me, for it is thy interest; draw near and sacrifice. Taracus says, If I knew that it was more advantageous for me, I would not suffer all these torments. And as he then spoke no more, the governor said, Strike him on the mouth, and bid him cry out. *Taracus:* Though you deprive me of speech, you shall not alter my sentiments; on the contrary, you have strengthened my resolution

by your punishments. The governor says, I know how to shake your impious resolution. *Taracus*: I am ready to withstand all your attacks; but I overcome you in the name of God who strengthens me. The governor says, Open his hands, and bring him to the fire. *Taracus*: I am not afraid of your fire, which is but temporal: I am only afraid of being condemned to that which is eternal, if I should obey you. The governor says, Behold, your hands are destroyed by the fire; forsake thy folly, thou mad wretch, and do sacrifice. *Taracus*: You speak to me, as if I refused those cruel tortures which you invent for me; be assured, therefore, now at least, that I am resolved against all your assaults. The governor says, Bind his feet, and tie him up in the air, and put an offensive smoke under his face. *Taracus*. I despised your fire, and shall not be afraid of your smoke. *Maximus*: Whilst you are tied up, consent to sacrifice. *Taracus*: Do you sacrifice, proconsul, being accustomed to do sacrifice to men; but for my part, God preserve me from doing it. *Maximus*: Mix sharp vinegar and salt together, and pour it into his nostrils. *Taracus*: Thy vinegar seems mild, and thy salt insipid to me. Maximus says, Untie him, put him in irons, and deliver him to the gaoler. Call the next.

Demetrius, the centurion, says, Here he is, Sir. *Maximus*. Tell me, Probus, are you determined to free yourself from the torture, or have you not yet renounced your foolishness? I advise you to draw near and sacrifice to the gods, as the emperors do, for the safety of mankind. *Probus*: I come before you to-day better prepared and farther strengthened by the examination which I have already undergone. Try me, therefore, by all your inventions; for neither you nor your emperors, nor the demons whom you serve, nor Satan your father, shall ever persuade me to be so impious, as to adore gods whom I know not. I have a God, the living God of heaven; he it is whom I adore and serve. *Maximus*: And are not these living gods, thou impious wretch. *Probus*: How can those, who exist only in wood and stone, and the works of men's hands, be living gods? You are deceived, proconsul; it is a great argument of ignorance to serve them. *Maximus:* Do you believe then, thou wicked wretch, that I am deceived when I admonish you, and serve the gods? *Probus*: Let the gods perish who have not made heaven and earth, and all those who serve them. *Maximus:* Leave off these fooleries, Probus; sacrifice to the gods, and save yourself. *Probus:* I do not serve gods, but I serve and worship him whom I know to be the True God. *Maximus:* Well then, draw near to the altar of Jupiter, and sacrifice, that you may not serve several gods, according to your own argument. *Probus:* I have one God in heaven, he it is whom I fear; but I fear not those

whom you call gods. *Maximus*: I have already said, and now repeat it; sacrifice to Jupiter the great, the invincible, who seeth all things. What, says Probus, to him who married his own sister, to that adulterer, that unchaste and profane person, as all the poets testify, to say nothing of the rest of his vile actions; it is great want of justice in you to desire me to sacrifice to him? *Maximus*: Strike him on the mouth, and say to him, Do not blaspheme! *Probus:* Why do you abuse me? I have only told you what is related by those who adore him; therefore, I do not lie, I speak the truth, as you know very well. *Maximus*: Tie him, lay him down, and scourge him with the raw sinews of an ox, saying to him, Sacrifice and be wise. Probus said, I fear not your fire, and regard not your tortures.

Demetrius, the centurion, says, Here is Andronicus. Then Maximus addressed himself to him thus; Those who were examined before you suffered at first several torments to no purpose; but, after undergoing various kinds of punishments, they were forced to honour the gods, and are now upon the point of receiving the most distinguishing marks of honour from the emperors. Wherefore, spare yourself, sacrifice to the gods, and you shall receive suitable honours: If not, I swear by the gods, and the invincible emperors, that I will punish your disobedience in a very extraordinary manner. *Andronicus*: Do not accuse those who have answered before me of such weakness, nor think to impose upon me by such artifices, nor to awe me into a compliance; I shall not be such a villain: I continue steadfast, being armed with that faith which I have in our Lord. *Maximus*: Tie him to a stake, and scourge him with the raw sinews of an ox. Those, said Andronicus, who love the living God, value not that. *Maximus*: Rub his back with salt. *Andronicus*: Salt me more, that I may be incorruptible, and the better able to resist your malice. Turn him, says Maximus, and strike him on the belly, to aggravate the pain of his former wounds, and to make it pierce even to his marrow. *Andronicus*: I am entirely healed of the wounds which the first day's torments occasioned, as you saw when I was presented before your tribunal: He who then healed, will still continue to heal me. *Maximus*: This foolish talk shall avail you nothing; but come near and sacrifice to the gods, for fear I make you some disagreeable overtures. *Andronicus*: I have nothiug to answer but what I have told you once or twice before; for I am no child, to let myself be amused with fine speeches. The governor says, You Christians shall not get the better of me, nor despise my tribunal. *Andronicus*: Your threats shall not make any impressions upon us; you shall find us to be valiant champions, through the strength which God gives us in our Saviour Jesus Christ: And you know, perhaps,

very well, O proconsul, that we fear neither you nor your tortures.

The third examination was made at Anazarba, in Cilicia. Numerius Maximus said, Call these impious wretches of the Christian religion. Demetrius, the centurion, answered, They are here, Sir. When Taracus made his appearance, the governor said to him, At last, resolve not to bring upon yourself any more torments, but come and sacrifice. He answers, In my first confession at Tarsus, and in my second at Mopsuesta, I owned myself a Christian: I am here yet the same; for I must not subvert the truth. *Maximus*: When I have destroyed you by torture, what will it avail you to repent, you miserable wretch? He answered, If I repented, I should have been afraid of your torments the first or second time, and have submitted to your pleasure; now I am firm, and, by the grace of God, I regard you not: Do what you will. *Maximus*: O miserable wretch, you will compel me to treat you worse than I have hitherto tormented any person. *Taracus:* Think not to terrify me by your words; I am ready to undergo any thing you can inflict, having on the armour of God. Then, says the governor, bring hither a razor and cut off his ears, and shave his head, and then cut off all the skin of his head with the razor. Taracus replies, If you were to excoriate my whole body, you should not compel me to forsake my God. The governor says, Take the red-hot instruments and thrust them into his sides. Taracus, in his sufferings, said, God beholds from heaven, and will judge between us. What God dost thou invoke, thou villain? says the governor. *Taracus:* Him, whom you know not, who shall render to every man according to his works. Then says the governor, Carry him back to the prison, and to-morrow expose him to wild beasts. Bring forth another.

Demetrius, the Centurion, said, My lord, here he is. Then says the governor, Take heed to yourself, Probus; I am persuaded you are by this time become wise, and are willing to sacrifice, that you may be honoured by us as one piously disposed towards the gods. *Probus.* We are of the same sentiments; we serve the Lord our God; never hope to hear us say otherwise: Neither your promises nor threats will be of any availance; you shall not lessen my courage; I offer myself boldly before you, despising your cruelty; what then do you expect; why do you not display your fury? The governor said, You have all agreed with equal malice to renounce the gods. And when Probus had answered several times, Maximus said, Bind him, put the girdle about him, and hang him up by the feet. *Probus.* All that you can do to me will be profitable for my soul; therefore do as you think fitting. The governor said, Make the instruments red-hot

and thrust them into his sides, to make him wiser. *Probus.* The greater fool I appear to thee, by so much the wiser am I in the sight of God. The governor says, Heat the instruments again, and burn his back. *Probus.* My body is indeed in thy power; but the Lord of heaven beholds my humility and sufferings, and will judge between me and thee. *Maximus.* O wretch, he whom thou invokest hath delivered thee up to suffer this which thou dost well deserve. *Probus.* My God is good, he wisheth evil to no man. *Maximus.* Fill out some wine from the altars, and put the flesh in his mouth. *Probus.* O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, behold from on high the violence that is done me, and judge my cause. The governor says, Now thou hast suffered wretchedly, and at last eaten of the sacrifice. *Probus.* O wicked man, know this, that had you compelled me to devour the whole sacrifice, you had done me no injury, for the Lord from heaven sees the violence that I suffer. Heat the instruments, says the governor, and burn the calves of his legs. *Probus.* I have given you up my body, that I may preserve my soul sound and entire.

The governor said, Take him away to prison; suffer none of their companions to come near them and commend them, because they have continued obstinate in their impiety; for they shall assuredly be exposed to the first combat there is of wild beasts. Call out the impious Andronicus.

Demetrius the centurion answered, He is here. The governor said to him, At present at least hast thou pity on thy youth, and take the wise resolution to be pious towards the gods? otherwise you must expect no mercy; draw near then, sacrifice to the gods, and save thyself. *Andronicus.* Woe to thee, thou enemy to truth; I am ready to sustain your fiercest attacks by the help of the Lord, and to shew you the strength of my youth, and the steadfastness of my soul. The governor said, Take him back and keep him in prison, to be exposed to wild beasts with his companions, at the first combat.

After the martyrs had been thus examined the third time, Maximus called for Terentianus, the pontiff of Cilicia, and ordered him to exhibit, the next day, a spectacle of wild beasts to all the inhabitants of the city. Immediately Terentianus ordered the directors of these shows to be in readiness. Then very early in the morning the whole city, even women and children, went out to the amphitheatre, which was about a mile from the city. When it was filled with people, Maximus came thither, and assisted at the public shews. After they had continued one part of the day, and many men lay slaughtered on the ground, either by the gladiators or the beasts, Maximus on a sudden sent for his soldiers to bring forth the martyrs. The fire and other tortures had put them out of a condition of walking, so that the soldiers

were obliged to carry them. Some Christians, who privately observed it, in order to be witnesses of their combat, placed themselves upon a neighbouring mountain, and being seated between the rocks, they prayed with tears and groans. When the martyrs were brought into the midst of the Amphitheatre, there arose a great noise among the people. Many were full of indignation at their being so unjustly condemned: And others, being offended at the cruelty of the sight, withdrew, casting bitter reproaches upon Maximus. He ordered notice to be taken of those who withdrew, to have them summoned before him the next day, to receive condemnation.

There were several beasts let loose upon the martyrs, which refused to touch them. Then Maximus fell into a great rage, and sending for the governor, commanded him to be whipt, and said to him with terrible threats, If you have any beast more furious than another, let him loose against those criminals. He, trembling all over, unchained a bear, which had killed three men that same day. When she came near them, she passed by the rest, and went to Andronicus, and licked his wounds. Maximus, in a rage, ordered her to be slain; and her throat was cut at the feet of Andronicus. Terentianus the Pontiff, fearing lest Maximus should attribute it to him, ordered a lioness to be let loose which Herod the pontiff of Antioch had sent him. When she appeared, she made the spectators tremble, by her roaring and the grinding of her teeth; and seeing the martyrs lying on the ground, she came to Taracus, and threw herself at his feet. Taracus stretched out his hand, and taking her by the hair and the ears, drew her to him. She suffered herself to be drawn like a sheep, without any resistance; then she returned towards the door, without stopping either at Probus or Andronicus. Maximus enraged, seized upon Terentianus, and ordered the gladiators to come in and cut the throats of the martyrs, which was accordingly executed.

The faithful took care to collect the records of the three examinations. and obtained a copy from one of the executioners, named Sebastus, procuring them for two hundred denarii. These records they sent to the faithful of Iconium, by certain persons who had been eye-wittnesses of the execution, and with them a letter, the title of which was this: Pamphilus, Marcion, Lycias, Agathocles, Parmenoen, Diodorus, Felix, Gemellus, Athenion, Tharacus, Orosus; to Aquilus Bassus, Berullus, Timotheus, and to all the brethren that are at Iconium. Afterwards they entreated them to send those records to the brethren of Pisidia and Pamphylia, to edify and strengthen them in the faith. After the records, and a recital of the execution, they placed the date in these terms: These holy martyrs finished their course in the

first year of the persecution, and the fifteenth of the ides of October.

In the same province of Cilicia, at Tarsus, the metropolis, Julitta suffered martyrdom, together with her young child. She was of Lycaonia, of royal blood, and fearing the persecution which raged horribly under the governor Domitian, she left her estate, which was very considerable, and with only two servants, and her son Cyricus, who was no more than three years old; she arrived at Seleucia, where she found the persecution still more violent, under Alexander their governor, far worse than Domitian. From thence she went to Tarsus, but Alexander, as it were designedly, arrived there at the same time. She was apprehended, holding her infant in her arms: her servants fled, till they saw what would be the event. They then brought her before the Tribunal; Alexander demanded her name, quality, and country. She answered, I am a Christian. Alexandria ordered her child to be taken from her, who resisted with all his might, and still kept his eyes fixed upon his mother. But the executioners carried him to the governor, who ordered the mother to be extended, and cruelly whipt with thongs. She only replied, I am a Christian, and will never sacrifice to Demons. In the mean while Alexander held the infant on his knees, stroaked him with his hand, and endeavoured to kiss it, to prevent him from crying: But the child, having his eyes still fixed upon his mother, would take no notice of the governor, do what he could. The governor being enraged, took him by the foot, and threw him to the ground from off his tribunal. The child's head was broken, and his brains scattered on the corners of the steps, and all the place round about sprinkled with blood. I thank you, my lord, says she, that it hath pleased you to let my son receive with me an immortal crown.

But the judge, being unconcerned at what he had done, commanded her sides to be torn, and scalding pitch to be poured upon her feet, which was brought thither in a chaldron. At the same time he ordered proclamation to be made by a crier: Julitta, take pity on thyself, and sacrifice to the gods, lest you should die miserably as your son hath done. She answered, crying out, I will not sacrifice to dumb and deaf statues, that is to say, Demons; but I adore Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, by whom the Father hath made all things; and I hasten to rejoin my son in the kingdom of heaven. The judge then ordered her head to be struck off, and the body of her son to be thrown among those that were executed. The executioners carried her to the ordinary place of execution, where, after she had prayed to Jesus Christ, her head was cut off, and her body thrown with-

out the city, together with her son's. This happened on the sixteenth of July.

This second year the persecution was more violent in Palestine than the preceding. Urban, the governor, had letters sent him by the emperor, commanding, that all people throughout the cities should sacrifice to idols, without confining himself to the clergy, as he had formerly done. At Gaza, Timotheus was burnt to death on a gentle fire. With him suffered Agapius and Thecla, who were condemned to be devoured by wild beasts. At length when the Pagans were celebrating one of their ordinary feasts, there was a rumour spread that all the condemned persons would be exposed to wild beasts. Then six young men, Tymolaus born in Pontus, Dionysius of Tripoli in Phœnicia, Romulus a Subdeacon of Diospolis, two Egyptians, Pausis and Alexander, with another Alexander of Gaza, confessed that they were Christians. The governor, and they who attended him, were surprised. The martyrs were put in prison, and a few days after two others were joined to them: a second Agapius, who had already suffered divers torments for the faith on another occasion; and a second Dionysius, who was his servant. These eight had their heads cut off at Cæsarea, all on the same day.

At Alexandria in Egypt, Proculus the judge, being seated on his tribunal, said, Call hither Theodora. An officer said, She is here. The judge asked her, Of what quality are you? Theodora answered, I am a Christian. Were you born free, or a slave? says he. I have already told you I am a Christian. Jesus Christ is come to deliver me; for in this world I was born of free parents. The judge said, Call hither the governor of the city: And when he was come, he said to him, And what do you know of Theodora? Lucius, the curator, said, May it please you, Sir, she is a free woman of a very good family. The judge said, the Emperors have commanded that you shall either sacrifice to the gods, or be exposed in infamous places. *Theodora:* I believe you are ignorant that it is the will God regards, and that a violence thus suffered is no crime. The judge said, I have pity on you, on the consideration of your birth and beauty. I advise you not to despise me, for it will avail nothing, by all the gods. I confess first Jesus Christ, says Theodora, who hath given me honour and nobility, and he knows how to protect innocence. The judge said, Beat her severely; and then added, Be not so stupid, come and sacrifice to the gods. *Theodora:* By the assistance of Jesus Christ, I will never sacrifice to, nor adore Demons. *Judge:* You compel me, notwithstanding your quality, to affront you before all the people, who wait to hear your sentence: At last, says he, I will give you three days time, and by the gods, if you do not obey, you shall be exposed; that all women may

see it, and be warned by your example. *Theodora:* Those three days are already passed for me; do as you please, but I pray you let me be free from insults, until the sentence is passed. Then, says the judge, I ordain that Theodora be under guard for three days, to see if she will overcome her obstinacy, but let there be no rudeness shewn towards her, because of her nobility.

Three days after, he ordered Theodora to be brought before him; and seeing that she persisted in her resolution, he said, the dread of the Emperors obliges me to pronounce sentence against thee, lest I should become culpable myself. *Theodora:* God, who knows all hidden things, and every thing before it comes to pass, who hath kept me unspotted till now, knows how to protect me against those who would do me injury. She was then conducted to the place; and being entered into it, lift up her eyes to heaven, and said, O Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, assist me, and take me hence; thou who didst succour Peter in prison, and didst take him thence, without his sustaining any hurt, take me from hence without spot; to the end, that all may see that I am thy servant. The people being round the house, observing who went in first, God raised up a Christian, named Didymus, who habited himself like a soldier, and went in to her. Theodora, seeing him, was much troubled. He said to her, I am not such a one as you think me; I am your brother, who assume this profane habit on purpose to deliver you: Come, let us change habits; take that you were afraid of and go out, and I will remain in yours: She consented, and took likewise a hat, which she drew over her face, as seeming ashamed, as she had been advised. He bid her look downwards, and speak to no man. Thus she happily escaped.

About an hour after another entered, and finding a man instead of a woman, he was surprised; the judge being apprized of what had past, ordered Didymus to be brought before him. He asked him his name, and who had put him upon doing that action. It was God, replied Didymus. The judge said, Of what quality are you. He replied, I am a Christian, delivered by Jesus Christ. The judge then threatened him, if he did not sacrifice to the gods, to torment him doubly, both as a Christian, and as having rescued Theodora; but seeing him resolute, he ordered his head to be cut off, and his body to be thrown into the fire.

But Theodora ran to the place of punishment to dispute with him the crown of martyrdom. It is I, says Didymus, who was condemned: And it is I, says Theodora; I will not be guilty of your death, I had rather die blameless. I consented that you should preserve my honour, but not my life; I avoided infamy, but not death. If you deprive me of the crown of martyrdom,

you will deceive me. In short they both obtained it, being put to death.

These are the principal martyrs who suffered, during the second year of the persecution, and of Jesus Christ 304. And from that time it ceased in the West. Eusebius, who then lived, hath testified it in these terms, All Italy, Sicily, Gaul, Spain, Mauritania, and Africa, were at peace, by the favour of God, before the two first years of the persecution were ended.

The emperor Dioclesian continued sick all the year 304, he being then the ninth time consul. After having spent the summer at Ravenna, he went through Pannonia along the Danube, and came to Nicomedia, where his distemper began to be at the height: however, he appeared at the dedication of a Circus at the end of his twentieth year. His distemper increased to such a degree, that prayers were offered in all the temples for the continuance of his life. On the thirteenth of December he was thought to be dead, though he recovered the next day, but was so weak that he lost his senses at certain times, and soon after came to himself again. The generality thought that his death was concealed till the arrival of Cæsar Galerius; and they would not believe the contrary till he appeared in public, on the first of March, in the year 305; and as he had been sick near a year, he was hardly known to be the same person. Galerius arrived at Nicomedia soon after this accident, and took the opportunity of the condition in which he found Dioclesian his adopted father, to oblige him to quit the empire; as he had already persuaded Maximian Herculius, by making him apprehensive of a civil war.

Galerius governed after a tyrannical manner. Ever since he had conquered the Persians, he highly extolled their arbitrary government, and the custom of treating their subjects like slaves: he therefore upon all occasions encroached upon the Roman liberty. He caused all sorts of people to be tortured, without having any regard to their dignity, forcing women that were free, and even noble, to live in his palace. He had bears of a very large size, which, many thought, he resembled very much; these he caused to devour people for his diversion, chiefly when he was at his meals. He took delight in burning people by slow fires; and having accustomed himself to torture the Christians, he treated all others in the same manner, whom he thought to be guilty; so that it was looked upon as a singular favour to allow a man to have his head cut off. Eloquence was extinguished under his government, and the Advocati and Juriscon-sulti were either killed or banished. Learning seemed to him to be of evil consequence, and he hated those who were skilled

in it. The judges whom he sent into the provinces were ignorant and brutish soldiers; they had no assistants; he allowed them all manner of liberty, without any regard to the laws. He laid waste whole provinces by the hardships of his taxes, by capitations, and by rigorous exactions. He seemed to seek vengeance upon all the Roman people, for Trajan's having subdued the Daci his ancestors; and that none might be exempt from his impositions under the pretence of poverty, he caused all the beggars that could be found, to be put into vessels, and thrown into the sea. Such was the tyranny of Galerius Maximin, which he chiefly practised against the Christians; and therefore the persecution was sharpest in this third year, but that only in the east. There was no longer any difference made between Clerks and Laymen, but all Christians were put to death without distinction. Cæsar Maximin, who governed the east under him, seconded him with all his might, and the disorder was so great, that several fled and dispersed themselves in different places.

At Cæsarea, in Palestine, there was a young man, whose name was Apphian, who was not yet twenty years of age. He was born at Pagas in Lycia, of rich parents, and had studied at Beryntas, where there was a celebrated school for instructing youth in the knowledge of the Roman laws; but he had withstood all the temptations to which his age was subject, and had constantly avoided bad company; living with that purity and modesty which christianity requires. Being returned to his own city, where his father was one of the first rank, he could not continue with his parents, because he could not have the freedom of living as his religion directed; and so fled away privately. Providence conducted him to Cæsarea, where he lived with Eusebius the historian; and in a little time made a great progress in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures.

The persecution was a second time begun in the third year from its being first set on foot. There came letters from the new Cæsar Maximinus, containing orders to the governors to compel all people to sacrifice, without distinction. Throughout the city of Cæsarea the criers summoned the men with their wives and children to the temples of the idols, and the tribunes called every soldier by his name upon the rolls. Then Apphian went to find out the governor Urbanus as he was sacrificing, and came near him without being perceived by the guards that surrounded him. He took him boldly by the hand, and hindered him from sacrificing, talking gravely to him, and advising him to undeceive himself; representing to him that it was not reasonable to quit the only true God to sacrifice to idols and demons. Immediately those who were about the governor fell upon Apphian like so

many wild beasts, and wounded him in every part of his body, and cast him into prison, where he remained a day and a night, with irons upon his legs.

The next day he was brought before the governor, who being desirous to compel him to sacrifice, commanded that he should suffer the most exquisite tortures: he had his sides torn not only once or twice, but several times; insomuch that his bones and entrails appeared, and his face was so swollen with the blows that he had received, that it was not to be known. And as he would not in the least yield to them, the executioners applied to his feet lighted matches dipped in oil. The fire burnt up his flesh, and penetrated even to the very bone, but he still continued resolute, and was remanded back to prison. The third day he was again brought before the judge: he persisted in his confession, and though half dead was thrown into the sea. Immediately there arose so great a tempest, not only upon the sea, but in the air likewise, that the earth and the whole city was shook by it. All those who were then at Cæsarea were witnesses of this miracle, and amongst the rest, Eusebius, who relates it. At the same time, and on the same day, a young man named Ulpian suffered martyrdom at Tyre. After having been cruelly scourged and tormented, he was sown up in a leathern sack with a dog and an asp, and thrown into the sea; which was a punishment usually inflicted on parricides.

Apphian had a brother by his father's side, named Edesius. He had been several times a confessor, and after a long imprisonment was condemned to work in the mines of Palestine. He had studied more than his brother, and before he became a Christian, had been a professed philosopher, and still wore the habit. Being at Alexandria, and observing how outrageously the judge proceeded against the Christians, by tormenting grave men, and delivering up women of singular piety, and even virgins to the infamous purchasers of slaves; he came boldly to him, and having by his reproaches put the judge into a confusion, he generously suffered divers kinds of torments, and was at length thrown into the sea after the same manner as his brother. This happened a very little time after.

Cyrinus, Nazarius, Nabor, and Basilides, four worthy christian officers at Rome, were thrown into prison for their faith, scourged with rods of wire, and then beheaded.

Two Roman military officers, Nicander and Marcian, were apprehended on account of their faith. As they were both men of great abilities, the utmost endeavours were made to induce them to renounce christianity; but being without effect, they were ordered to be beheaded. The execution was attended by vast crowds of the populace, among whom were the wives of the

two sufferers. The consort of Nicander was a Christian, and encouraged her husband to meet his fate with fortitude; but the wife of Marcian being a pagan, intreated her husband to save himself, for the sake of her and her child. Marcian, however, reproved her for her idolatry and folly, but before the stroke was given, he embraced her and the infant. Nicander likewise took leave of his wife in the most affectionate manner, and then both, with great resolution, received the crown of martyrdom. Besides these there were several others, whose names and sufferings are not recorded by the ancient historians.

There was at Rome a woman descended of a Senatorial race, named Aglaa. Her head steward. named Boniface, was kind to the poor. She gave him a large sum of money to distribute, and ordered him to purchase some relicks of the martyrs.

Boniface departed, and as he travelled along, he arrived at the city of Tarsus, and knowing that many had suffered martyrdom there, he said to those who accompanied him, My brethren, look out for an inn, and rest our horses; I am going to look after what I more earnestly desire. Being arrived at the place of martyrdom, he saw the martyrs under their tortures; one with his head hung downwards, and a fire kindled underneath him; another stretched out at four stakes; another cut asunder by the executioner, with a saw; another with his flesh torn; another had his hands cut off; another had a stake fixed in his throat, and was also nailed to the ground; another had his feet and hands turned behind him, and the executioners beat them with sticks: they were in number about twenty, and their tortures caused great horror in the spectators. Boniface approached the martyrs, and kissed them, crying out, Great is the God of the Christians; great is the God of the holy martyrs: I intreat you who are servants of Jesus Christ, pray for me, that I may join with you in fighting against the devil. He then sat down at their feet and embraced their bonds, kissing them, and saying, Fight martyrs for the cause of Jesus Christ, trample the devil under foot; have but a little patience, the pain is small, but the recompence is great.

The governor, casting his eyes around the people, perceived him, and said, Who is this who thus affronts me and the gods? let him be brought before my tribunal. Then the governor said to him, Who are you who despise the splendor of my seat? *Boniface:* I am a Christian, and having Jesus Christ for my master, I despise both you and your tribunal. The governor said, What is your name? *Boniface:* I have already told you that I am a Christian; but if you would know the name I commonly go by, it is Boniface. The governor said, Before I take hold of you, come hither and sacrifice. I have told you several times, says Boniface, that I am a Christian, and that I do not

sacrifice to demons; if you will do any thing, do it, here is my body ready for you. The governor, in a rage, ordered some reeds to be sharpened and be thrust under the nails of his hands. Boniface looked up to heaven, and suffered patiently. The governor seeing this, ordered his mouth to be opened and boiling lead to be put into it. Before this was done, Boniface looking up to heaven, made this prayer; I thank thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God; come to the support of thy servant, comfort me under my pains, and suffer me not to be overcome. Thou knowest it is for thy name's sake that I suffer. Having ended his prayer, he cried out to the other martyrs, I intreat you, servants of Jesus Christ, pray for me. The martyrs cried out all with one voice, The Lord himself will send his angel to deliver us; he will, in a short time, finish our course, and place our names among the first-born. After they had finished their prayer and said Amen, the people wept, and cried out, Great is the God of the Christians. O Jesus Christ, thou Son of God, save us.

The governor, dreading the power of Jesus Christ, and the patience of the martyr, commanded his head to be cut off with a sword, saying, We ordain, that whosoever shall not obey the laws of the empire, do suffer a capital punishment. Upon this, the soldiers immediately took him from the tribunal; and the martyr desired the executioners to allow him a little time for prayer: then, standing with his face towards the east, he said, O Lord God Almighty, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, come to the assistance of thy servant, and send thy angel to receive my soul, that the murdering dragon may not hurt it; let me be at rest among the choir of thy holy martyrs, and deliver thy people from the oppression of the wicked: for, to thee belong honour and power, for ever and ever, Amen. As soon as he had finished his prayer, he was executed.

St. George, the tutelar saint and the patron of England, was born in Cappadocia, of christian parents, who brought him up according to the tenets of the gospel. His father dying when he was young, he travelled with his mother into Palestine, which was her native country. Here she claimed a patrimonial estate, which afterwards descended to her son. St. George being active, and of a great spirit, became a soldier, and was made a tribune or colonel. In this post he exhibited great proofs of his courage, and was promoted to the army of the emperor Dioclesian. During the persecution, St. George threw up his command, went boldly to the senate-house, and avowed his being a Christian, taking occasion at the same time to remonstrate against paganism. This conduct so greatly provoked the senate, that St. George was ordered to be tortured, which he underwent with much constancy. He was afterwards, by the emperor's orders, dragged

through the streets, and beheaded. The calendar commemorates his martyrdom on the 23d of April; many churches have been dedicated to him, and he is considered as the tutelar saint and patron of England.

The persecution of Cæsar Maximin raged very violently in Cappadocia as well as in the other parts of the east. He valued himself as being more zealous for idolatry than the rest of the princes; and they even seemed humane in comparison of him. Several martyrs resisted unto death; several that came very near it, were preserved as an example for others. There were some who fled; amongst the rest, the father and mother of Basil, father to Basil, who was afterwards bishop of Cæsarea. They knew the rules for martyrdom, which was not to offer themselves to the combat; to spare both the persecutors and the weak Christians; but at the same time not to fly back when they were present. Accordingly, they retired into the forests of Pontus, with a few of their domestics, and there led a very rigid life for the space of seven years, viz. from the year 306 to 313, when the persecution ended. They were rich, and had been accustomed to a different kind of life from that which they led in those woods, far from their friends, and exposed to the injuries of the weather, and reduced to a very spare diet. They besought God to comfort them, as he had relieved his people in the wilderness; and he sent a great herd of deer, which they caught at pleasure.

At Amasia, the metropolis of Pontus, they took Theodorus, a poor and new listed soldier, who came from the East, and was there in winter quarters with the legion. He was brought before the governor and the tribune together, who demanded of him, why he would not obey the emperors. He answered, I know not their gods; my God is Jesus Christ, the only Son of God. They allowed Theodorus some time for consideration; and, during that interval, inspired by an extraordinary zeal, he burnt the temple of Cybele, built by the side of the river. He did not endeavour to conceal it; but being again brought before the judges, he confessed it, without staying to be examined: However, they soothed him, and promised to raise him above the meanness of his birth, and advance him to the pontifical dignity: But he told them, that he esteemed their priests to be the most unhappy of all idolaters, as being the most criminal.

Then they ordered him to be put upon the rack, and to be most cruelly tortured; but he only repeated this verse of a psalm, I will bless the Lord at all times; his praise shall continually be in my mouth. They then put him into prison. After several trials, Theodorus was condemned to the flames, and so completed his martyrdom.

In the fourth year of the persecution, which happened in the

year of Jesus Christ 306, Peter, bishop of Alexandria, gave out the following rules in a treatise of penance.

They who have been brought before the magistrates, and put into prison, who have undergone whippings and other cruel torments, and, at last, have fallen through the frailty of the flesh; although we have not received them immediately, because of the greatness of their fall, nevertheless, since they resisted a long time, and fell only through weakness; since they carry in their bodies the marks of our Lord Jesus Christ, and have mourned for it three years: It is sufficient to appoint them after their return, forty days penance, which space our Saviour fasted after his baptism. During which time, they shall exercise themselves after an extraordinary manner; they shall fast more exactly, they shall watch and pray, and shall meditate upon what our Saviour said to him who tempted him to worship him: Get thee behind me Satan, &c. They who have been afflicted with the contagious distemper and other inconveniences of the prison, and were afterwards overcome without having been brought to a trial, one year shall suffice for them, besides the remainder of the time; because they at length offered themselves to persecution for the name of Jesus Christ. As to those who suffered nothing, but who have been betrayed through fear, and delivered themselves up as fugitives, and now come to repentance, we must propose to them the parable of the barren fig-tree, which the master had ordered to be cut down; but the gardener begged one year for penance. If they will produce fruits worthy of repentance, they shall be relieved in the same space of time. As for those who are entirely desperate, who perform no penance, and change not their skin with the Ethiopian, nor with the leopard their spots, we shall say as was said by our Saviour to another, Let no man eat fruit of thee hereafter for ever, and it immediately withered away.

As to those who came rashly to the combat, instead of avoiding it with prudence, exposing themselves to the storm, or rather exciting it against their brethren, they ought not to be communicated with; for though they did it in the name of Jesus Christ, they did not consider his words, Lead us not into temptation. Perhaps they know not that he often avoided those who would have taken him; and at the time of his passion, he did not surrender himself, but waited till they came with swords and staves to take him. He said likewise, They shall bring you before tribunals, and not, You shall offer yourselves. And again, When they persecute you in one city, flee unto another; for he never intended that we should search after the guards of the devil, lest we should be the cause of their destruction by irritating them, and making them criminals, but that we should wait and keep

ourselves on our guard. It was in this manner that Stephen was stoned by the Jews, James beheaded by the command of Herod, Peter, the first of the apostles, often taken, imprisoned, treated opprobriously, and at last crucified at Rome. In like manner, Paul, after having undergone many persecutions, and gone through perils of all kinds, had his head cut off in the same city; nevertheless, he was let down by the wall in a basket at Damascus; for their chief design was to preach the word of God; and they sought not after what was profitable to themselves, but the salvation of others.

The emperor Constantius lay at the point of death in Britain. He had written to the emperor Galerius Maximian, with whom was his son Constantine, to send him to see him, which he, in vain, desired a long while. But Galerius endeavoured to defeat the expectations of young Constantine, and had often exposed him to wild beasts, under the pretence of sports and exercises. For he durst not fall upon him openly, for fear of raising a civil war against himself, and particularly, lest he should, by that means, provoke the army against him, which was what he most dreaded. At last, being no longer able to deny him, he, on a certain night, gave him a letter, and bid him go the next day in the morning, after having received his orders, designing to detain him by some pretence or other, or to write beforehand to Severus to arrest him on his journey. Constantine foresaw this, and therefore, after having supped, when Galerius was asleep, he set out with all diligence, and took the post horses for several stages. The next day, Galerius slept purposedly till noon, and then called for Constantine. He was told that he set out immediately after supper; upon which, he began to murmur, and to be in a rage, and called for horses to bring him back. But Constantine making incredible haste, got to his father Constantius just as he was about to expire: Constantius recommended him to the soldiers, appointing him as his successor in the empire, and then died with satisfaction in his bed, at York, on the twenty-fifth of July, in the year of our Lord 306. He had reigned thirteen years as Cæsar, and near fifteen months as emperor. The soldiers acknowledged Constantine as emperor, and invested him with the purple as soon as he appeared in public. Constantine was one and thirty years old when he came to the empire: He was tall of stature, had a majestic mien, was hardy and expert at all manner of exercises, and well skilled in polite learning; the Latin was his native language, the Greek was likewise as familiar to him. The first ordinance which he made on this accession to the empire, was to grant the Christians a free exercise of their religion.

The images of Constantine were carried to Rome. It was the

custom there to acknowledge their new emperors. Maxentius, the son of Herculius, was then there, and taking advantage of the ill temper of the soldiers, and the discontents of the citizens towards Galerius, assumed to himself the title of emperor, that is to say, Cæsar, on the twenty-seventh of October, in the year 306. He at first pretended to embrace the Christian faith, in order to oblige the people of Rome.

Nevertheless, the persecution still continued in the East: For this year, which was the fourth, on Friday, the twentieth of November, at Cæsarea of Palestine, Cæsar Maximinus being present, celebrating the festival of his birth-day by public shows, Agapius was brought upon the stage to combat with wild beasts, who had been already exposed there with Thecla, in the second year of the persecution. He had been taken out of prison above three times, in order to be produced upon the stage with the malefactors; and the judges had always deferred his punishment, either out of compassion, or hoping that he might change his sentiments. This day he was brought out, the emperor being present on the middle of the stage, with a slave, who was said to have killed his master. The criminal having for some time fought with the beasts, the people had pity on him, and the emperor gave him his liberty with honour; the people made such loud cries to applaud the emperor, for his favour shown to that miserable wretch, that the amphitheatre resounded with the noise. The emperor then called for Agapius, and proposed to him to renounce Christianity; but he confessed with a loud voice, and protested that he was ready to suffer any thing with pleasure, for the Creator of the universe. At the same time, he ran before a bear that was let loose against him, and, after having torn him, left him still alive. He was remanded to prison, and lived one day; and the next day, they tied stones to his feet, and threw him into the sea. Such was the martyrdom of Agapius.

This year, 307, the persecution continued in the East, under Cæsar Maximian, being the fifth year. On the day of the passover, which was the second of the month of Xanticos, or April, at Cæsarea in Palestine, a virgin of Tyre, not yet eighteen years old, whose name was *Theodosia*, saw some prisoners, confessors of Jesus Christ, sitting before the court. She went up to salute them, and besought them to remember her when they came before God. She was immediately seized by the soldiers, and brought before the governor, who ordered her sides and her breasts to be torn even to the bone; and as she was still alive, and discovered a cheerful countenance, they ordered her to be drowned in the sea. Then calling for the other confessors, they sent

them all to the copper-mines, which were at Phaino, in Palestine.

On the fourth of November, in the same city of Cæsarea, many other confessors, who were with Silvanus their presbyter, were sent to work in the mines by the same governor, who had ordered the joints of their feet to be burnt. Silvanus, the presbyter, was afterwards a bishop and martyr. With these confessors was condemned likewise Domninus, who had confessed divers times, and was known all over Palestine, for the freedom with which he spoke. He was condemned to be burnt by the governor Urbanus, who condemned all the martyrs, and many others. He ordered a holy and venerable old man, named Auxentius, to be devoured by wild beasts. He sent others to the copper-mines, after having caused them to be castrated, and made eunuchs, though they were arrived to man's estate. Others he detained in prison, after having cruelly tortured them; amongst whom was Pamphilus, a presbyter of the Church of Cæsarea. But Urbanus, who thus treated the Christians, and studied to invent new cruelties for them every day, fell into disgrace with Cæsar Maximinius, whose favour made him exceedingly insolent. He was accused, brought before the tribunal, condemned to have his head cut off, and executed with the other criminals.

In the year following, 308, being the sixth of the persecution, from amongst an innumerable multitude of confessors, banished a long while before into a part of Thebais, named Porphyrita, from the quarries of Porphyry, they took fourscore and seventeen, men, women, and children, and sent them to Palestine to the governor Firmilian, Urbanus's successor. He, pursuant to the emperor's order, commanded the sinews of the joint of their left foot to be burnt with a hot iron. He ordered also their right eyes to be put out, and burnt them with hot irons, to the very bottom of the orb. In this condition, they were sent to work in the mines which were in that province. They declared their steadfastness in the faith, both before Cæsar's procurators, and before Maximin himself, and underwent several torments.

Immediately after, they brought others thither who had been taken at Gaza, because they had assembled themselves together to read the Holy Scriptures. Some had their feet burnt, and their eyes put out; others had their sides torn, and suffered more cruel torments. Amongst the Christians at Gaza, there was a virgin, who, being threatened with the loss of her honour, said, Cæsar hath put the government into the hands of very cruel persons. To punish her for thus speaking against the prince, they gave her several blows; and afterwards, hanging her up on high, they tore her sides. Then a virgin, who was likewise of Cæsarea, named Valentina, deformed in her shape,

and a woman who made a mean appearance, but had abundance of resolution, cried out from the midst of the crowd to the judge, Will you torment my sister? They apprehended her, and she boldly confessed the name of our Saviour; and as she refused to sacrifice, they dragged her by force to the altar. She threw herself upon it, and, with her feet, overturned the wood, and all that was thereon. The judge, in a fury, ordered her sides to be more cruelly torn than those of any other person; and afterwards, he ordered her to be tied up with that person whom she called her sister, and commanded them to be burnt together.

At the same time, a martyr, named *Paul*, was condemned to lose his head. He besought the executioner for a little respite, and having obtained it, he prayed to God with a loud voice to be favourable to the Christians, and speedily to grant them their liberty: Then he prayed for the conversion of the Jews, the Samaritans, and the Gentiles, to the end that they might come to the knowledge of the true God; and particularly for the multitude that surrounded him. Afterwards, he prayed for the emperors, for the judge that had condemned him, and for the officer that was about to execute him, that this sin might not be imputed to them. All those who stood by heard him pray thus, and the greater part were so sensibly affected by his prayers, that they even shed tears. He set himself in order, presented his neck bare for the stroke, and suffered martyrdom on the 25th of Panemos, or July, in the year 308. Soon after, a hundred and thirty Egyptian confessors, had one of their eyes put out, and one foot maimed by order of Maximin, and part of them were sent to the mines in Palestine, and part to those of Cilicia.

After this, the persecution was somewhat abated, and the confessors who had wrought in the mines of Thebais were set at liberty. The Christians then hoped to have enjoyed peace, but suddenly, after an unaccountable manner, the persecution raged more violently than before. Maximian sent letters against them throughout all the provinces; and the governors, both by their letters and edicts, commanded that all magistrates of cities, and all that had any command in other places, should put in execution the emperor's orders: That the idol temples that were ruinous should be rebuilt, and repaired forthwith: That all men, women, and slaves, nay, infants at the breast, should offer sacrifices and oblations, and really taste them: So that all men who appeared publickly in the markets, were profaned by these libations; and at the doors of the baths, there were guards to compel all who went into them to sacrifice. Even the Gentiles themselves were tired with these new vexations, and complained loudly of them.

At that time, at Cæsarea, three Christians, *Antoninus*, the

Presbyter, *Zebinus*, a native of Eleutheropilis, and *Germanus*, came before Firmilian, Governor of Palestine, as he was sacrificing, and exhorted him, with a loud voice, to lay aside that folly, since there was but one God, the Creator of the world. He asked them who they were? They answered boldly that they were Christians. Firmilian then ordered their heads to be cut off, without adding further tortures. This happened on the thirteenth of November. The same day, a virgin of Scythopolis, named Eunatha, was dragged by force before Firmilian. After he had commanded her to suffer many blows and great tortures, a tribune, who had a command near that place, whose name was Maxys, seized on her by virtue of his own authority, being a man strong of body and brutal; he stripped her naked up from her girdle, and, in this manner, led her through the city of Cæsarea, whipping her along the streets with thongs of leather, as if he had taken pleasure in it. At last he brought her back to the tribunal, and the judge ordered her to be burnt alive. He refused to grant any burial to the bodies of the martyrs, but ordered them to be exposed in the air to the wild beasts. On the fourteenth of December, or Apelleas, they seized, in the same city of Cæsarea, some of the Faithful, who came from Egypt, and were going to Cilicia, to comfort the Confessors that were condemned to the mines. They were seized by the guards, who stood at the gates of the city to take notice of all persons who came into it, and were condemned to the same punishment with those whom they were going to comfort; they had an eye put out, and were maimed in one leg. But three of them who were taken at Askelon were put to death. The first named Ares, was burnt; the two others, Promus and Eleus, were beheaded.

Maximinus Cæsar, who thus persecuted the Christians, was, through weakness and superstition, much inclined to the magic art, and durst not undertake any matter of the smallest consequence, without first consulting his oracles and diviners. He commanded the temples to be repaired in every city, and every where established idol-priests, and in every province a High-priest, with officers and guards, allowing them great authority in the state. He gave dignities and great privileges to enchanters and magicians, regarding them as pious men, and friends of the gods. He loaded the provinces where he commanded, with extraordinary exactions, and took from many rich people their ancient patrimonies. Wherever he went he debauched the men's, wives, and carried off their daughters; but there were some Christians who preferred death to the loss of their honour. A woman of Alexandria, amongst others, courageously resisted him; she was noble, rich, and learned; for it was not an uncommon thing to find, in that city, women well versed in morals

and philosophy; and by these distinguishing qualities she is thought to be the illustrious Catherine or Hecaterina. Although she was not to be subdued by his solicitations, yet he could not prevail on himself to put her to death, being satisfied with confiscating her estate, and sending her into banishment.

In the seventh year of the persecution, which happened in the year of Christ 309, on the eleventh of January or Eudemyos, Peter Apselam was martyred at Cæsarea in Palestine. He was of the town of Anea, within the territory of Eleutheropolis, and lived a very ascetick life. The judge and council frequently entreated him to have pity on himself, and to consider his youth; for he was then in the flower of his age, but he continued steadfast in the faith, and was condemned to the flames. With him, and in the same fire, was burnt a Bishop of the Marcionites, called Esclepius.

In the month of February, Pamphilus, a Presbyter of Cæsarea, was brought before the governor Firmilian, with twelve other martyrs. Pamphilus was born at Berytus, in Phœnicia, being a disciple of Perius, of Alexandria, of whom we have formerly spoken. He had been ordained Presbyter by the Bishop Agapius; he spent his life in the exercise of all kinds of Christian virtues, viz. in humility, in contempt of the world and transitory hopes; in liberality, by distributing his goods to the poor, and by generously serving his friends and relations. He lived like a true philosopher, studied the holy Scriptures with an extraordinary application, and transcribed with his own hand the greatest part of the works of Origen, and composed an apology in their defence. He inquired diligently after all kinds of books, but especially those that related to Ecclesiastical History, of which he composed a very famous library at Cæsarea, and there likewise established a Christian school. He used extraordinary industry and patience to bring about his designs. He was examined first; and then a venerable old man, named Valens, a Deacon of the Church of Ælia, that is Jerusalem, whose comely person was adorned with white hair, and who was so perfectly versed in the holy Scriptures, that he could, by his memory, recite out of it any passage at pleasure, as if he read it in the book. The third was Paul of the city of Jamnia, a man of great zeal and piety, who had already confessed and undergone the burning irons. These three were sent to prison, and continued there two years.

In the mean time they laid hold of the Egyptian Christians, who had conducted the Confessors into Cilicia. On their return, they were seized at the gate of Cæsarea by the Barbarians, who were left there as a guard, who asked them who they were, and from whence they came: they could not conceal the truth, and

were looked upon as taken in the fact. They were five in number, who, instead of the false names of gods which their fathers had given them, took on themselves the names of prophets. They were brought before the governor; and, after having confessed the Faith, they were sent immediately to prison.

The next day, which was the sixteenth of February, or Peritios, the governor ordered Pamphilus, and the rest of the martyrs to be brought before him. When he came to the five Egyptians, he first inquired what was the name of that young man. Elias, replied he. Firmilian, without penetrating into the mystery of his name, asked his country. Elias answered, that Jerusalem was his country. Firmilian was altogether ignorant of that name, although he was then in Palestine; for the Emperor Adrian had given it the name of Ælia, a considerable time before, and it went by no other. He then inquired what city that was, and in what country it lay. Then he ordered the martyr's hands to be tied behind his back, and his feet to be stretched with pullies, to compel him to speak the truth. Elias answered that what he said was true: And as the judge pressed him, he said that that city was not inhabited by men of wealth, and that it was situated in the East. The judge still more perplexed, thought it some city where the Christians were about to fortify themselves against the Romans. In short, after having caused him to be severely tortured, and torn, and finding that he could get nothing more out of him, he condemned him to lose his head. The rest died after the same manner.

Firmilian then came to Pamphilus and those who were with him, and, after having again examined them, condemned them to the same punishment. A young man amongst Pamphilus's slaves, whom he had taken pains to instruct, whose name was Porphyrius, seeing the sentence pronounced against his master, cried out in the midst of the crowd, and desired that he and the rest might be buried with him, after their death. Firmilian asked him if he was a Christian; he answered, he was. Then Firmilian put him into the hands of the executioners; and as he refused to sacrifice, they tore his flesh off to the very bone. Porphyrius said not a word, nor did he express the least sense of pain. Firmilian perceiving that he did but lose time, ordered him to be burnt upon a gentle fire. Porphyrius went to receive his punishment with joy, having his body disfigured, but his countenance clear, he was covered with a philosophical mantle which he usually wore, and silently intimated to his friends what he would have them do for him. He preserved the gaiety of his countenance, even when tied to the stake; and the fire was all round him. As soon as the fire touched him, he spoke aloud,

Jesus, thou Son of God, have mercy on me: Then he was silent, suffering, with constancy, to the last gasp. This was the end of the young man named Porphyrius.

A Confessor, named Seleucus, who went to carry the news to Pamphilus, saluted one of the martyrs with the holy kiss; the soldiers seized him, and brought him before Firmilian, and he was condemned forthwith to be beheaded. Seleucus was born in Cappadocia, and had carried arms in the Roman legions. He was a young man so well proportioned, tall and strong, and of so good a mein, that every body spoke of him, and he was already advanced in the service. Nevertheless, he made it his business to relieve widows and orphans, sick, poor, and destitute persons, and was to them instead of a father. Such was the martyr Seleucus, who was the tenth that was executed on that day. Firmilian then put to death Theodulus, one of his own servants, for whom he had the greatest value, as well because of his inviolable fidelity, as his great age; for he was a great grandfather, and had seen the third generation of his children. His crime was the same with that of Seleucus, having shown a friendship for the martyrs: But Firmilian was the more enraged against him, because he was of his family, and therefore ordered him to be crucified.

A Christian of Cappadocia, named Julian, came at that time to Cæsarea of Palestine, having never been there before. He was a man of a very holy life, and received inspirations from the Holy Spirit. Hearing, in the streets, of the death of the martyrs, he went directly to the place where they were, and seeing their bodies stretched out upon the ground, full of joy, he began to embrace them, the one after the other. The officers of justice seized him, and brought him before Firmilian, who condemned him to be burnt by a slow fire. Julian, transported with joy, gave God thanks aloud for the honour he had received. This was the twelfth person who suffered with Pamphilus. Their bodies continued in the open air four days and four nights, carefully guarded by order of Firmilian; but neither bird, nor dog, nor any other beasts would touch them, so that they were taken up entire and honourably buried.

All the world spake of their martyrdom, when two Christians, named Adrian and Eubulus,, came to Cæsarea to see the other confessors. At the gate of the city it was asked whither they were going. They ingenuously confessed the truth, and were brought before Firmilian, who ordered their sides to be torn, and then condemned them to be exposed to wild beasts. Two days after, that is, on the fifteenth of March, in this year 309, when the people of Cæsarea celebrated the festival of the goddess Fortune in this city, Adrian was exposed to a lion that had long been

kept hungry. Eubulus was treated in the same manner two days after, viz. on the seventeenth of March about noon. The judge offered him, if he pleased, the liberty of sacrificing to idols, but he rather chose death. He was mangled by the beasts, and at last killed by the sword. This was the last of those who suffered martyrdom at Cæsarea of Palestine, and the persecution ended there in the seventh year. The governor Firmilian, who had so cruelly behaved himself, died likewise by the sword, and was brought to suffer with other criminals.

Of all the disciples of the martyr Pamphilus, the most famous was Eusebius, afterwards Bishop of Cæsarea, and Author of the Ecclesiastical History. He was born near the end of the reign of Gallienus in Palestine, or at least he was educated there. One of his masters was Dorotheus, a presbyter of the Church of Antioch, by whom he had heard the Holy Scriptures explained. But Apapius, Bishop of Cæsarea, having taken him in among his clergy, he contracted a strict friendship with Pamphilus the presbyter, insomuch that from that time they called him Eusebius who belonged to Pamphilus, and he wrote three books of the life of this martyr. Eusebius was already a presbyter of the Church of Cæsarea during this persecution, and for the most part abode there, instructing and exhorting the martyrs, whose history he hath given us. He continually visited Pamphilus in prison, and they together composed five books in defence of Origen, to which Eusebius added a sixth after the death of Pamphilus. The whole work was dedicated to the confessors who were in the mines of Palestine. But of all these six books, the first only remains, in the version of Rufinus. During the persecution, Eusebius made a voyage to Tyre, where he was a witness to the martyrdom of the Egyptians, which he hath described. He travelled even into Egypt and Thebais. He himself also was put into prison in this persecution, and was thought not to come out by any other means than by sacrificing to idols. But it is not in the least probable, that a man should be advanced to the dignity of a bishoprick after so shameful a fall.

To the same year 309, may be referred the martyrdom of Quirinus, bishop of Siscia, in the higher Pannonia, that is to say, the imperial Croatia. The governor Maximus having ordered him to be apprehended, he went out of the city to avoid the persecution; but he was taken and brought before the governor, who asked him why he fled. I did not fly, says Quirinus; I only obeyed my master's orders; for it is written, If they persecute you in one city, flee unto another. *Maximus.* Who commanded that? *Quirinus.* Jesus Christ, who is the true God. *Maximus.* Know you not, that the emperor's orders would find

you out any where; and he whom you call the true God cannot deliver you when taken, as you now find? *Quirinus.* The God which we adore is always present with us, and can deliver us wherever we are; it is he that strengthens me, and who answers by my mouth. Maximus, after having pressed him to sacrifice by divers threats, offered to make him a priest of Jupiter. *Quirinus.* I perform the real office of a priest in offering myself a sacrifice to the true God. Maximus ordered him to be carried back to prison, and to be loaded with irons. Then he prayed, and said, I thank thee, O Lord, that I have borne reproaches for thy sake, and beseech thee to let those in this prison know that I adore the true God, and that there is no other God besides thee. Three days after this, Maximus sent Quirinus to Amantius, governor of the Upper Pannonia, to be judged without further appeal.

He was carried in chains through all the cities which were upon the Danube, till Amantius ordered him to be kept at Sabaria. The Christian women brought him meat and drink. Amantius commanded him to be brought into the theatre, after having read the records of what had passed before Maximus, and endeavoured to move him on the consideration of his great age; but finding him inflexible, he ordered him to be thrown into the river, with a millstone about his neck.

In the same province of Pannonia at Sirmium, there lived an old man named Serenus, a Greek by birth, who had settled there, and kept a garden for his subsistence, being ignorant of any other trade. The apprehension of the persecution made him hide himself for some months; after which he returned to his garden. The governor ordered him to be brought before him forthwith; and after having asked his name and condition, said, Of what nation art thou? He presently answered, I am a Christian. The governor said, Where have you hitherto concealed yourself; and how have you avoided sacrificing to the gods? He replied, God hath granted me life as long as it hath pleased him. I was like a stone thrown from the top of a building; but now since he hath been pleased to discover me, I am prepared to suffer for his name's sake, that I may have a part in his kingdom with his saints. Then the governor, highly incensed, said, Since thou hast hitherto escaped, and hast despised the orders of the emperors, and would not sacrifice to the gods, we order you to be beheaded; whereupon, he was forthwith carried to the place of execution, and had his head cut off on the 23d of February.

In the mean time several bishops were condemned to take care of the emperor's camels, and feed his horses. The procurator and magistrates caused them to suffer many indignities and tor-

ture, in order to get into their hands the sacred vessels and treasures of the Church. Some of them, it is true, deserved this usage, for the little care they took of the flock of Jesus Christ by means of their ambition, and their laying on of hands, contrary to the established laws of the Church, by the divisions which they excited against the confessors themselves, and by the new opinions which they introduced. These irregularities of the pastors brought down the anger of God on the Church.

Marcellus, bishop of Rome died in the year 309, after having filled that see one year and eight months. He had been odious to many, because he would compel such as had lapsed in time of persecution, to do penance for their crime. And this contest was carried even to tumult and murder. At length he was banished by Maxentius who reigned at Rome. This holy see was vacant several months. Afterwards Eusebius was elected in the month of April, in the year 310, and continued there only four months, to the 26th of September.

Stephen, bishop of Laodicea in Syria, after Anatolius, was in great esteem for his skill in human learning and philosophy. But he plainly discovered that he was not a true philosopher, by his cowardice in the persecution. His Church, which appeared to be much disordered by it, was supported by his successor Theodotes. He was an excellent physician; a man of great probity, mild, good-natured, and very beneficent to those who stood in need of him, and was thoroughly exercised, both in the knowledge and practice of religion.

At the end of the seventh year, the persecution abated. There were then a great number of martyrs in the copper mines of Palestine, and they enjoyed great liberty. The governor of the province, being in those parts, and observing their manner of life, wrote an account of it to the emperor. At length the Intendant of the mines came thither, and, having orders from the emperors, divided the confessors, and sent one part of them into Cyprus, and another into Libania; others he dispersed into divers parts of Palestine, and appointed them different labours. He chose four who seemed to be the choicest of them, and sent them to him who commanded the army in those quarters. These were Peleus and Nilus, bishops of Egypt; a presbyter, and Patermouthis, the most noted, by reason of the care which he took of them all. The officer proposed to them to deny their religion, and upon their refusal, ordered them to be burnt to death.

There was another set of confessors who had a different quarter allotted them, because they were exempt from labour, as being too old, or as invalids. The chief of these, was Silvanus the bishop, who came from Gaza, a true model of Christian

piety. From the very first day of the persecution, he had signalized himself by several combats and glorious confessions, and seemed to be reserved to close the persecution of Palestine. With him were several Egyptians, and amongst the rest John, who had lost his sight some time before; and yet in the persecution, after having burnt his foot, they burnt out his eye also, that he might see no more with it. Though his virtue was great, his memory was more surprising: he could repeat the whole Scriptures by heart, insomuch that he had them ready to repeat whenever he pleased. I profess, says Eusebius, I myself was astonished the first time I saw him in the church standing in the midst of a great multitude, reciting some part of the Scriptures. As I only heard his voice, I thought that he had read, as is usual in our assemblies; but when I came near enough to see what passed, viz. that all the rest were standing round about him, perfect in their sight, and that he, having no other eyes, than those of the soul, spake like a prophet, I could not enough admire and praise God. All the confessors who were in a separate place were busied in prayer, fasting, and other exercises of piety, which were ordinarily practised by them, when there came an order, pursuant to which, they were all beheaded in one day, being in number thirty-nine. These were the last martyrs in Palestine; and the persecution had lasted there eight years, that is to say, until the year 310.

The elder Maximinus Herculius was now returned into Gaul, and had quitted the empire a second time, with a design to surprise his son-in-law Constantine. The Franks were in arms to enter into Gaul, and Constantine was contriving means to suppress them. Herculius persuaded him not to march all his army against him, saying, that a small body of men would be sufficient to defeat them. Constantine, who had no distrust, believed him, as an experienced old soldier, and left behind him the greatest part of his troops. Herculius stayed some days, and when he thought that Constantine was in the country of the Barbarians, he suddenly resumed the purple, seized upon the treasury, and gave donations to the soldiers, publishing lies against Constantine; who, hearing of it, returned with his army with an incredible diligence. Herculius was surprised before he had provided for his safety, and the troops all returned to Constantine: this happened in Belgicum. Herculius, finding himself too weak, fled into Gallia Narbonensis, and fortified himself in Arles; but, being pursued, he fled to Marseilles, whither Constantine came to besiege him. Herculius, appearing upon the wall, came near, and without any heat, asked him what he would have done; what he had wanted; and why he acted after so unworthy a manner? Herculius anwered with reproaches; but

in the mean time the city gates were opened, and the troops of Constantine received into it. They brought his father-in-law to him; but he only deprived him of the purple, after having reproached him for his crimes, and given him his life.

But Herculius could not continue quiet. He solicited his daughter Fausta by intreaties and promises, to leave Constantine, promising her a more honourable marriage; proposing to her to leave her chamber open and ill guarded. She promised him; but told the whole to her husband: and accordingly they prepared to apprehend Herculius in the fact, by putting a wretched eunuch in Constantine's place. Herculius rose in the middle of the night, and found the opportunity favourable, there being but few guards, and those at a distance. He said to them as he went along, I have had a dream which I must relate to my son. He entered armed; and after having killed the eunuch, he retired, glorying in what he thought he had done. Constantine immediately appeared from another quarter, attended by a company of armed men. The dead body was brought out of the chamber. At this Herculius became without either speech or motion. In short, he had the liberty of choosing what death he would die; he chose the string, and accordingly was strangled. Such was the end of Maximinus Herculius.

From the time that Licinius had been made emperor, Maximinus Daia was very uneasy at having only the name of Cæsar, and at his being only in the third rank, who had first received the purple. Galerius in vain endeavoured to bring him over to his mind; and, at length Maximinus quitted the name of Cæsar, and declared himself and Licinius, Augusti, and Maxentius and Constantine, sons of the Augusti, as they were in effect; but that name was a title of dignity. Maximinus then wrote to Galerius, by giving him notice that, in the last Campus Martius, which was the name of a military assembly, the army had agreed to give him the title of Augustus. Galerius was very much concerned at this news; however, he commanded that all the four should be stiled emperors, viz. Licinius, Maximinus, Constantinus and Maxentius.

Galerius had entered into the eighteenth year of his reign, on the first of March 310, having been made Cæsar by Diocle-sian in 293. In this eighteenth year God smote him with an incurable disease, viz. an ulcer in the perinæum, which spread very far; an iron instrument was applied to it, and the scar was closed, when the wound opened itself, and he lost so much blood, that his life was endangered. The blood was stopped, the wound closed up again, and then opened again: upon this he lost more blood than before: he then became pale, and his

strength diminished: the blood was stopped, but it mortified all round. The most eminent physicians were called for, but they could do no good. Then they had recourse to idols, Apollo and Æsculapius. Apollo prescribed a remedy which much increased the malady: all the arms and the lower parts were corrupted. The physicians having no hopes of curing the distemper, attempted to mollify it; but the disease crept inwards, seized his entrails, and there fixed itself. An intolerable smell spread itself not only over the palace, but the whole city of Sardis, where he was: the vessels of urine and of other excrements were confounded together. His insupportable pains caused him to cry out very terribly: animals were ordered to be killed and applied to him hot, to draw down the worms; and indeed a prodigious quantity was brought away, but the putrefaction still extended itself: his body was disfigured two ways. Above, near the wound, it was so lean and dry, that nothing was to be seen but a livid skin fallen upon the bone; the lower part was puffed up like so much ordure, and he had not even the form of feet. In this horrible condition the emperor Galerius continued a whole year.

He put to death several of his physicians, because they could not procure him a remedy, nor remove the nauseous smell. One of them seeing himself in danger, said to him, You are mistaken, my lord, if you think that man can cure a malady which God hath sent you; this distemper is not natural, and it is out of the reach of our medicines. Remember what you have done against the servants of God and his holy religion, and then you will know from whence you should have help. I may be put to death as well as the rest; but physicians cannot cure you. Galerius began then to perceive that he was a man; and being overcome by his distemper, and pressed by pain, he cried out that he would rebuild the temple of God, and make atonement for his crimes; and being now about to expire, he caused an edict to be drawn up in his own name, and that of Constantine and Licinius. In this edict Galerius is named the eighth time consul, which determines it to the year 311. These are the terms of the edict:—

"Amongst the pains which we continually take for the public benefit, we were willing heretofore to establish all things according to the ancient Roman laws, and to cause the Christians who had abandoned the religion of their ancestors to return to it; for they were so prepossessed by a certain way of reasoning, that they refused to follow the maxims their forefathers had established; but according to their own fancy made laws for themselves to observe, and assembled together in divers places. At length,

when we published ordinances for reducing them to the maxims of the ancients, many of them have been in great danger, and great numbers have actually perished: and as we have observed that the greater part of them do continue in their own sentiments, without rendering to the gods the worship that is due to them, having regard to our clemency, and the custom which we have always observed, in shewing favour to mankind, we have likewise thought it requisite to extend our indulgence towards them, so that they may continue Christians as before, and rebuild the places of their assemblies, upon condition that they do nothing contrary to the established rules. As to other particulars, we shall inform our judges by another letter, what they are to do. In consequence then of this indulgence towards them, they will be obliged to pray to their God for our health, for the state, and for themselves, to the end, that the state being prosperous, they may live with security in their houses."

This edict was written in latin at Sardis, and afterwards published and fixed up in the principalities, and translated into Greek for the use of the East. It was published through all Asia, and the neighbouring provinces, and particularly at Nicomedia on the last day of April, under the eighth consulship of Galerius, and the second of Maximinus, in the year 311. Then all prisons were opened to the Christians; and amongst other confessors, Donatus, the friend of Lactantius, was delivered, after having been there six years: but in the provinces which were under the command of Maximinus, that is to say, Syria, Egypt, and their dependancies, this edict was not published. It displeased Maximinus, an irreconcileable enemy to the Christian religion: nevertheless, not daring to oppose the will of Galerius, he suppressed the edict, and contented himself with ordering his officers, who depended upon him, by word of mouth, to put a stop to the persecution; and they gave one another advice of it by letter. Sabinus the præfectus prætorii in the east, declared the will of the emperor by this letter written in Latin, and afterwards translated into Greek.

"It was a long while since the emperors, our divine masters, have with a particular application and devotion given orders to reduce all men to a more holy and sober manner of life, to the end, that those whom we saw following customs different from those of the Romans, perform to the immortal gods the worship that is due unto them. But the obstinacy and inflexibility of some hath been so excessive, that neither reason nor authority could make them change their sentiments, nor punishments terrify them: for which reason, our divine masters, the most mighty emperors, moved by their goodness and natural piety, and judg-

ing it unworthy of their maxims, to suffer so many persons to endanger themselves, have ordered me to write unto you, that if you find any Christian observing the particular religion of their country, you shall rescue him out of all trouble and danger, and shall not inflict any punishment upon him on that account, because we have long since experienced that no means will persuade them, or cure them of this obstinacy: you ought, therefore, to write to the treasurers, governor, and curators of the territory belonging to every city, to let them know, that they must proceed no farther in this matter." This was the letter of Sabinus the præfectus prætorij.

The governors and the magistrates of the city and the country, believing it to be really the intention of the emperor, first made it known by writing, and then put it in execution. All the confessors who were in prison were discharged from thence: they that wrought in the mines were dismissed; so that it seemed like light appearing on a sudden, after a very dark night. Then in every city you might see the churches holding their assemblies. The infidels were surprised at this, and wondering at a change so little expected, said openly, That the God of the Christians was the great and only true God. The Christians who had been steadfast in the persecution, re-assumed their ancient liberty. Those who had lapsed, with great earnestness sought a remedy for their wounded souls, beseeching those who continued unshaken, to pray to God to be propitious to them. The confessors, freed from the labour of the mines, returned to their own houses, and went through the cities full of incredible joy. Then in the high ways and public places, great numbers might be seen singing psalms and hymns to God, as they travelled along. Thus they finished their journey, and returned to their houses with cheerful countenances, and the infidels themselves rejoiced with them.

In the mean time, Galerius, the emperor finding himself at the point of death, recommended his wife Valeria, the daughter of Dioclesian, and his son Candidius, a youth about fifteen years old, to Licinius, who was then with him: and a few days after making his edict in favour of the Christians, he died miserably, all his body being consumed and corrupted. This was the nineteenth year of his reign, and the twentieth ought to commence on the first of March of the following year.

As soon as Maximinus had intelligence of the death of Galerius, he left the east with all diligence, to make himself master of all the provinces, as far as the streights of Chalcedon, during the absence of Licinius, who stayed in Illyria. War was now ready to be declared, and they were in arms on the borders of

the Hellespont, each party on their own side: but at length they agreed, and came to a treaty in the very streights. Maximinus returned, after having left all things secure, and behaved himself in all parts of the east, as he had done before in Syria and Egypt, resolving to deprive the Christians of the liberty which the edict of Galerius had granted them: at first he, under certain pretences, forbad their assembling in their cemetries; and then that he might seem to be forced to revoke the edict, he privately procured deputations from the cities, who desired that the Christians might be forbidden to build places for assembling together in their precincts. Antioch was the first that made it their request, that no Christian might be allowed to live there. Theotecnes the curator of the city was at the head of this prosecution, a very violent and artful man, who had persecuted the Christians with all his might, making it his business to bring them out of their places of concealment like thieves, and forging against them all kinds of calumnies, and having put a great number of them to death. In short, he set up an idol to Jupiter Philius, that is to say the Presider over Friendship, and in order to consecrate it he performed ceremonies, sacrifices, and profane purifications. And amongst other things, to please the emperor, he shewed him an oracle, declaring that his enemies, the Christians, should be banished from that city and territory.

Theotecnes having thus begun, all the other magistrates of the cities, subject to Maximinus, ordered the like decrees to be made, being excited thereunto by the governors of the provinces, who by this made their court to the emperor. He answered their decrees by very favourable letters; and so the persecution began again, after about six months intermission, viz. from the beginning of May to the end of October. Maximinus established in every city the most considerable persons, and such as distinguished themselves most in their offices, to be sacrificers to the idols, and others as pontiffs presiding over them; these pontiffs were of a new institution; they applied themselves very diligently to the ceremonies of their false religion; they offered every day sacrifices to their gods; and with the assistance of the ancient sacrificers, they prevented the Christians from building churches, and exercising their religion in public or private: they seized them by virtue of their own authority, to make them sacrifice, or brought them before the judges. But Maximinus did not stop here: he chose in the provinces persons of the highest quality, to make them pontiffs of a superior order, and commanded both these orders to wear white mantles. This extraordinary earnestness in the prince was an incitement to every body. The officers and even private people believed, that the

best way to obtain whatever they desired, would be to exclaim against the Christians, and invent something maliciously against them.

They forced false records of Pilate, containing many blasphemies against Jesus Christ, as if it had been the real process of Pilate against him; and by the emperor's orders they were every where dispersed both in the cities and country, to be exposed publickly to all the world, and to serve as lessons for children, which their school-masters were to learn them by heart. A commander, who was one of those whom the Romans call Duces, having taken at Damascus in the market-place certain miserable debauched women, threatened to put them to the torture, and compelled them to say that they were Christians, that they were acquainted with all their abominations, and that they were guilty of impurities even in the church itself: in short, he made them say every thing that could disgrace the religion; and their depositions were registered in form, and communicated to the emperor; and by his order sent and published throughout all the cities and other places. This duke killed himself soon after.

Thus the children at school had continually in their mouths the names of Jesus and Pilate; and in every city the decrees and rescripts of the emperor might be seen engraven in tables of brass. That which he sent to the city of Tyre contains what follows: At length the weakness of human understanding shook off the obscurity of error which heretofore had prevailed over men, so as to make them rather unfortunate than wicked, being encompassed with the noxious clouds of ignorance, and they acknowledged that they were governed by the providence of the immortal gods; we cannot sufficiently express the joy which we felt upon the receipt of such an extraordinary mark of your devotion to the gods, though heretofore we were not ignorant what was your religion, founded not upon a belief of vain words, but upon a continual course of surprising miracles: for this reason your city may be justly called the seat and habitation of the immortal gods, having such evident proofs of their immediate presence. At this time she hath neglected all her particular interests; and as soon as she perceived that they who pursued that accursed folly began to insinuate themselves, and the fire that lay concealed was again breaking out into a flame, she hath had recourse to our piety as the support of all religions. It is great Jupiter himself who presides over your famous city; who preserves your domestic gods, your wives, your children, and your habitations: it is he that hath inspired you with this wholesome thought, shewing us how profitable it is to approach the holy ceremonies with that veneration which is due to them: for, who can be so

simple as not to conceive, that it is by the favour of the gods that the earth produces its fruits in abundance, that we are free from wars, from a pestilential air, tempests and earthquakes; whereas those misfortunes frequently befel us heretofore? And all this happened unto us on account of the destructive error and extravagance of these wicked persons, who have overspread almost the whole earth with confusion. Observe the plenty of our harvests, and the beauty of our meadows, and the serenity of the sky. Rejoice that the terrible power of Mars hath been appeased by your sacrifices; you enjoy a profound peace. All that leave that blind way, return to reasonable sentiments, and ought to look upon themselves as saved from shipwreck, and as delivered from a dangerous disease; but let such as persist in their execrable folly be banished far from your city and territories, as you have desired; to the end, that the city being delivered, she may serve the gods according to the motions of her piety. But to let you know how agreeable your request hath been, we permit you to prefer whatever petition you think fit, in consideration of your affection for the service of the gods. You shall obtain it without delay, as an everlasting testimony to you and your descendants, of the manner in which we have recompensed your piety.

Such was the rescript of Maximinus for the city of Tyre; by which a judgment may be formed of the rest, and in general the reasons which the pagans made use of against the Christian religion. Maximinus at that time did the same all over his empire as he had done in the east. He forbad putting the Christians to death, under the pretence of clemency only, ordering them to be mutilated: accordingly he put out the eyes of the confessors, cut off their hands, noses or ears. Nevertheless several were put to death.

Apollonius, the monk, who on account of his merit had been ordained deacon, took care, during the persecution, to visit and encourage his brethren, insomuch that he made many martyrs. He was taken and put in prison in the city of Antinous in Egypt: several pagans came to insult and affront him; among others one named Philemon, a player upon the flute, very famous, and much admired by the people: he treated Apollonius as an impious person, and a seducer, and one that deserved the public hatred. Apollonius replied to him, My son, may God have mercy on thee, and not lay these reproaches to thy charge. Philemon was touched with these words; and they wrought so powerfully on his heart, that he forthwith confessed himself to be a Christian. He went to the tribunal of the judge, whose name was Arrian, and cried out before all the people, It is unjust

in you to punish thus the friends of God; the Christians neither do nor teach any thing that is evil. The judge who knew who he was, imagined him only to be in jest; but when he saw that he persisted seriously and steadily in it, he said, Thou art a fool, Philemon, thou hast lost thy life on a sudden. It is not I, says Philemon, who am a fool, but it is thou thyself who art a most unjust and foolish judge, in causing just men to be put to death: for my part I am a Christian; and there are no better people than the Christians. The judge, after having endeavoured to reclaim him by mildness, ordered him to suffer all manner of tortures. But knowing that the conversion of Philemon was owing to the discourse of Apollonius, he ordered him also to be cruelly tormented, accusing him of being a seducer. Apollonius said, I would to God that you my judge, and all that hear me, would follow the error of which you accuse me. The judge hearing these words, ordered him to be burnt with Philemon in the presence of all the people.

Several others suffered martyrdom at Alexandria, Faustus, Didius, and Ammonius, presbyters; Hesychius, Theodorus, and Pacomus, bishops of several Churches, and a great number of others in divers places, where their memory hath been since celebrated. At this time happened the martyrdom of Peter, bishop of Alexandria. He had been in possession of that see twelve years, three years before the persecution, and nine years after it began. He spent those nine years in the practice of the most rigid piety, not omitting at the same time the care of his Church; for he was no less excellent for his knowledge in religion, than he was for his virtue. He was apprehended without any cause; and when he little expected it, he had his head suddenly cut off by the order of Maximin, on the twenty-fifth of November, in the year 311, and the ninth of the persecution. Besides the canons of penance which I have mentioned, he wrote a book of divinity, where he speaks very judiciously of the mystery of the incarnation, saying, that the Word of God was made man without quitting of his divinity.

At Emesa, in Phœnicia, three martyrs were exposed to wild beasts, and devoured. One of them was Sylvanus, a bishop, of a very advanced age, and who had been a bishop full forty years. But one of the most illustrious martyrs of that persecution, was Lucian, a presbyter of the Church of Antioch. He lived a very austere life, and was very learned and very eloquent. He published an edition of the holy Scriptures, or rather, a correct copy of the Septuagint, according to the best manuscripts; so that there were, at that time, three celebrated editions of it, viz. That in Egypt, done by Hesychius; another in Palestine, by

Pamphilus, the martyr; and this at Antioch, by Lucian the martyr. His doctrine was, nevertheless, for some time suspected, for he was accused of the errors of Paulus Samosatenus, and he continued separated from the communion of the Church under three bishops, who probably were Domnus, Timæus, and Cyril; *but this accusation proceeded from their not knowing him, a circumstance not uncommon in those days.* He was brought to Nicomedia, where the emperor Maximinius then resided, and he presented to the governor an apology for the Christian religion, which had no other effect, than being the cause of his commitment to prison. From thence he wrote several letters, and amongst the rest, one to the Church of Antioch, which he concluded with these words, The whole company of martyrs salute you.

The govern or, after having in vain exposed Lucian to divers torments, was willing to try him by hunger: and when he had continued fasting a long while, a table was spread before him with meats offered to idols, to provoke his appetite by the sight of food; but the holy martyr continued steadfast. The governor then ordered him to be brought to his tribunal, and examined him by torture, inquiring after his country, his parents, and his profession; but he gave no other answer to all these questions than this, I am a Christian. He died in that confession on the seventeenth of January, 312, a day which the Church hath set apart for celebrating his memory. He was interred at Drepanum, a city of Bithynia. At the same time, Basiliscus, bishop of Comana, likewise suffered martyrdom at Nicomedia.

I shall now give you an account of three illustrious martyrs, the time of whose martyrdom is not certainly known, *Gordius, Barlaam,* and *Julita.* Gordius was of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia; he carried arms, and was a centurion; but seeing the violence of the persecution, he quitted the service, and left his effects, his slaves, parents, and friends, and retired into desert places, where he exercised himself a long time in fastings, watchings, and prayers, and in contemplating upon the holy Scripture. When he thought himself sufficiently prepared for the combat, he returned, and took the opportunity of a feast which the Pagans celebrated in honour of Mars. All the people were assembled together to see the races in the circus: the Jews and several weaker Christians assisted at those sports with the infidels. Gordius appeared boldly in the middle of the carcer, and cried out, Behold, I was found of them that sought me not, and was made manifest unto them that asked not after me. These words drew upon him the eyes of the whole assembly. The governor, who caused silence to be proclaimed, ordered Gordius to be brought

to the tribunal. He in vain tried to move him by menaces, the most cruel torments, and the most specious promises; at length, he commanded an executioner to come with a sword drawn in his hand, and condemned the martyr to be put to death. The parents and friends of Gordius embraced him weeping, persuading him not to throw away himself in the prime of his youth, or at least to dissemble his faith: But he continued immovable, and said to them, Weep not for me, but for the enemies of God, who persecute the Christians, and who prepare for themselves a more terrible fire, than that with which they threaten us. After having spoken to them a long time, he went to his punishment with a steady countenance, and without changing colour.

Barlaam was a man who lived in the country, plain and illiterate but one who had abundance of courage. He was put in prison, and suffered all kinds of tortures, insomuch, as to tire the executioners who had mangled him with their stripes: At last, he was brought before an altar of the idols; they put burning coals with incense into his hands, that he might seem to offer it by moving his hand: but he held it firm, as if he had been brass, and chose rather to let it be burnt. In the same city of Cæsarea, Julita, a Christian woman, was summoned before a court of justice by a rich and powerful man, who endeavoured to deprive her of her estate without any right; and not being able to defend himself, he was advised to say, that she could not have the benefit of the courts of justice, because she was a Christian; and indeed, some edicts lately published contained somewhat to that purpose. The judge passing over the chief point of the civil affair, ordered fire and incense to be brought: And as she refused to sacrifice, he condemned her to be burned, she having said several things upon the confessing the name of God, threw herself directly upon the pile, and there expired.

In the mean time, notwithstanding the protection of the gods, with which the heathens flattered themselves, and the specious discourses and edicts of Maximin, his empire was afflicted with all manner of evils. The winter rains, which cause fruitfulness in hot countries, fell not in such abundance as usual; from whence proceeded an unexpected famine, and afterwards a pestilence, with another kind of sickness, consisting chiefly of inflamed ulcers, which they call carbones, carbuncles. This sore spread all over the body, but chiefly affected the eyes, and blinded a great many men, women, and children. At the same time, Maximin drew upon himself the war with the Armenians, the antient friends and allies of the Romans; they were Christians, and well affected to religion; and he made them his enemies, by

endeavouring to force them to sacrifice to idols. He suffered very much in this war with Armenia, both in himself and his forces: and, in the mean time, the cities under his government were laid waste by the plague and famine. A medimnus of meal was sold for 2500 Attick drachms; the medimnus contained about six bushels of our measure, and the 2500 drachms amount to ninety-three pounds, &c. of our money. A great number of people died in the cities, and still a greater number in the country; so that the registers of the revenue were almost entirely effaced. Some sold their most valuable goods for a little food, and others, after having sold what they had by piece-meals, were reduced to misery. There were some who chewed handfuls of hay and noxious herbs, which destroyed their health. Women of the greatest quality were reduced to beg in the public places; the shame which appeared in their countenances, and the neatness of their clothes discovered their condition. Some withered, and looking like ghosts, went staggering along, and at length fell down with weakness in the streets; then, lying on their bellies, they begged a bit of bread. Those who were in the best circumstances, being astonished with the great number of those who begged, after having given away abundance, became hardened and inflexible, being apprehensive of falling into the same necessity themselves: so that in the midst of the public places and streets, you might see dead bodies naked, lying several days without burial. Some of them were eaten by dogs, which occasioned those who continued alive to kill the dogs, lest they should grow mad, and attack themselves.

The plague made no less havoc, especially upon those who were secure from the famine. There was a great number of dignified persons, magistrates, and governors of provinces, whom the violence of the distemper carried off in a very few days, as if they had been preserved from the famine, on purpose to die by the plague; so that all the streets and public places were full of dead bodies, and there was hardly any thing to be seen but funerals attended by flutes and drums; and they frequently carried out two or three bodies together, and whole families perished together. The Christians were the only people who showed humanity upon this occasion, and who made it their business to assist the afflicted. They were seen busied daily in the streets, some in burying the dead, of whom nobody took care; the rest assembled the poor people that were almost starved, and distributed bread to them; so that every body confessed that the Christians were the only persons who understood true piety.

The emperor Maximin became neither less covetous nor licentious by all these misfortunes. The extraordinary impositions

which he laid on the people, consumed what Diocles and Maximian had left. They shut up the granaries of private persons, and sealed up the public magazines; they anticipated the tribute of the succeeding years; they seized the herds of cattle for the ordinary sacrifices and the subsistences of the forces, which consumed the provisions; all which contributed not a little to the scarcity and famine. His fondness for women was yet more intolerable; he employed eunuchs and other infamous instruments of his pleasure, who sought for them in all places; and as soon as ever they found a woman with a handsome face, the husband or parents were forced to retire.

Sophronia, wife to the prefect of Rome, being given up by her husband to the Emperor Maximin, desired a little time to adorn herself; but when she was alone in her chamber, she stabbed herself with a sword, and left nothing but a dead carcass for those who waited to conduct her. Maximin had given orders that nobody should marry without his consent; and he caused maidens that were free-born, whom he had abused, to be married to his slaves.

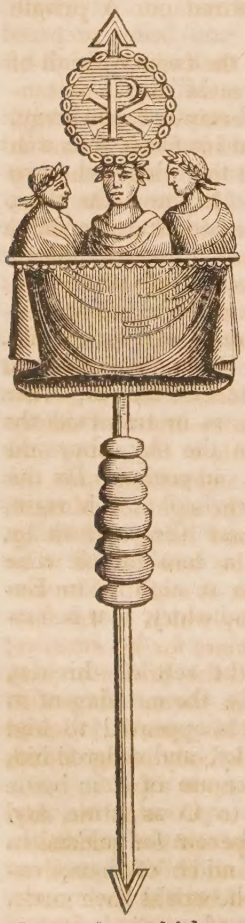
Maximin did not even spare the empress, whom he had lately called his mother; she was Valeria, the daughter of Diocles, and widow of Galerius. She had retired to her estate, thinking to be there in greater security, especially considering that he was married; but she had not completed her mourning before he sent proposals of marriage to her, being ready to put away his wife, if Valeria consented to marry him. Valeria answered, that she could not think of marriage whilst she was in a state of mourning; and that if he put away his wife, with whom he was well satisfied, he might do as much to her; and, in short, that it was a matter without precedent, for a woman of her rank to marry again. Having received this answer, he fell into a rage, proscribed her, deprived her of all her goods and officers. and put her eunuchs to death by torture, sending her into banishment with her mother, and causing them to shift from place to place, by way of sport; and he condemned her friends, under feigned pretences of adultery. The empress Valeria, being thus banished into the deserts of Syria, found means to give information of it to Diocles her father, who sent to desire Maximin to send her back to him; but after several repeated embassies, he could not prevail with him.

Maxentius had even declared war against Constantine, under pretence of revenging the death of his father Herculius. Constantine, on the other side, had caused the images of Maximin Herculius to be thrown down, and, at the same time, those of Dioclesian, for they were generally represented together. As

no emperor had ever before lived to see his image thrown down, Dioclesian was so grieved at it, that he resolved to live no longer. Maxentius kept himself shut up in Rome, because of an oracle threatening him with death if he went out of the city gates: however, he carried on the war by good officers; and he was strongest; for, besides his father's army, which he had drawn away from Severus, he had another of Moors and Italians, which belonged to him in particular. There were some skirmishes, in which the forces of Maxentius had the advantage: At length, Constantine, rousing up all his courage, and being prepared against whatever might happen, drew near to Rome with all his forces, and encamped over against the bridge Milvius.

As his force was smaller than that of Maxentius, he thought that he required some superior assistance, and considered to what deity he should address himself. He reflected, that the emperors, who, in his time, were zealous for idolatry and the plurality of the gods, had perished miserably, and that his father Constantius, who, during his whole life, had reverenced the only supreme God, had received visible tokens of his protection: He therefore determined to adhere to this great God; and instantly began to beseech him to make himself known to him, and to stretch his favourable hand over him. The emperor Constantine prayed thus with the greatest earnestness; when about noon, the sun beginning to decline, as he traversed the country with some of his forces, he saw in the sky, above the sun, a cross of light, with an inscription, importing, *By this thou shalt conquer*. He was extremely surprised at this sight, and the troops which attended him, and saw the same thing, were no less astonished. The emperor, a considerable time after, related this miracle, and affirmed with an oath before Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, the writer of this history, that he saw it with his eyes.

Constantine's thoughts were employed the rest of this day upon this miracle, considering what could be the meaning of it. At night, whilst he was asleep, Jesus Christ appeared to him with the same sign that he had seen in the sky, aud ordered him to make a representation of it, and to make use of it in battle against his enemies. The emperor rose as soon as it was day, and imparted the secret to his friends; then he sent for goldsmiths and jewellers, and seating himself in the midst of them, explained to them the form of the ensign that he would have made, and ordered them to finish it with gold and precious stones. This was the fashion of it, viz. a long stick, like a pique, covered with gold, traversed with another in the form of a cross; at the upper end, there was fastened a garland of gold and precious stones, in-



closing the symbol of the name of Christ, viz. the two first letters of the word in Greek, (X and P) the Chi placed in the middle of the Rho, after this manner. On the cross stick hung a small square standard of very rich stuff, being gold and tissue set with jewels. On the top of these colours, and below the cross, that is the Monogram; there were the images of the emperor and his two sons wrought in gold. This was the ensign which Constantine caused to be made; the form of it was not new, but before this time, we never meet with the term *Labarum*, which was given to it ever afterwards. The emperor caused banners of the same fashion to be made for all his troops; and he himself wore upon his helmet the cross, or rather the monogram of the word Christ; his soldiers wore it upon their shields, and the medals of the Christian emperors are full of it. The emperor afterwards chose fifty from amongst the stoutest and most religious of his guards, whom he appointed to carry the Labarum in their turns.

In the mean time, he ordered bishops to be brought to him, and inquired of them who was the God which had appeared to him, and what was the meaning of the sign which he had seen. They said to him, This God is the only Son of Him who is God alone; the sign which you saw is the trophy of that victory which he gained over death when he appeared upon earth: from whence they took occasion to explain to him the cause of his coming, and the mystery of the incarnation. The emperor attended to these discourses, and being still affected by what he had seen, received them as divine instructions: And from that time forward, he read the holy Scriptures, and always kept bishops about his person, and, by all manner of ways, honoured the God who had appeared to him.

Maxentius continued shut up in Rome, where he gave himself up to all manner of wickednes. On a certain day, he, upon a very slight occasion, caused a great number of the people to be

murdered by the prætorian bands; upon divers pretences, he put to death several senators, one after the other, that he might seize their estates; and he brought a cruel famine upon the people. He was very superstitious, and endeavoured to obtain victory by the assistance of magical operations; he caused lions to be sacrificed, and offered abominable sacrifices, causing even women with child to be opened, and the entrails of young children to be searched, Being affrighted by an ill omen, he left the palace, with his wife and son, and retired into a private house.

The fifth year of his reign concluded on the twenty-eighth of October, of this same year, 312. On the same day, Constantine, being encouraged by his vision, set his army in battle array, and drew near to Rome. Maxentius caused his forces to march out, without going out himself; they passed the bridge, the two armies met, and the fight grew very hot. In the mean time, there happened a sedition in Rome, and the people said openly, that Maxentius abandoned the common cause. As he exhibited games in the circus, on account of his accession to the empire, the people cried out, that Constantine was invincible. Being astonished at this outcry, he fled from the circus, sent for certain senators, and caused the books of the Sibyls to be consulted. They there found, that the enemy of the Romans was to perish miserably on that very day, which he thought an assurance of victory to him. Whereupon, he went out, and came to the army, and immediately, a great number of owls came and settled upon the walls. The heat of the battle renewed at the sight of Maxentius, his men gave ground, and he fled; and being driven by the crowd, he regained the bridge, which he had caused to be made of boats; but it was so contrived, that it might be broken in the midst, by taking out the iron pins by which it was fastened. By this means, he thought to lay a snare for his enemies; but he was taken in it himself; for he found the bridge broken, and the boats sunk, with those who were in them: Maxentius was the first who fell into the Tiber, and his guards followed him. Such was the end of this tyrant. His body being found, his head was cut off, and carried into Rome upon a pike.

The city immediately opened her gates to Constantine, and he entered as a victor. The senate and all persons of condition, the people of Rome, and even the women and children received him as their deliverer, and their joy appeared both in their countenances and by their acclamations; and a great multitude flocked thither, at this good news, from all parts of Italy. Constantine triumphed, and the solemnity was made more glorious by the appearance of several senators delivered out of prison, where they had been kept by Maxentius, whose head was carried in

triumph, and atferwards sent to Africa. The senate caused a triumphal arch to be built in honour of Constantine, which may yet be seen at Rome, with an inscription to this effect: "To the emperor Cæsar Flavius, Constantinus, Magnus, Pius, Felix; the senate and people of Rome have dedicated this triumphal arch; because being influenced by the Divine Being, and his own greatness of soul, he with the assistance of his army, hath at once procured vengeance for the state by his just arms, upon the tyrant and all his faction." This arch was adorned with Basso-relievos of excellent workmanship, which had been formerly made in honour of Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius the emperors. A statue was erected to Constantine in one of the public places of the city, where he appeared holding a long cross in his hand instead of a lance, and he caused this inscription to be made upon the pedestal: "By this salutary sign, the true mark of courage, I have delivered your city from the yoke of the tyrant, and restored the senate and people of Rome to their ancient glory." Thy people of Italy dedicated to Constantine a shield and a garland of gold; those of Rome a golden statue, as to a god; and he continued there the rest of this year.

Maximin, hearing of the defeat of Maxentius, was as much concerned at it, as if he had been vanquished himself: but being afterwards informed, that the senate had conferred upon Constantine, the title of first emperor, which he had assumed to himself, he openly declared himself his enemy, and gave him reproachful language mixt with raillery. In the mean time Diocles, who was an old man, and continued still in a languishing condition, after he had heard that Constantine had thrown down his images with those of Herculius, resolved to live no longer; he wandered from place to place, full of continual discontents, without receiving any nourishment, or taking any rest. He did nothing but lament and weep, turning incessantly on all sides, sometimes in his bed, and sometimes on the ground. This emperor, who had reigned so happily for twenty years, led for the last seven years an obscure life, and was so contemned and ill treated, that at last growing weary of life, he died through weakness and affliction, on the third of December in this year 312.

Constantine, having spent two months and an half at Rome, left it on the 18th of January, in the year 313, and went to Milan. Licinius went thither also, in order to receive Constantia, the sister of Constantine, whom he was to have in marriage; and accordingly the nuptials were celebrated there. In this year it was, that the two emperors made an edict in favour of the Christians, which was conceived in these terms: We being happily assembled at Milan, I Constantine Augustus, and

Licinius Augustus, and consulting what relates to the public safety and advantage; We were of opinion, that our first concern ought to be employed in adjusting what relates to the Divine Being, and to allow liberty to the Christians, and all others to follow whatsoever religion they think fit, in order to draw down the favour of heaven upon us, and upon our subjects. We have therefore determined, by good advice, not to refuse any person the liberty of heartily embracing the rites of the Christians, or any other way of worship, which they think most convenient for them; that the sovereign Deity, whose religion we follow with a free heart, may in all things favour us with his usual goodness. Know ye, therefore, that notwithstanding any thing that may be contained in the letters which we have sent you concerning the Christians; we have now thought fit to ordain, plainly and simply, that all those who are inclined to follow the Christian religion, have liberty to do it, without being hindered or molested in any manner whatsoever. This is what we thought necessary to declare positively, that you may know that we have granted unto the Christians free and absolute license to observe their religion; provided always that others have the same liberty, in order to preserve the tranquillity of our reign.

We have moreover ordained in respect to the Christians, that the places where they were formerly wont to assemble, (and concerning which you have received certain orders by letters directed to you) if they had been bought by any person, either as forfeited to us, or of any one else whatsoever, be restored to the Christians without money, or requiring any restitution, and without delay or hinderance. That those who have received them as a gift, restore them likewise as soon as may be; and that those who have bought them as well as those who have received them as a gift, if they expect any thing from our bounty, apply themselves to the vicar of the province, in order to receive satisfaction from us. All these places shall be immediately delivered to the Christian communities by your care: and it being notorious, that besides these place where they assemble, they had other goods belonging to their community, and not to private persons; you shall cause all these things to be restored to their respective bodies and communities upon the conditions beforementioned, without any difficulty or contention; provided, nevertheless, that those who shall restore them without recompence, may expect to receive satisfaction from our favour. In all these respects, you shall effectually make use of your power for the service of the Christian communities; that our orders may be speedily executed, and peace and tranquillity procured to the public. Thus the divine favour, which we have already experienced upon such extraordinary occasions, will continue to grant success

to us, and happiness to our people: and that this ordinance may be made known unto all men, you shall cause it to be fixed up in all places with your seal, that none may be ignorant of it. This was the edict of Constantine and Licinius, granting liberty to the Christian religion.

Maximin being informed, that they were busy in celebrating the nuptials, left Syria, caused his forces to march in the depth of the winter, and by double marches, arrived in Bithynia, with his army very much fatigued. By means of the rains, the snow, the dirt, the cold, and the fatigue, his horses and beasts of all sorts died, the roads were covered with them, and made the appearance of a defeat. He did not confine himself within his own limits, but passed the streights, and came in arms to the gates of Byzantium, where Licinius had left a garrison provided against such accidents. He had recourse to entreaties and threatnings, in which he spent eleven days; during which letters and an express were sent to Licinius. The garrison of Byzantium being too weak to resist, surrendered; and Maximin went to Heraclea, where he lost a few days more. Licinius having marched by long journeys, was now arrived at Adrianople, and Maximin having taken Perinthus by treaty, they both came within two days journey of each other. Licinius endeavoured rather to amuse than attack the enemy; for he with much difficulty got together thirty thousand men, whereas Maximin had seventy thousand; but the armies were so near together, that a battle was daily expected. At this juncture Maximin vowed to Jupiter, that if he gained the victory, he would entirely abolish the Christian name.

The night following, when Licinius was asleep, an angel appeared unto him, and warned him to rise immediately, and pray unto the supreme God, with all his army, promising him the victory upon that condition. At these words he imagined that he arose, and that standing with the person who thus admonished him, he learned from him the form and words of the prayer. When he awoke, he sent for a secretary, and dictated to him the words which he heard, after this manner: Great God, we beseech thee; holy God we beseech thee; we commit all justice unto thee; we commend unto thee our safety; unto thee we commend our empire; for it is by thee that we live; it is by thee that we are victorious and happy. O great and holy God, hear our prayers; we stretch out our hands unto thee, O holy and great God, hear us." Several copies of it were written and distributed to the prefects and tribunes, that every one might teach it to his soldiers; and they all perceived their courage to increase, imagining that heaven promised them victory. Licinius fixed the day of battle on the first of May, in

this year 313, in which ended the eighth year, from the time of Maximin's being declared Cæsar, viz. May the first, 305. Licinius being desirous of vanquishing him on the day of his accession to the empire, Maxentius having been overcome on the like day; but Maximin endeavoured to anticipate it, and accordingly drew up his forces in battle array, on the last of April in the morning, that he might celebrate his festival on the next day, after having obtained the victory. News was brought to the camp of Licinius, that Maximin advanced towards them; whereupon they take arms and advanced to meet. There lay between them, nothing but a barren plain called Campus Serenus: and the two armies, were now in sight of each other, when the soldiers belonging to Licinius laying by their shields, and pulling off their helmets, lifted up their hands to heaven, and prayed as they had been taught; the chiefs of the army, and the emperor repeating the prayer first. The other army heard with surprise, the confused noise of their voices. After repeating the prayer three times, being at is were inspired with new courage, they resumed their shields and helmets.

The two emperors drew near to each other, and had an interview; but it was impossible to bring Maximin to peace. He contemned Licinius, and fancied that his men were going to desert him, because Licinius was frugal, and he extravagant; and he had undertaken the war in hopes that he should be able to gain over the army of Licinius without fighting, and thus double his forces to attack Constantine. They therefore drew near; they sounded the trumpet; they displayed their banners, and Licinius's men fell furiously upon their enemies; who, being dismayed, could neither draw their swords nor throw their javelins. Maximin wheeled round the battalions, and solicited Licinius's soldiers, sometimes by entreaties, and sometimes by promises, but no body would give ear to him. They assaulted him, and he fled towards his men, who suffered themselves to be killed, without making any resistance; so that all these legions fell like corn in harvest, by the hands of a small number. Thus they all seemed to have forgot their name, their courage, and their former recompenses, and to have come hither not to fight, but to give up themselves as victims to the slaughter, being destined to it by the Divine order. A great number had already fallen, when Maximin, perceiving affairs to take another kind of turn than he expected, quitted the imperial robe, and, taking the habit of a slave, repassed the streights; and after he was gone, none of the rest were ashamed to fly. There remained dead upon the spot one half of his army; and the rest either surrendered or fled. He arrived at Nicomedia, on the first of May at night, having travelled sixty miles in one day and two nights;

he hastily got together his wife, his children, and a few of the officers of his palace, and marched towards the east; but he stayed at Cappadocia, having assembled a small number of those who fled, and some troops belonging to the east; and it was there he again resumed the purple. Licinius having received part of Maximin's army, which surrendered to him, and which he dispersed among his own troops, caused his army to march into Bithynia a few days after the battle. He entered Nicomedia, and returned thanks to God, who had given him the victory; after which, on the thirteenth of June, when Constantine was the third time consul with him, viz. in the year 313, he caused the edict to be published, which had been made at Milan some months before in favour of the Christians; and he exhorted every body by word of mouth, to restore the churches to their former state. Thus ended the persecution after about ten years years and four months: for it had begun at Nicomedia, when the church in that city was pulled down on the twenty-third of February, in the year 303.

Licinius, with his victorious army, followed Maximin, who fled, and retired into the streights of Mount Taurus; the passages to which he shut up, by making intrenchments; but the vanquishers all breaking in on the right side of it, he at length retired to Tarsus; where, finding himself in danger, both by sea and land, and having no hopes of relief, fear and grief made him seek death as the most certain remedy. Accordingly, filling himself with wine and meat, like one that is eating his last morsel, he he afterwards drank poison; but his stomach being full, it had but little effect upon him at first, but threw him into a languishing condition, which continued some time. He felt such excessive burnings in his entrials, that they almost made him mad; and for four days together, he took up handfuls of earth to eat, as being oppressed with extreme hunger; afterwards, he beat his head against the walls, so that his eyes began to swell, and he lost his sight. Then he imagined, that he beheld God judging him, attended by his officers in white garments. He cried out like those who are upon the rack, and said, It was not I who did it but others. Afterwards, he confessed as being overcome by the torture, and some time he with tears besought Jesus Christ to have pity on him. He gave up the ghost, groaning like a man that is burnt; and such was the end of Maximin Daia, the most cruel of all the persecutors.

Their whole race perished after this manner. Licinius caused Valerius and Candidius to be put to death; who the former was we know not; but Candidius was the son of Galerius by a concubine, though adopted by his wife Valeria, because she was barren. Licinius likewise put to death Severian son of Severus,

who had followed Maximin in his flight, accusing him of endeavouring to make himself emperor after the death of Maximin. He, moreover, put to death the eldest son of Maximin, who was about eight years old, and his daughter who was seven, and betrothed to Candidius; and he caused their mother to be thrown into the river Orontes, which runs by Antioch, and in which she had caused women of virtue to be drowned. Valeria, the widow of Galerius, and daughter to Diocletian, after having wandered about for fifteen months in several provinces, in a mean habit, was at length discovered and seized with her mother at Thessalonica. Their punishment was an extraordinary sight, and drew compassion from the people, who considered from what a condition they had fallen. Their heads were cut off, and their bodies where thrown into the sea. All this was written at the time that it happened, by Lactantius in his treatise of the Death of the Persecutors, to shew how the Divine vengeance was executed upon this wicked race.

The Christians finding themselves at liberty, after the many persecutions which they had suffered, beheld with astonishment the wonders of the Divine power, and a holy joy appeared in their countenances. New churches, larger and more magnificent than those which had been destroyed, were erected in all places. Sumptuous festivals were made on account of their dedications; the Bishops came thither in great numbers; the people flocked to them in crowds; every age and sex bore a part in them: the union of the members of the church was the more sensibly perceived, by the meeting again of friends and relations, after so long a separation, and they with one voice sung together hymns of gladness. The prelates applied themselves to the religious performance of the sacred ceremonies. They employed the people in singing of psalms, and reading the Holy Scriptures; the more eloquent among them spoke Panegyricks, i. e. speeches of praise and acts of thanksgiving, in order to entertain the assembly after a manner, suitable to the present occasion of rejoicing.

The emperor sent letters to all places, ordering the goods and estates of the Christians that had been confiscated to be restored; such of them as were banished to be recalled, and the prisoners to be set at liberty. He paid all possible honour to the Bishops, as men consecrated to God, insomuch as to admit them to his table, notwithstanding the meanness of their outward appearance; and he bore the expense of all their journies. His bounty to the church was very extraordinary; he erected stately buildings for them, and adorned the sanctuaries with magnificent presents. He distributed alms abundantly amongst the poor of all kinds, even among the pagans. To those who begged

publickly, be not only gave food, but raiment; those who had fallen from a better condition, he assisted after a more generous manner, allotting land to some, and giving places to others; he was particularly careful of orphans and widows; he gave portions to virgins, and married them to rich men who were known to him; which probably afforded Zosimus, the Pagan historian, a pretence, for complaining that Constantine gave profusely to useless persons.

We may form a judgment of his generosity, from a letter which he wrote particularly to Cecilian, Bishop of Carthage, in these terms: "Being determined to give some thing for the support of the ministers of the Catholic religion, throughout the provinces of Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania, I have written to Ursus, great treasurer of Africa, and given him orders to deliver to you three thousand purses of money. When, therefore, you have received this sum, cause it to be distributed to all those whom I have mentioned, according to the estimate which Hosius hath sent you. But if something is still wanting to fulfil my intention, you may without difficulty demand it of Heraclides the overseer of my revenue. For I have given him orders by word of mouth, to pay you without delay, whatever sum you require of him." We may term, that a purse which the Romans called at that time follis; which was a sum of money containing two hundred and fifty of their silver Denarii, which amounts to about £7 16 5* of our money. Thus the three thousand purses amount to about † twenty thousand pounds, sterling. Constantine wrote also to Anulinus, proconsul of Africa, ordering him to restore what goods belonged to the church, in these terms: "As soon as you receive this letter, we require you to restore to the churches of the Catholic Christians, whatever belongs to them in every city, or in any other place, which is now in the possession of citizens or others; cause whatever they had, to be immediately restored to them, whether gowns or houses, or any thing else, which of right belongs to them, if you desire to give us testimonies of your obedience." He directed a letter to the same Anulinus, importing, that in his province all the ministers of the Catholic church, over whom, says he, Cecilian presides, and who are commonly called clerks, should be exempt from all public offices, that nothing might hinder them from attending upon the service of religion: and there is no question, but that he wrote to the same purpose, to the other governors of provinces.

We find several laws made by him in favour of the church, about the same time. He made two, in order to introduce two new methods of freeing slaves, in favour of religion. The first,

* The French is 104 livres, 3 sous and 4 deniers de nôtre monoye.

† The French is plus de 300,000 livres.

of the seventh of June, in the year 316, directed to Protogenes, Bishop of Sardica, importing, that it had long since been ordained, that masters might give their slaves their freedom in the Catholic church, provided that they did it in the presence of the people and Bishops, and that there was some kind of writing concerning it. Therefore, he allowed the Bishops liberty to give freedom as they pleased, provided, that there was a positive proof of their inclination. The second law, which is of the first of May, in the year 321, extends this privilege to all clerks, and enjoins, that those freed by them should enjoy perfect liberty in what manner soever they received it; contrary to what was allowed to the laity, who could not grant freedom to any but before the congregation of the church, and in the presence of the Bishop.

Whilst Constantine thus favoured the church, Licinius began to persecute it. The union between them did not last long. A little after Licinius had married Constantia, the sister of Constantine, and divided the empire with him, Constantine proposed to him to make Bassianus Cæsar, who had married his other sister Anastasia; but Licinius defeated this project, and corrupted Bassianus so far, that he took up arms against Constantine himself, by the means of Sinicius the brother of Bassianus. Constantine having convicted and chastised Bassianus, he demanded Sinicius to be delivered up to him, to be punished likewise; but Licinius refusing to comply with this request, therefore war was declared, and there was a considerable battle fought near Cibalis in Pannonia, wherein Licinius was defeated upon the eighth of October, in the year 314. After having sued for peace to Constantine several times, he at length obtained it, and they divided the empire again: the two sons of Constantine, Crispus and Constantine the younger, and Licinius or Licinianus, the son of Licinius, were all three created Cæsars, their fathers were consuls together, in the year 315.

But Licinius soon began to put affairs again into confusion, and to ill treat the Christians, out of hatred to Constantine. First of all, that he might have a pretence of calumniating the Bishops, he prohibited them from going into the houses of heathens, lest they should convert them; or from having any communion with one another; and from visiting the neighbouring churches, or holding councils; so that he laid them under a necessity of exposing themselves to danger, if they broke his law, or of violating the canons, if they obeyed him. After this, Licinius on a sudden drove all the Christians out of his palace, sending his most faithful servants into banishment, and giving away as slaves those whom he had honoured for their great services; confiscating every thing that belonged to them, and

even threatening them with death. This happened in the year 319; Constantine being consul for the fifth time, with the younger Licinius Cæsar. Licinius the emperor made a second law, by which, under the pretence of modesty, he forbad women to appear amongst the men at the common prayers, or at the instructions in the churches, and forbad the Bishops to instruct them; he would have them instructed by other women: but as every body made a jest of this, he thought of another project, to destroy the churches, viz. ordering the assemblies to be held without the cities in the open fields, alleging that the air was better.

When he found that this order was not better observed than the former, he began to persecute openly, and commanded, that in every city the apparitors and other officers belonging to governors should be warned out of their office if they did not sacrifice to idols, by which means several lost their posts. The persecution was chiefly levelled against the bishops, whom he looked upon as his greatest enemies, because of the great affection which Constantine had for them. Amongst others, there is reckoned Basil, bishop of Amasea in Pontus; and it was in that city and the rest of the same province, that they exercised the greatest cruelties. Some churches they entirely demolished, and others they shut up. Several bishops were put to death; some of whose bodies were mangled like meat in a slaughter-house, and then thrown into the sea as food for fish. The faithful began again to flee as in the preceding persecutions, and to retire into the mountains and solitary places. In the mean time Licinius would hear no mention made of a persecution, and disowned it in words, whilst he so barbarously carried it on in effect. Blæsus, the bishop of Sebasta in Armenia, suffered martyrdom at that time upon the third of February, probably in the year 320, under the government of Agricola. After having his sides torn with iron combs, and undergoing several other torments, he was beheaded, and two young children with him. They also put to death seven women, who were known to be Christians.

In the same city of Sebasta there suffered forty Christian soldiers of different countries: they were all young, comely, brave, and were become considerable for their services. Agricola, the governor, having published the emperor's orders, they went boldly up to him, and said that they were Christians. He endeavoured to persuade them by mildness, to incite them on account of their honour, and to tempt them by promises: At length he had recourse to threats; but the martyrs bravely answered, What can you give us that is equal to what you would deprive us of? Your power extends only over our bodies, you would have dominion over our souls, and look upon it as a great

affront, if we do not prefer you to our God. You have not now to do with men who are either faint-hearted or fond of life. Upon this the governor thought of a new kind of punishment. Armenia is a cold country, and this happened in the winter, upon the ninth of March; the North wind blew, and it was a very great frost. He caused them to be laid a whole night together upon a pond that stood in the middle of the city, which was then so frozen, that it would bear walking upon with safety. He commanded that they should be there exposed quite naked; and in order to tempt them more strongly by the easiness of the remedy, he caused a hot bath to be prepared in a gymnasium which was hard by.

The martyrs undressed themselves cheerfully, and encouraged one another in the same manner, as is usual in military factions, saying, that one bad night would purchase them eternity. They all used the same prayer, viz. Lord, we are forty who are engaged in this combat, suffer not one of us to fail: however, they had the misfortune to see one of their company lose courage, and go off from the pond, in order to throw himself into the hot bath. A centinel was warming himself, who waited there to observe if any of the martyrs were inclined to submit. This man was surprised with the sight of angels who descended from heaven, and who distributed rewards to all those generous soldiers except one only, who was their faint-hearted companion, who submitted to the force of his torments. But he gained nothing by it; for, as soon as he touched the hot water, he died. When the centinel saw him come, being struck with the celestial vision, he threw off his clothes, and placed himself in his stead amongst the martyrs, who were, by this means, comforted for the loss of their unfortunate companion.

The day being come, they being yet alive, were put upon chariots and thrown into a fire, which made their torments still more cruel, by making them pass from one extreme to another. There was one of them whom the executioners let alone, who seemed to be more vigorous than the rest, and whom they hoped to pervert; but his mother, who was there present, put him with her own hands into the chariot with the rest, saying, Go my son, proceed to the end of this happy journey with thy companions, that thou mayest not be the last of them that shall present themselves before God. After they were burnt, their ashes were thrown into the river.

The Church in Africa underwent another persecution from the Donatists, particularly at Constantina, the capital of Numidia, where Sylvanus was bishop, and at the head of the sedition; but he was then punished. He had degraded a certain person called Nondinarius, his deacon, and whom he had edu-

cated, pretending to be offended at him. He thereupon endeavoured to appease him, by means of other bishops who were intimate with Silvanus, but it proved ineffectual in regaining his favour. Enraged at this, he turned informer against him, and gave the Catholics proofs of his crimes; such as of having delivered up the sacred vessels in the persecution, and of having procured himself to be made a bishop clandestinely and by simony. Information of this was judicially made by Zenophilus, of Numidia, a person of consular dignity; and we still have the verbal process which begins thus: "Under the consulship of Constantine," &c.

The following account of the latter end of Constantine the Great, given by Mons. Fleury, is curious, and will doubtless gratify many readers. It assists us in forming a just idea of Eastern manners in those times, whilst it affords a view, not the most flattering, of the knowledge which the orthodox Christians had of the nature of their own religion. Where is the simplicity of Christ, and the purity of his gospel? The spirituality of worship, and the reasonable service which he requires? How inefficient and worthless are these, and indeed all substitutes!

The emperor Constantine was now about forty-five years old, having enjoyed so perfect health, that he still bore the fatigues of war without uneasiness; preparing now for the war against the Persians, he had kept with him certain bishops to attend him: and caused a very rich tent to be made in the form of a church, that he might be carried about, and to perform divine service with them. It being now the feast of Easter, he, according to custom, past the evening in prayer with the faithful; for he was the most forward in celebrating this solemnity; and to render it the more glorious, he caused not only the churches to be illuminated that night, but also all the streets of Constantinople. Certain men appointed for this purpose, lighted large candles, or rather pillars of wax, and abundance of torches. The day being come, he gave considerable gifts amongst the people, in imitation of the good works of our Saviour. After they had celebrated Easter as usual, in the year 337, he fell sick, and at first made use of the hot baths of Constantinople, afterwards those of Helenople, where he spent much time at prayer in the church of Lucian, the martyr. At this time, perceiving his end approaching, he resolved to receive baptism; and, having considered within himself the necessity of this sacrament, and the wonderful virtue of it, he threw himself upon the ground in the oratory, confessing his sins: then he received the imposition of hands, with the first prayers that are said to those who are placed in the order of catechumens. From thence he caused himself to be transported to Achiron near Nicomedia; and calling

together the bishops, he spoke thus to them: "This is the time which I have so much longed for, wherein I hope to obtain of God the grace of salvation, and that holy sign which gives immortality. I intended to have been baptized in the river Jordan, where our Saviour himself shewed us the example of it; but God, who knows what is best for us, was pleased to grant me this favour here; therefore, make ye no difficulty to allow it. If he permits me yet to pass some time upon the earth, I am resolved to join with the faithful in their church assemblies, and lay down rules for the conduct of my life, that it may be worthy of the holiness of God." It was an usual devotion in those primitive times to procure themselves to be baptized in the river Jordan, or at least to bathe there, as pilgrims do at this day. After he had so spoken, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and the bishops who accompanied him, administered baptism and the other sacraments to him, observing exactly all the usual ceremonies; then they caused him to put off the imperial robe, and clothed him in a white garment, the magnificence of which was equal to his dignity; his bed was also covered with white: then raising his voice, he addressed himself to God, rendering him thanks for such a benefit; and concluded with these words, Now I find myself truly happy, having partaken of the Divine Light, I may think myself worthy of immortality; what misfortune is it to be deprived of such riches! And when his officers entered the chamber, being afflicted for the loss of him, and beseeching God to prolong his life, he replied to them, that he was more sensible than any body of the benefits which he had received, that he would no longer delay going to his God. All this happened at the feast of Pentecost.

Constantine had made his will, by which he confirmed the division of the empire, made, while he was alive, among his three sons and his two nephews. He ordered also that Athanasius should be recalled from banishment, notwithstanding the endeavours of Eusebius of Nicomedia to the contrary. The Arian priest, whom Constantia his sister had recommended to him when dying, was entrusted with Constantine's will; and Constantine ordered it to be put into the hands of his son Constantius. The emperor having settled all things in this manner, died about noon on the day of Pentecost, on the twentieth of May, under the consulship of Felician and Tatian, viz. in the year 337, after having reigned thirty-one years, which was the longest reign, since that of Augustus. His body was put into a coffin of gold and carried to Constantinople, being placed in the principal chamber of the palace, until the arrival of some of his sons. It was raised upon steps covered with purple, and surrounded with abundance of torches in golden candlesticks;

several people watched there day and night, and this sight was entirely new. Constantius was the only one of his sons who came in time to take care of the burial; for being nearest, he first received the news of his illness: however, he found him dead. He caused the body to be carried with state into the church of the apostles, himself following the funeral pomp; but then he withdrew with his soldiers, being only a catechumen; but the clergy and the faithful people came to say prayers and perform divine service. The emperor's body was set up under a lofty alcove during prayers, and buried in the porch of the Basilicon near the door; certain persons being appointed to stay and say prayers in that place.

The memory of the emperor Constantine is blessed in the Church for the great goodness which he shewed, in protecting her with all his might, and shewing after many different ways his zeal for the true religion. The Greeks honour him amongst the saints, celebrating a feast upon the twenty-first of May, and joining his mother Helena with him. It is probable, that baptism washed away all the stains of his life, in which we find several very considerable faults, even after he had seen the miraculous cross, and had declared for the Christian religion. He had by Minerwina his first wife, a son called Crispus, whom he created Cæsar, designing him for the empire, of which he showed himself truly worthy, by several laudable actions, and yet he put him to death, being persuaded of the calumnies, which his second wife Fausta laid to the charge of this young prince; and afterwards finding out the cheat, by the persuasion of his mother Helena, to put Fausta likewise to death, who was besides convicted of prostituting herself to a servant. He caused her to be stifled in a hot bath. After this, we need not wonder, that he gave credit so easily to the reproaches of the Arians, against Athanasius, and other Catholic bishops. Eusebius, his great admirer, acknowledges, that several complained that he was of too flexible a temper, which gave way to two great vices, viz. the violence of such as oppressed the weak, to content their own insatiable avarice; and the hypocrisy of false Christians, who entered into the Church to gain his favour. In short, nobody will be deceived in believing, either the evil which Eusebius relates of Constantine, or the good which Zosimus says of him.

SECTION II.

The Christians persecuted in Persia.

WHEN the tenth persecution ended, the Christians enjoyed a calm and prosperity under the government of Constantine; but as their religion was not confined within the limits of the Roman empire, it met with the same opposition in all countries.

At this time Sapor, king of Persia, grievously persecuted the Christians who were very numerous in his kingdom. It is thought that the faith was brought into this country by the intercourse which Osrhoene and Armenia had with Persia; and that in time it increased so much that here were several Churches. This greatly afflicted the Magi, they having had the management of the religion of the Persians, from the rise of this nation, being as it were a sacred race, where the priesthood was preserved by succession. The Jews being nrturally enemies to the Christians, were also jealous of their success. Simon, sirnamed the Fuller, otherwise Jombapheus, was Archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, the two royal cities of Persia, distant from one another, not above ten leagues, or thirty miles: Seleucia was also called Salec. Simeon was accused before king Sapor, for being a friend to the Roman emperor, and discovering the affairs of the Persians to him. Sapor being persuaded of this calumny, began to load the Christians with excessive taxes, that he might reduce them to insupportable poverty; for he knew that the greatest part of them accustomed themselves to contemn riches; and he committed the exaction of these taxes to unmerciful men. Afterwards he ordered the priests and ministers of God to be put to the sword, their churches to be destroyed, and their treasures confiscated, and that Simeon should be brought to him as a traitor against religion and the state. This persecution began on the seventh year of Constantius, and the 343d of Jesus Christ. The Magi, by the assistance of the Jews, quickly destroyed the churches.

Simeon was taken and brought to the king loaded with chains. He did not prostrate himself before him as he was wont to do; at which Sapor, extremely irritated, asks him the cause. Simeon replied, At other times I was not brought chained to deny the true God; wherefore I followed without resisting the custom of honouring the regal dignity: now I dare not do it, forasmuch as I come to fight for religion. When he had thus spoken, the king commanded him to adore the sun, promising him great rewards if he consented; if not, threatening to destroy him and all the Christians with him. He continuing steadfast, the king ordered him to be kept some time in prison, in hopes that he might change his mind. An old eunuch, called Usthazadius,

who had educated king Sapor in his childhood, and who was chief of the household, sitting at the door of the palace, when Simeon was carried to prison, rose and prostrated himself before him. Simeon reproached him vehemently in an angry manner, and went on turning away his face, because Usthazadius, who was a Christian, had allowed himself to be forced some time before to adore the sun. Whereupon the eunuch weeping bitterly, presently laid aside the white habit which he wore, taking a black one as a sign of mourning, and remained sitting before the palace, groaning and shedding tears. Alas, said he, what must I expect of God whom I have renounced, since upon his account Simeon, my old friend, now turns away without speaking to me.

Sapor having heard this, sent for Usthazadius, and asked him the cause of his mourning, and if any misfortune had happened in his house? No, my lord, replied he, but I wish to God that instead of what hath happened, all manner of misfortunes had befallen me. I am grieved that I live and behold the sun, whom I adored in appearance, out of complaisance to you. I doubly deserve death; for having betrayed Jesus Christ, and deceived you. Afterwards, he swore by the Creator of heaven and earth, that he would never change his opinion any more. The king, surprised at this unexpected alteration, was the more irritated at the Christians, thinking that they had gained him over by enchantment. Nevertheless, the compassion which he had for this old man, made him seem sometimes mild, sometimes cruel, endeavouring to gain him. But Usthazadius still protested that he would never be so mad as to adore the creature instead of the Creator. Then Sapor, falling again into a rage, ordered his head to be cut off. As the executioners carried him away, he entreated them to stay a little, because he had something to say to the king; and calling one of the most faithful of the eunuchs, he charged him to say unto Sapor, I have no need of any body's testimony, to assure you of the affection with which I have served both you and your father before you, from my youth up; you are sufficiently informed of it. The only recompense which I demand is, that these who know not the occasion of my death, may not think that I have been punished for betraying the state, or for any other crime. Wherefore, I entreat you, that the public cryer may declare, that the head of Usthazadius was cut off, not for being an evil man, but a Christian; and because he would not renounce his God to obey the king. Usthazadius desired in this manner, to repair the scandal which he had given, in adoring the sun; and Sapor granted his request, thinking to frighten the Christians; when they should see that he did not even spare an old man, and a faithful servant, by whom he had been educated.

Simeon, who was in prison, being informed of the martyrdom of Usthazadius, gave thanks to God for it; and the next day being Good Friday, the king commanded that he also should die by the sword; for, being brought before him again, he spoke very boldly concerning religion, and would neither adore him nor the sun. The same day, viz. Good Friday, the king also commanded a hundred other Christian prisoners to be put to death; and Simeon to be executed last, after seeing them all die. As they were brought to suffer, the chief of the magicians came up, asking them, if they would live, and follow the religion of their prince, by adoring the sun. Not one of them accepted of life at this rate; and being at the place of execution, the officers began to cut off their heads. In the mean time, Simeon standing in the midst, exhorted them to constancy, speaking to them of death and the resurrection; and proving from Scripture, that such a death is true life, and that real death is to abandon God through cowardice; and that the most excellent of all good works is to die for God's sake. After the hundred martyrs were executed, Simeon also suffered with Abdechalas and Ananias, both old men and priests of his church, who were taken with him, and had been fellow-prisoners with him.

The overseer of the king's workmen was present; and seeing Ananias tremble as he prepared for punishment, My father, says he, shut your eyes a little, and take courage; you are going to see the light of Jesus Christ. He had scarcely said this, when he was taken and brought to the king; and as he confessed that he was a Christian, and spoke freely of that religion, and of the martyrs; the king being enraged, ordered him to be put to death by a new kind of punishment. The executioners pierced his throat by the wind-pipe, and from thence drew out his tongue; his daughter, a virgin, consecrated to God, was accused and put to death at the same time.

The following year likewise, on a Good Friday, Sapor published an edict throughout Persia, which condemned to death, not only ecclesiastical persons, but all such as confessed themselves to be Christians. It is said, that at that time, an innumerable multitude were put to the sword; for the Magi carefully searched all the cities and villages for those who were hidden, whilst others discovered themselves voluntarily, lest they should seem by their silence to renounce Jesus Christ. All Christians being unmercifully put to death, several of them were executed, even in the palace; to the very eunuch Azada, a very great favourite with the king, and at whose death he was grievously afflicted: whereupon he forbad the Christians in general to be put to death, confining himself to the ecclesiastics.

The successor of Simeon in the Bishopric of Selencia and Ctesiphon, was Sadoth or Sadost, that is to say, a friend to the

king; and indeed, he was filled with the love of the heavenly King. He assembled his priests and deacons, who kept themselves concealed for fear of the persecution, and related to them a dream which he had had in these words: I saw last night a ladder of light, which reached the heavens; upon the top of it was the holy Bishop Simeon, in exceeding great glory, and I stood below upon the ground. He said joyfully to me, Come up, Sadoth, come up, fear nothing; I ascended yesterday, and you must come up to day. I thought from that time, that I was called to the confession of Jesus Christ; and I understand, that I must suffer martyrdon this year, as he did the last. He afterwards began to exhort his clergy to contemn death, and to seek eternal glory.

King Sapor came to Selucia that year; they informed him of Sadoth, who caused himself to be brought to him, with his clergy and other ecclesiastics of the neighbouring country; in all, to the number of a hundred and twenty-eight persons. They were loaded with chains, and sent to a dark and loathsome prison, where they continued five months, suffering greatly. Their legs were tied with cords, and their shoulders and reins pressed with pieces of wood, in order to extend them; so that their bones cracked as when faggots are pressed together. Whilst they were tormented, they said to them, Adore the sun, obey the king, and ye shall live. Sadoth answered for all the rest, that they adored the Creator, and not the sun which is his work, nor the fire which the Persians also adored. At last, they were condemned to be beheaded; and when they were brought out of the city, they ceased not from praising God till they were all executed. Sadoth was brought loaded with chains into a country called Bethuza, to the city Bethlapat, or Bethlabad, and had his head cut off there. The Latins honoured these holy martyrs on the twenty-first day of February, and the Greeks on the nineteenth of October.

At the same time the queen fell sick; and the Jews accused the sisters of the Bishop Simeon of having poisoned her, to be revenged for the death of their brother. There were two of them; the one a sacred virgin called Tharbula or Pherbuta; the other a widow, who had renounced a second marriage. The queen easily believed this calumny; as well from a natural inclination, which sick people have to give ear to any extraordinary remedy, as from a particular confidence which she placed in the Jews; for she was of their opinion, and practised their ceremonies. The two women were therefore taken, and with them Tharbula's servant. They were brought to the palace, and sent to be tried by the Magi. The Mauptez, for so the pontiff of the Magi was called, came to examine them, with two other officers. When they spoke to them of poisoning, accusing

them of it, Pherbuta replied, that the law of God condemns poisoners to death, as well as idolaters, and that they were no more guilty of that crime, than of denying God. And when it was said, that they did it in revenge for their brother, Pherbuta said, Ah! what evil have ye done to my brother? It is true, you have put him to death through envy, but he lives and reigns in heaven. After this examination they were sent to prison.

Pherbuta was very beautiful, and one of the Magi was enamoured with her. He therefore sent privately on the next day to tell her, that if she would be his wife, he would obtain pardon of the king both for her and her companions; but she refused it with disdain and indignation, saying, that she was the spouse of Jesus Christ, and did not fear death, which would join her again to her dear brother. The judges made their report to the king, as if the martyrs had been convicted of poisoning; and the king ordered their lives to be saved if they would adore the sun; which, by refusing, it was referred to the Magi to assign their punishment, who said, that the queen could not be cured but by passing through their bodies cut in sunder. Whereupon, these holy women were brought before the gate of the city, each of them being tied to two posts, to one by the neck, and to the other by the feet; and being thus stretched, they were cut in the midst with scythes; then fixing three great posts on each side of the street, they hung up half their bodies upon them. The queen was brought into this street, and they caused her to pass in the midst of this cruel slaughter, followed by a great multitude of people; for it was upon a day that the king received a certain tribute; moreover, cutting victims asunder, in order to pass through them, was an ancient ceremony in the east, and which was used in covenants, and approved even in Scripture. We find also, that the Macedonians pretended to purify their army, by causing them to pass through the two parts of a dog cut asunder.

As Sapor allowed none to be put to death on account of religion, but only ecclesiastical persons, the Magi ran up and down through all Persia, persecuting the Bishops and priests, especially in the province of Adiabene, the greater part of the inhabitants being Christians; for it was upon the frontiers of the Romans. The Bishop Acepsimas, with several of his clergy, were taken. Afterwards the Magi having consulted about it, were contented with seizing the prelate, sending the rest back, and spoiling them of their goods. A priest named James, voluntarily followed Acepsimas, and prevailed with the Magi to be put in prison with him. He joyfully performed for him all the service that he wanted, because of his great age; he dressed his wound, and comforted him as much as he could; for, a little after he was taken, the Magi whipt him cruelly with raw thongs, in order to

force him to adore the sun; and when he would not yield, they sent him back to prison. Another priest called Aithalas, with Azadan and Abdiesu, deacons, were also put in prison on account of religion, after they had been barbarously whipt by the Magi. Abdiesu signifies the servant of Jesus. A long time after, the chief of the Magi spoke to king Sapor of these prisoners, who allowed him to punish them as he thought fit, if they did not adore the sun. The Magi declared this order to them; and when they positively answered, that they would never betray Jesus Christ, he tortured them unmercifully. The Bishop Acepsimas died persevering constantly in the confession of the faith; and the Armenians who were hostages among the Persians, took away his body and buired it privately. The rest, though they had suffered no less, lived beyond all expectation; and as they did not change their opinion, were sent back into prison. Aithalas was one of them, whose shoulder bone was disjointed by stretching whilst they beat him; his hands hung down, being mortified, so that he could take no nourishment but what was put into his month.

Under this same reign, a prodigious number of priests, deacons, monks, virgins, and other persons, consecrated to religion, suffered martyrdom. The names of twenty-three Bishops are preserved, amongst whom was Dausas and Milles. Dausas was taken by the Persians, in a place called Zabdea, and suffered martyrdom with Mareabdes, one of the Chorepiscopi, and his clerks, to the number of about two hundred and fifty, who were also taken captives. Milles at first carried arms in Persia; then he embraced the apostolical life, and was ordained Bishop of a city in that country. He suffered there greatly, without converting any body, being often dragged and beaten; so that he retired dissatisfied, leaving his curse upon that city. A little while after, the chief of the city having offended the king, he sent an army thither with three hundred elephants. The city was overthrown, and made fit for the plough. In the mean time Milles went out of devotion to Jerusalem, carrying only a bag which contained the gospels; from thence he past into Egypt to visit the monks, and at last suffered martyrdom; and certain Syrians have written his life, which was full of miracles. There was a great number of other martyrs in Persia, who suffered very cruel torments; for the country was fruitful of such inventions. The names of six thousand, both men and women, are preserved; the rest were so numerous that they could never be known, notwithstanding the endeavours of the Persians, the Assyrians, and the inhabitants of Edepa took.

When Constantine the Great was informed of the Persecutions in Persia, he was much concerned, and began to reflect in what manner he should redress their grievances, when an ambassador

arrived from the Persian emperor, upon some political business. Constantine received him civily, granted his demands, and wrote a letter to the Persian monarch in favour of the Christians, in which he alluded to the vengeance that had fallen on persecutors, and the success that had attended those who had refrained from the persecution; and then referring to the tyrants and persecuting emperors of his own time, he said, " I subdued those solely by faith in Christ: for which God was my helper, who gave me victory in battle, and made me triumph over my enemies; and hath so enlarged to me the bounds of the Romish empire, that it extends from the western ocean, almost to the uttermost parts of the east: for which purpose I neither offered sacrifices to the ancient deities, nor made use of charm or diviniation, but only prayers to Almighty God, and followed the cross of Christ: and how glad should I be to hear that the throne of Persia flourished, by embracing the Christians! that so you with me, and they with you, may enjoy all the felicity your souls could desire, as no doubt but you would, as God, the Almighty Creator of all things, would become your protector and defender. These men, therefore, I commend to your honour; I commit them unto you, desiring you to embrace them with humility; for in so doing, you will procure to yourself grace through faith, and bestow on me a benefit worthy of my thanks."

In consequence of this appeal, the persecutions ended during the life of Sapores; but it was renewed under his successors, when the following sufferers were the principal:

Hormisdas, a Persian nobleman, being convicted of christianity, was ordered to attend the emperor's elephants naked. This disgusting task he performed for some time, when the emperor one day, looking out of a window which commanded the yard where the elephants were kept, saw Hormisdas performing his office. Determining to try him once more, he gave orders that a shirt should be put on him, and that he should be brought into his presence. The emperor asked him if he would now deny Christ. On which Hormisdas tore off his shirt, and said, "If you think I will deny my faith for the sake of a shirt, take your gift again." The emperor then banished him from Persia, and he died in exile. Suenes, a christian nobleman, refusing to deny Christ, his wife was taken from him, and given to one of the meanest of the emperor's slaves; while he was ordered to wait upon his wife and the slave, which broke his heart.

Theodoret, a deacon, was imprisoned for two years, and on being released, was ordered not to preach the doctrine of Christ. He, however, did his utmost to propagate the gospel; for which he was most miserably tormented until he died.

Towards the latter end of the second century, most of the

churches assumed a new form, which early in the third century, was completed. The first simplicity disappeared; and insensibly as the old disciples retired to their graves, their children along with new converts, both Jews and Gentiles, came forwards and new modelled the cause. The first, and the most fatal of all events to the primitive religion, was the setting up of a christian academy at Alexandria in Egypt. Christians had been reproached with illiteracy, and this seemed a plausible method to get rid of the scandal. This school was first kept by Pantænus, whom Clement first assisted, and then succeeded, as Origen did him. Each improved on his predecessor, and altogether invented questions about the Christian religion, sufficient to perplex and puzzle the whole world. Vain questions about matter and spirit; the whole and the parts, human souls, demons and the first great cause; time, place, circumstances of events; were all applied by these men to the Christian religion, and the inspired writers were put on the rack, and tortured to give answers, and determine points, of which probably they had never heard the names, and never entertained a thought. Here youth were bewildered under pretence of being taught: here the most dangerous of all rules of interpreting Scripture was laid down, and the tutors first amazed themselves with it, and then distracted the minds of their pupils. This was, "That Scripture had a double sense, the one obvious and literal, the other hidden and mysterious, which lay concealed, as it were under the veil of the outward letter. The former they treated with the utmost neglect, and turned the whole force of their genius and application to unfold the latter; or, in their own words, they were more studious to darken the Holy Scriptures with their idle fictions, than to investigate their true and natural sense." These are the words of Mosheim.

Some Christians foresaw the mischiefs which this school would produce, and remonstrated against it; but they soon sunk into neglect and contempt. Time however, has discovered that their fears were not groundless, for from this intoxicated house, proceeded in a regular train most of the evils that have since afflicted the church. Having laid down a double sense of Scripture as a first principle, the four gospels became hard books, and common Christians could not find out their meaning, for that lay in the mystical sense; consequently the aid of the school became necessary to inform them. In proportion as academicks taught in the churches and were applauded, unphilosophical and illiterate teachers were slighted. The modest and plain people retired and kept at due distance. Some churches chose these superior geniuses to teach them constantly, and called them from the schools to settle among themselves; here they introduced mysteries, from which proceeded, first disputes, and then

councils of men of their own order to settle them. These took upon them to determine what was the right opinion, and as they had influence to abuse and persecute those who presumed to differ from them. Hence those wranglings and disorders which disfigure the page of ecclesiastical history: and, finally, that spirit of intolerance which has drenched the Christian world with blood.

Hitherto we have seen Christianity opposed by Pagans, and Christians suffering all the evils which a combination of malice and power could inflict. Henceforth, we shall see men bearing that name biting and devouring each other, till they are consumed one of another.

About the year 320, a violent dispute broke out at Alexandria, between Alexander, the Bishop of the church, and Arius, one of the Presbyters, concerning the nature of Jesus Christ. The subject was agitated with so much violence, that government thought it necessary to take cognizance of it. The emperor Constantine acted with great moderation and condescension, and in a friendly letter advised the parties to settle their differences amicably. As they would not do so, but continued to excommunicate and anathematize one another, he summoned a council of the whole church to meet at Nice, in Bythynia. Arius was condemned, but this did not change his opinions, nor those of his adherents, who were become very numerous. They continued zealously to propagate their sentiments, till many Bishops espoused their cause, and councils decreed in their favour, by the express order of the emperor. Sozom, 2.

As they gained power, they became persecutors in their turn, and improved upon the example which the orthodox had set them. A well instructed Christian will be in no danger of mistaking either the Arianism or the Orthodoxy of these times for the religion of Jesus Christ.

Secundus, an orthodox priest, differing in point of doctrine from a prelate of the same name; the bishop, who had imbibed all the opinions of Arianism, determined to put Secundus to death, for rejecting opinions which he himself had thought proper to embrace. He therefore went with one Stephen, who was as much an Arian as himself, sought out Secundus privately, fell upon and murdered him: the holy martyr, just before he expired, called upon Christ to receive his soul, and to forgive his enemies. At this time, being dissatisfied with the cruelties exercised upon the orthodox Christians in Alexandria, the principal perscutors applied to the emperor, for an order to banish them from Egypt and Lybia, and to put their churches into possession of the Arians: They obtained their request, and an order was sent for that purpose to Sebastian, the commander in chief of the Roman

forces in those provinces: the general signified the emperor's pleasure to all the sub-governors and officers. Hence a great number of the clergy were seized, and imprisoned for examination; when it appearing that they adopted the opinions of Athanasius, an order was signed for their banishment into uncultivated and desert places. While the orthodox clergy were thus used, many of the laity were condemned to the mines, or compelled to work in the quarries. Some few indeed escaped to other countries, and several were weak enough to renounce their faith, in order to avoid the severities of the persecutors. Paul, the bishop of Constantinople, was a Macedonian, and was designed, from his birth, for a clerical life. When Alexander, the predecessor of Paul, was on his death-bed, he was consulted by some of the clergy, on the choice of a successor: when he told them, "That if they were disposed to choose a person of exemplary life, and thoroughly capable of instructing the people, Paul was the man; but if they had rather have a person of a well-composed appearance, acquainted with worldly affairs, and fit for the conversation of a court, they might then choose Macedonius." The latter was a deacon in the church of Constantinople, in which office he had spent many years, and gained great experience: and the dying prelate did both him and Paul justice in their different characters. Nevertheless, the Arians gave out, that Alexander had bestowed great commendations on Macedonius for sanctity, and had only given Paul the reputation of eloquence, and a capacity for business: after some struggle, the orthodox party carried their point, and Paul was consecrated. But Macedonius, being offended at this preference, did his utmost to calumniate the new bishop: but not gaining belief, he dropped the charge, and reconciled himself to Paul. This, however, was not the case with Eusebius of Nicomedia, who resumed the accusations under two heads, which were as follow:

1. "That he had led a disorderly life before his consecration. 2. That he had been placed in the see of Constantinople without the consent of the bishops of Nicomedia and Heraclea, two metropolitans, who ought to have been consulted upon that occasion."

Eusebius, to support these accusations, procured the emperor's authority, by representing, that Paul having been chosen during the absence of Constantius, the imperial dignity had been insulted. This artifice succeeded, and Paul being deposed, Eusebius was placed in his stead. Thus Paul, having lost all his authority in the East, retired to the territories of Constans, in the West, where he was well received by the orthodox prelates and clergy. At Rome he visited Athanasius, and assisted at a council held there, by Julius, the Bishop of that see. Letters being written by this council to the eastern prelates, Paul returned to Constantinople,

but was not restored to his bishopric till the death of Eusebius. The Arians, however, constituting Macedonius their bishop, by the title of bishop of Constantinople, a kind of civil war ensued, in which many were put to death.

Constantius, the emperor, who was then at Antioch, hearing of this schism, laid the whole blame upon Paul, and ordered that he should be driven from Constantinople. But Hermogenes, the officer who had received the emperor's order, attempted in vain to put it into execution; for the orthodox Christians rising in defence of Paul, Hermogenes was killed. This event greatly exasperated the emperor, who left Antioch, in the depth of winter, and returned to Constantinople, with a design to punish the Christians. He, however, contented himself with banishing Paul, and suspending Macedonius. After this, Paul retired again to the territories of Constans, implored the protection of that emperor, and by his intercession was again vested in his see. On this occasion, his re-establishment exasperated his enemies, who were, at that time, constantly employed, both in secret and open attempts, against his life, against which the affections of his people were his only security; and being convinced that the emperor had no other motive for allowing his stay at Constantinople, but the dread of disobliging his brother, Paul could not think himself wholly restored to his bishopric; and being very much concerned at what the orthodox bishops suffered from the power and malice of the Arian faction, joined Athanasius, who was then in Italy, in soliciting a general council. This council was held at Sardica, in Illyrium, in the year 347, at which were present one hundred bishops of the western, and seventy-three of the eastern empire. But disagreeing in many points, the Arian bishops of the east retired to Philippolis, in Thrace; and forming a meeting there, they termed it the council of Sardica, from which place they pretended to issue out an excommunication against Julius, bishop of Rome; Paul, bishop of Constantinople; Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria; and several other prelates. In the year 350, the emperor Constans died.

Constantius's success raised the courage of the Arians, and renewed the persecution against the Catholic Bishops, which had been stopped by the authority of Constans. Ursatius and Valens returned to their party, saying openly, though falsely, that their recantation was forced, and that the emperor Constans had obliged them to it by violence. One of the first bishops whom they got rid of, was Paul, of Constantinople; after he was driven away in the year 342, he returned to Constantinople, either by the interest of Constantius, or by some other means, and had continued there during the council of Sardica, to which his people would not let him go, being afraid of the attempts of his enemies.

But afterwards Constantius being at Antioch, sent to Philip, the Præfectus Prætorio, who was very much inclined to the Arians, to drive Paul out of the Church, and place Macedonius in his stead. Philip, fearing a sedition, had recourse to a stratagem; he concealed the emperor's order, and under the pretence of some public business, he went first into a bath, Zeuzippa; from whence he sent, in a very courteous manner, to desire Paul to come to him, as if upon some urgent occasion. Accordingly he came, and the Prefect showed him the emperor's order, to which the Bishop willingly submitted, although he was condemned without knowing for what. But as the people, being suspicious of something, had already assembled in great numbers about this bath; Philip caused the lattice of a window to be broken down, through which Paul was carried into the palace, where there lay a vessel ready to put him in and carry him into exile, which was immediately executed.

In the mean time Philip came from the public bath, and went directly to the Church, carrying with him, in his chariot, Macedonius, whom he found there, and they were surrounded by soldiers, with their swords in their hands. The people flocked to the Church, as well the Catholics as Arians, each of them endeavouring to seize it first; but when they came near to it, an unaccountable fear seized them all, and even the soldiers themselves. The crowd was so great, that the Præfect and Macedonius could not get in: The soldiers began to make way, but the people being pressed too much, could not go back; upon which they thought that they stayed on purpose to hinder them from going in; and their swords being drawn, they began to strike in good earnest; so that there were killed upon this occasion, as is reported, above three thousand people, some being murdered by the soldiers, and others stifled in the crowd. Such was the manner of Macedonius's entering into the Church of Constantinople.

The Bishop Paul being loaded with irons, was sent first to Singara, in Mesopotamia; from whence he was carried to Emesa, and at length to Cucusus, upon the confines of Cappadocia and Armenia, in the deserts of Mountaurus. His enemies there shut him up in a close and dark place, where they left him, hoping that he would die with hunger; but after six days, finding that he was still alive, they strangled him, and reported that he died of a distemper. Philagrius, Vicar to the Præfectus Prætorii, who was then upon the spot, and a great favourer of the Arians, and perhaps displeased that he had not killed him himself, told the whole transaction to several persons; and St. Athanasius assures us, that he had it from them. The Latin Church honours the memory of Paul of Constantinople, as a martyr, on

the seventh of June, and the Greek Church as a confessor, on the sixth of November. His death happened about the beginning of this year, 351, and the divine vengeance soon followed the præfect Philip, who had been the occasion of it as well as of his banishment; for before the year came about, he was turned out of his office with disgrace; and becoming a private person, was banished from his country, daily expecting to be put to death.

The Arian party now made Gregory of Cappadocia, a very obscure person, bishop of Alexandria, after having deposed Athanasius for his strict adherence to the orthodox faith. In the accomplishment of this affair, they were assisted by Philagerius, the governor of Egypt, who was an apostate, and who authorised them to commit all manner of outrages. Hence, arming themselves with swords, clubs, &c. they broke into one of the principal Churches of Alexandria, where great numbers of orthodox Christians were assembled at their devotions; and falling upon them in a most barbarous manner, without the least respect to sex or age, most of them were destroyed. Potamo, a venerable bishop of Heraclea, who had formerly lost one of his eyes in Dioclesian's persecution, fell a martyr upon this occasion, being so cruelly scourged and beaten, that he died of his wounds.

Persecution under Julian.

During the preceding reigns, Christians were favoured by the government, magnificent Churches were built, and endowed with large revenues. Bishops, invested with power and authority, were admitted to an intimacy with the emperors, and frequently sat at their tables, where they seem to have forgotten, together with the spirit and manners of their divine master, the maxims of wisdom he left on record for their instruction, and to have exemplified in themselves, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God!" They likewise saw many of their flocks raised to places of honour and trust in the state, whence they began to indulge ideas of their own importance, and to assume the right to govern conscience. A speculative test was set up, and the ancient distinction of good and bad men fell into disuse, and was succeeded by another taken from the test, so that ecclesiastical historians divide by Arius and Athanatius; and instead of informing their readers, that such a man feared God and wrought righteousness, and that such a man did evil, and taught others to sin, they content themselves with saying, this was an Arian and that was Orthodox; as if a

belief of either of the creeds, could supply the place of obedience to all the ten commandments. When Julian was raised to the head of the empire, he found but few Christians at court who resembled the author of their religion, or whose lives were governed by his precepts. They were proud, luxurious, and quarrelsome amongst themselves. Some respectable writers assert, that the bad conduct of Christians was the cause of his disgust, and drew upon them the persecution which followed. A celebrated modern author, who has carefully investigated this subject with great ability, maintains, that if they were persecuted during this reign, it was punishment for faction and sedition, under the guise of Church government.

Soon after the emperor Julian had entered Constantinople, he set up an extraordinary tribunal at Chalcedon, to try those who had enjoyed the greatest power under the emperor Constantius; wherein their proceedings were examined with a severity, which even Julian's flatterers thought too great. The two consuls, Taurus and Florentius, were of the number of those who were accused. Taurus had obtained the consulship, as a reward for the outrages he had committed at the council of Rimini; he was sent into exile to Vercellæ. There were others put to death, whose sentence was approved by every body, especially, the inveterate Arian, the eunuch Eusebius, who was prefect of Constantius's chamber; for he was condemned and executed among the rest.

Several Christians were included in the number of those who were examined, and among those officers of the court who were turned out of their places by Julian, under the pretence of banishing luxury, and living like a philosopher. He one day called for a barber to comb his hair; for as to his beard, he let it grow: whereupon, Constantius's barber came to him magnificently dressed. Julian was surprised at it, and said, I sent for a barber, not a senator. He inquired into the value of his place, and found that he had of bread every day the allowance of twenty men, and the same proportion of forage for his horses, and a large yearly salary, besides extraordinary gratuities. This caused him to remove all the barbers, cooks, and such like officers, saying, that he had no occasion for them, especially the eunuchs, his wife not being alive. It is certain, that luxury was got to a prodigious height in the court of Constantius, both as to their habits of gold and silk, and the delicacy of their eating. The number of the barbers and cooks amounted to a thousand each; and of cup-bearers and waiters, there were many more. Several officers of this court had made an ill use of their good fortune; but, among other things, they were accused of enriching themselves with the spoils of the idol temples.

Julian having, by this means, made the palace desolate, filled

it with philosophers. One whom he sent for, was the philosopher Maximus, who was in Asia with Chrysanthus. When he arrived at Constantinople, the emperor was speaking in the senate; but as soon as he heard the news of the arrival of Maximus, he ran to meet him, and embracing him, brought him into the senate-house. The emperor, together with Maximus, was continually consulting the gods, spending whole days in this employment. This philosopher kept so close to him, that he seemed to govern not him only, but the whole empire. Being elated with the favour that was shown him, he began to wear more delicate clothing than was suitable to his profession; and became more rigid, and difficult of access to those who came to him: But the emperor did not perceive this alteration.

Priscus, whom the emperor had also sent for from Greece, was more moderate in his good fortune. He gave places and governments to several rhetoricians and sophists, whose credit increased daily, and their hopes still more.

Amidst this company of philosophers, the new emperor lived like one himself, wearing the outward marks of a philosopher. He called himself a Grecian, affected to imitate the Greeks, as more learned than the Romans; and all his writings that are extant are in Greek. In fine, it was his ambition to restore Hellenism, i. e. the manners and customs of the ancient Greeks, to its former perfection, especially their religion.

He had conceived two great enterprises, viz. the downfall of the Christians within his empire, and the Persians without. That of the Christians he had most at heart; but he was afraid to attack them openly, being informed of their prodigious multitude, which was so great, that they could not even be assaulted in secret, without exposing the empire to the hazard of a general revolution. Thus does St. Gregory Nazianzen speak of this matter. Besides, he was afraid of being thought a tyrant, and becoming odious: on the contrary, he was mild and gentle, like a philosopher, who was only governed by reason: He therefore sought all possible means of gaining the affection of the people, by revoking all the rigorous and unjust decrees of Constantius, recalling the banished, restoring the confiscated estates, and allowing to all, the free exercise of their religion. In short, he knew that the Christians dreaded neither death nor tortures: And he was not willing to procure them the honour of martyrdom, knowing, by experience of the former persecutions, that the more severe they were, the more they strengthened Christianity.

He resolved therefore to attack the Christians by more subtle ways: He recalled from banishment all the bishops, and others, without distinction of heretic or Catholic, who had been sent

into exile by Constantius, on account of their religion. He even sent for some to his palace, and exhorted them freely and openly to exercise their respective religions. This procedure had a fair appearance of clemency.

The Catholic bishops taking the advantage of this liberty, Meletius came back to Antioch; Lucifer and Eusebius of Vercellæ left Thebais, to return to their Churches: But Athanasius durst not yet quit his retreat, because George was still the most powerful at Alexandria. The Arians had the same liberty of returning; Actius, in particular, was recalled with honour, because it was his friendship to Cæsar Gallus, Julian's brother, that had drawn upon him the indignation of Constantius. Julian wrote a very obliging letter to him, and likewise gave him an estate near Mitylene, in the isle of Lesbos. He also wrote a letter to the Heresiarch Photinus. He ordered Eleusius of Cyzicus, under a severe penalty, to rebuild, in two months time, the Church of the Novatians, which he had destroyed in the time of Constantius. He favoured the Donatists in Africa, and defended the hereticks, not only against the Catholics, but against each other.

However, those who made the greatest advantage of this liberty were the Catholics; and the Arians, who before had the chief power, were humbled. Julian understanding that the Arians had misused the Valentinians at Edessa, wrote in these terms: "I have resolved to deal so gently with all the Galileans, that none of them whatever shall suffer violence, that they be not dragged to the temple, nor compelled, by force, to act in any manner contrary to their religion. But the Arians, grown insolent by their riches, have attacked the Valentinians, and committed, at Edessa, such enormities, as ought never to happen in a well-governed city. In order, therefore, to assist them in the practice of their admirable law, and render their entrance into the kingdom of heaven the more easy, we have ordained, that the Church of Edessa shall be deprived of all the wealth belonging to it, the money to be distributed to the soldiers, the land to be united to our demesnes, to the end, that becoming poor, they may become more wise, and may not be deprived of the heavenly kingdom which they hope for." Such were the marks of Julian's persecution, a seeming gentleness, and, at the same time, scoffing at the gospel. In another letter he saith, "By the gods, I will not have the Galileans put to death, beaten without cause, or suffer any wrong; but it is my opinion, that the servants of the gods ought to be preferred before them. The folly of the Galileans had well nigh brought a general destruction upon us, had not the goodness of the gods preserved us." And in another letter, "We do not permit them to be dragged to

the altars; on the contrary, we declare to them, that if any among them desires to partake in our libations, he must first offer sacrifices of expiation, and make the gods propitious to him. So far are we from desiring or having a thought, that any impious person should partake in our holy sacrifices, before he has cleansed his soul by prayers addressed to the gods, and his body by lawful purifications." But although he spared the blood of the Christians, he nevertheless plainly attacked them. In the first place, he endeavoured to give them a contemptible name, by calling them Galileans; and he even ordained it by a law. He afterwards abrogated all the privileges granted by the Christian emperors in favour of that religion; as exemption from attendance on public offices, which privilege the clerks enjoyed, although they were Decurios. He took away the revenues which Constantine had assigned them; as also those belonging to the widows and virgins, maintained by the Church: For Constantine, when he settled the affairs of the Church, assigned them a sufficient maintenance out of the income of every city. But Julian took away these pensions, ordering them even to restore what had been already paid to them, which was exacted with the utmost severity; but all was settled again upon the former establishment after his death. He likewise caused all the gold, and silver, the rich vessels, and the rest of the wealth of the Church to be taken away, under pretence of obliging the Christians to practice the poverty which is enjoined by the gospel; and because the gospel orders us to bear with injuries, and to shun honour and promotion, he forbad the Christians to plead, or to execute any public office. Greg. Naz.

Notwithstanding his pretended clemency, and his great care to deprive the Christians of the glory of martyrdom, they were openly persecuted in divers places, and many of them suffered martyrdom. The orders which the emperor issued out for the re-establishing of idolatry, filled the city with seditions. The Pagans set open their temples, and made fire on the altars; the earth was sprinkled with the blood of the victims, and the air filled with the smell of the fat. The weaker Christians not being able to endure their blasphemies, replied with injurious language, reproaching them with the absurdity of their religion; and the Pagans, grown haughty by the protection of the emperor, soon proceeded to blows, committing their outrages with impunity.

But to begin the history of these martyrs, with those who suffered in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. At Dorostora, in Thrace, Æmilian was thrown into the fire by the soldiers under the command of Capitolinus, the vicarius, for having overthrown certain altars. At Mera, or Myra, an episcopal

city of Phrygia, Amachius, governor of the province, commanded the temple to be set open, the filth to be carried out, and the idols to be cleansed. The Christians were greatly concerned at this: three of them, viz. Macedonius, Theodulus, and Tatian, being transported with zeal, got into the temple in the night, and broke the idols in pieces. The governor, highly exasperated, was about to put several innocent persons of the city to death, but the authors of the fact offered themselves of their own accord, being unwilling that others should suffer death on their account. The governor proffered them a pardon if they would sacrifice; but they chose death, and he caused them to undergo all kinds of torture. At length, they stretched them over the fire on grates of iron, where, after having remained some time, they cried out, "Amachius, if you would have roasted flesh, order us to be turned on the other side, or we shall not be above half done, and thus they expired."

At Pessinus, in Galatia, on the confines of Phrygia, two young men suffered martyrdom in the presence of Julian himself: For having stayed about eight months at Constantinople, about the beginning of summer, he set out towards Antioch, to make preparations for the Persian war. He went first to Chalcedon, afterwards to Nicomedia, which he found still lying in a ruinous condition, which it was brought into by the earthquake, and there bestowed considerable benefactions. From thence, he passed through Nice to the confines of Galatia, and afterward, inclining to the right, turned out of his way to go to Pessinus. It was in this city that he put to death those two young Christians: One of them had overturned the altar of the goddess, and being brought before the emperor, he derided his purple, and his vain harangues; the other perceiving his body torn with stripes, and being reduced to the last gasp, showed the executioner one of his legs that was left unhurt, complaining that they had spared it. At length, both of them were tortured by fire, and exposed to the beasts, and suffered martyrdom, together with their mother and the bishop of the city.

From Pessinus, Julian returned to Ancyra, the capitol of Galatia, where there was a priest named Basil. This Basil had gone throughout the city publickly, exhorting the Christians to continue steadfast, and not pollute themselves with the sacrifices, and libation of the heathen. His zeal rendered him odious to the Gentiles, and at length seeing them one day publickly offering sacrifice, he stopped, and fetching a deep sigh, besought God that no Christian might be guilty of such enormity. Whereupon they apprehended him, and carried him before the governor of the province called Saturninus, accusing him of sedition, of having overturned altars, and spoken irreverently of the

emperor. The governor having examined him, and finding his faith unshaken, caused him to be tied up, and tormented till the executioners were tired, and then sent him to prison.

In the mean time he informed the emperor of what had passed, who was not yet come to Ancyra. Some time after Julian came to Ancyra; the sacrificers went out to meet him, carrying with them the idol of Hecate; and being come into the palace, he called them together and distributed money among them. The next day at the public shows, Elpidius made his report to him concerning Basil; and at his coming out of the theatre, Julian ordered that he should be brought to the palace. Basil reproached him with his apostasy, and foretold him, that Jesus Christ would soon deprive him of the empire. Whereupon Julian replied, I intended to dismiss you, but your impudent manner of rejecting my advice, and uttering reproaches against me, force me to use you ill. He left it in charge to a count called Frumentius to see him tormented, and set out for Antioch. The count having again made trial of the martyrs constancy, but to no purpose, tormented him to death on the twenty-eighth of June, in the year 362. Three others are reckoned to have suffered martyrdom under Julian at Ancyra; viz. Melasippus, Anthony, and Carina.

Busiris, a heretic of the sect of the Encratitæ or Abstemious, was also apprehended at Ancyra in Galatia, probably after the departure of Julian. He was accused of having insulted the pagans, and the governor caused him to be brought forth in public, and fixed on the wheel. Busiris held his hands over his head, that his sides might be uncovered, and said to the governor, "You need not give your officers the trouble of tying and untying me, I will keep in this posture as long as you please." The governor was astonished at the promise, but much more so at the performance; for Busiris held his arms lifted up, while they tore his flesh with iron talons, and continued firm in this posture as long as the governor required. He was then sent to prison.

From Galatia, Julian proceeded in his journey through Cappadocia, where certain Christians likewise suffered martyrdom, particularly at Cæsarea the capital city, to which place Julian had an aversion, the inhabitants being almost all Christians. They had long before destroyed the temples of Jupiter and Apollo, esteemed the tutelary gods of that city. The temple of Fortune only remained, and the Christians had lately destroyed it, even since his accession to the empire. For this he punished the whole city, he struck it out of the catalogue of cities, although it was the metropolis of the province, and ordered that it should resume its ancient name of Mazaca, forbidding it any

more to be called Cæsarea, the name given it by the emperor Tiberius. He complained that the pagans had exposed themselves to assist their goddess, not considering the smallness of their number. He deprived the churches in the city, and its territory, of all that they possessed in moveables or other goods, making use of torments to force them to discover their wealth. He condemned them in a fine of three hundred pounds in gold, which they were to pay in specie into his treasury. He caused all the clerks to be enlisted among the officers of the magistracy, under the governor of the province; which was the most contemptible, and frequently the most burthensome service. As for the laity, he caused them to be taxed, with their wives and children, and to pay tribute as in the villages; threatening them, with an oath, that if they did not speedily rebuild the temples, he would continue his severity towards their city, and the heads of the Galileans should not be safe. All who had any hand in pulling down the Temple of Fortune were punished, some with death, others with banishment; and amongst those who suffered death upon this account, they reckon Eupsychius, a person of noble extraction.

Julian finding that all the people of Antioch were Christians, conceived a hatred against it, but was very well satisfied with the neighbouring cities; for as soon as he had issued his orders for the restoratiou of idolatry, they rebuilt the temples, overthrew the tombs of the martyrs, and openly persecuted the Christians. The bishop Mark, in the time of Constantius had destroyed, at Arethusa in Syria, a very magnificent temple, which was held in great veneration by the pagans; he had also built a church and converted great numbers of infidels: but under Julian, finding that the pagans were ready to shew their resentment against him, which they had long concealed; he at first resolved to flee according to the precept of the gospel; but, understanding that they had apprehended some of his flock instead of him, he returned and delivered himself up to the persecutors: they seized him, and all the people crowded about him, dragged him through the streets by the hair, or any part which they could catch hold of, having no compassion upon his age, nor any regard for his virtue or learning; they first stripped and scourged him all over his body, and afterwards threw him into noisome common sewers; whence having taken him, they left him to the children, ordering them to prick him without mercy with their writing stiles: they tied his legs with cords. until they met the very bone; they wrung off his ears with small strong threads. After this they rubbed him over with honey, and putting him in a basket hung him up in the air, where the sun was most violent at noon day in the midst of summer, in order to draw

the wasps and the bees upon him. They tormented him in this manner, to force him to rebuild the temple which he had destroyed, or at least to pay the expense of it; but he endured all this, and would not make any promise. Then they, imagining that by reason of his poverty he was not able to raise so large a sum, remitted the half; but far from granting them any thing, he mocked them as he hung in the air, though so sorely wounded, telling them that they were low and earthly, but that he was heavenly and exalted: they submitted so far as to ask him to allow a small part of the charge of this building; but he replied, that to give the least farthing was as impious as to defray the whole expense; at length, being overcome by his patience, they let him go, and were afterwards, from his mouth, instructed in the true religion. The constancy of this bishop did so amaze the Præfectus Prætorii, who was a pagan, that he said to Julian, Is it not a shame, Sir, that the Christians should be so much superior to us, and that an old man should get the better of us, whom if we had overcome we should have gained no credit by it?

The destroying of the temples was a general pretence for persecuting the Christians; for Julian had ordered them to be rebuilt every where at their expense: but one would have thought that Mark of Arethusa ought to have had a particular exemption, since he was one of the bishops who had saved Julian in the beginning of the reign of Constantius, by concealing him when all his family was in danger. However, Mark of Arethusa, had all along sided with the Arians, or at least with the Semi-Arians, having signalised himself by his zeal for that party.

At Heliopolis in Phœnicia, near mount Libanus, there was a deacon called Cyril; who in the reign of Constantine had broken to pieces several idols; the pagans retained so great a resentment on this account, that they were not satisfied with killing him, but cut open his belly, and eat his liver. The divine vengeance was openly declared against all those who had any hand in this barbarity, their teeth fell out all at once, their tongue rotted, and they lost their sight. In the same city of Heliopolis certain consecrated virgins who admitted none to see them, were brought forth in public, stripped and exposed to the sight and mockery of all the people. They shaved their heads, ripped open their bellies, and cast barley therein, which they forced the hogs to eat, that they might devour the entrails, together with the grain wherewith they were covered. It is supposed that what animated them with such fury against those virgins was the prohibition of Constantine, when, having destroyed the Temple of Venus, and built the first church in that

city, he forbad them to prostitute their daughters, as it had been their custom.

At Gaza and Ascalon in Palestine, they exercised the same cruelty on priests and virgins; opening their bellies, and making the hogs eat barley out of them. At Gaza itself, three brothers Eusebius, Nestabus, and Zeno, were cruelly martyred. They seized them in their houses, where they had concealed themselves, carried them to prison and scourged them. Afterwards the people who were assembled in the amphitheatre, cried out, That they were guilty of sacrilege, and that they had taken the advantage of the license of the late times to destroy religion. By crying out after this manner they put themselves into such a ferment, that the assembly becoming in a tumult, they ran to the prison in a fury; whence, forcing the three brothers they began to drag them sometimes on their bellies, sometimes on their backs, bruising them against the pavement, and striking them with clubs, stones, or any thing that came in their way. The very women quitting their work, ran the points of their spindles into them; the cooks that were in the public street, took the kettles from off the fire, and poured the boiling water upon them, and struck their spits into them. After having torn them in pieces, and broken their sculls in such a manner, that the ground was smeared with their brains, they dragged them out of the city, to the place where they threw the beasts that died of themselves. Here they lighted a fire, burnt the bodies, and mingled the bones that remained with those of camels and ashes, so that it was not easy to distinguish them.

With these three brethren there was taken a young man named Nestor, who suffered imprisonment and scourging, as they had done; but as they dragged him through the city, the people took compassion on him by reason of his beauty; they drew him out of the gate whilst he still breathed, but in all appearance ready to expire. Certain persons conveyed him to Zeno, a cousin of the martyrs, where he died as they were dressing his wounds.

At Emisa in Syria, the pagans profaned the new Church, dedicating it to Bacchus, whom they called Gynidas or Androgynus, because they attributed both sexes to him, and placed his idol therein. Titus was bishop of Bostra, which is situated at the entrance of Arabia Petræa, not far from Palestine; the emperor threatening to call him and his clergy to account, if there was any commotion among the people, Titus sent him a petition, representing, that he did, on the contrary, endeavour to keep the people within the bounds of their duty, using these words among others; "although the Christians are as numerous as the Pagans, and are restrained by our exhortations, that no

disorder may happen." Julian made use of these words to make Titus odious to the people of Bostra, as if he had accused them, as being of themselves inclined to sedition, and ordered them to banish him from their city, by an edict beginning in this manner:

"Julian to the Bostrians: I thought that the chief of the Galileans would acknowledge, that they were more obliged to me than to my predecessor; since under him most of them have been driven away, imprisoned, persecuted, and even great numbers of those called heretics have been murdered at Samosata, Cyzicus in Paphlagonia, in Bithynia, in Galatia, and in many other countries, where whole towns have been destroyed and plundered. On the contrary, under my reign, they who were banished have been recalled, and what was confiscated hath been restored: but notwithstanding this, their fury hath been great, because they have it not in their power to tyrannize, that they use all their utmost endeavours to raise disturbances among the people; being impious towards the gods, and rebellious to our commands, though full of lenity." And afterwards:

"It is therefore manifest that the people incited by those called clerks, instead of thinking it a happiness that they are not punished for their past crimes, are uneasy that they have lost their former power; and because they have not now the liberty to try causes, make wills, and bring into their own possession the inheritances of others, and get all into their hands, they raise seditions in every place. For which reason I declare to all people by this edict, that they ought not to suffer themselves to be persuaded by the clerks to take up stones, and oppose the magistrates; let them assemble as often as they please, and pray by themselves as they think fit; but if through self-interest, they would stir up the people to sedition, let them follow them no longer unless they desire to be punished."

He afterwards addresses himself to the city of Bostra in particular, and after having repeated the words written to him by the bishop, he adds, "You find that he saith your submission doth not proceed from yourselves but from him, who keeps you in your duty by his exhortations; drive him therefore out of your city, as your accuser, and live in peace one with another; let not those who err meddle with those who serve the gods in a legal manner, according to the tradition of all ages. And you the servants of the gods, do not plunder, nor pull down the houses of such as wander out of the right way; rather through ignorance than choice. Men are to be instructed, and brought over by reason, not by reproaches and corporeal punishments. I say it again, and frequently repeat it, let not the Galileans be ill used; they who are mistaken in matters of the greatest im-

portance, deserve rather our pity than our hatred. They punish themselves who forsake the gods, to adore dead men and their relicks." This letter is dated the first of August 362.

Julian sent for Artemius, duke of Egypt, to Antioch, he being accused by the Alexandrians of heinous crimes, that is, of having broken to pieces several idols in the time of Constantine, and for having assisted George the Arian Bishop with armed force, in order to strip the temples of their wealth and ornaments. The emperor was not satisfied with depriving him of his estate; he also beheaded him, and he was honoured as a martyr by the church, on the 20th of October. He likewise punished some of his guards, called Scutarii, from the shields which they bore; among others, Juventinus and Maximin, who had complained too freely of the snares which he laid for the Christains, to draw them into idolatry; for he had polluted the fountains of the city of Antioch, and town of Daphne, by casting some liquor therein, which had been offered to idols; and caused all that was sold in the market, to be sprinkled with this water, viz. the bread, meat, fruit, herbs, and all sorts of provision. The Christians could not help being grieved at this, but still made use of this food, observing the precept of the Apostle, who saith: "Eat of all that is sold in the market, asking no questions."

One day, at an entertainment, Juventinus and Maximin, lamented with some heat these profanations, and repeated those words of Daniel's companions: "You have delivered us into the hands of an apostate king, the most unjust in all the world." These words being reported to the Emperor, by one of those who eat with them, he sent for Juventinus and Maximin to come before him, and asked them what they had said. They took occasion from hence to answer boldly: "My lord, having been educated in the piety and laudable maxims of Constantine and his children, we are concerned to see all places now filled with abominations, and all the provision polluted with profane offerings. We have complained of this in private, and now complain of it in your presence; it is the only thing that gives us any uneasiness under your reign." The emperor having heard these words, caused them to be beaten and tortured to death, declaring, that they were not punished for their religion, but for their insolent expressions. The church of Antioch commemorated them on the 5th of September, which was probably the day on which they were martyred.

There was a certain place at Alexandria, which had long lain neglected, and was a sort of lay-stall, or dung-hill, where the Pagans had formerly sacrificed men, in the ceremonies of Mithra. Constantius had given it as a place of no use to the church of Alexandria; and George caused it to be cleansed, designing to

build a church thereon. As they were employed in this work, they found a deep subterraneous cavern, wherein the mysteries of the pagans were concealed; that is, certain idols and instruments used in their ceremonies, which appeared very odd and ridiculous to those who beheld them: they also found in the same place, many sculls of men and children, which were reported to have been killed, in order to make use of their entrails in their divinations, and to force the souls to return by magical rites. The Christians having made this discovery, took care to expose in public, the ridiculous ceremonies of the Pagans, and the marks of their cruelty: but the Pagans unable to bear this affront, and being transported with rage, armed themselves with whatever they could lay their hands on, fell upon the Christians, wounded and slew many of them after divers ways; some with swords, others with stones or clubs; others they strangled, and some they crucified in contempt of the cross; their nearest relations were not spared, brother was armed against brother, and the father against his children.

We find several martyrs at Rome, in the reign of Julian, in the ancient martyrologies: viz. John and Paul, brethren, who are said to have held considerable employments at court, ever since the time of Constantine; Pigmenius, Priscus, John and Januarius, presbyters, Bibiana, a virgin, her mother Dafrosa, and her father Flavian, who is said to have been vicar to the Præfect; as also Gordian and some others. The most eminent of all these martyrs are John and Paul. It is certain that Julian made Apronian, a Pagan, and an enemy to the Christians, Præfect of Rome, in the year 363. This man in his way to Rome, lost an eye, which he thought was the effect of sorcery: which caused him to make a strict search after the poisoners or magicians: for this was one of the pretences, on which the Christians were persecuted.

Salust caused several of the Christians to be apprehended and imprisoned. He ordered one of them to be brought before him, who happened to be a young man called Theodore, and commanded him to be tortured by several executioners, by turns, from morning till night, with such cruelty as there had been no instance of in the memory of man. In the mean time, Theodore being fixed to the rack, with an executioner on each side, only repeated with a cheerful and unconcerned look, the same psalm which the church had sung the day before. Salust sent him back to prison, and went to give an account to the emperor of what he had done, advising him to give over an enterprise, from whence he could receive nothing but disappointment and disgrace. Rufinus, who relates this story, saith, that he had himself seen this Theodore, at Antioch; and having asked him,

whether he had felt the pain; he replied, that he had felt it a little at first; but that afterwards, he beheld a young man near him, who with a piece of very white linen, wiped the sweat off his face, and frequently gave him some fresh water; and that this water so comforted and refreshed him, that he was more cheerful than when he was taken down from the rack.

The emperor had caused the cross and name of Jesus Christ to be struck out of the Labarum, which had been placed therein by Constantine, and had reduced it to the ancient form, which it had under the Pagan emperors, as appeared by his medals. Count Julian observed, that Bonosus and Maximilian, two officers in the troops, called the old Herculians, had not altered the Labarum; for from the reign of Dioclesian, there were certain companies, called from him Jovians, and Herculians from Maximilian. Count Julian, therefore, commanded them to change their ensign, and to adore the same gods, as he and the emperor did; but they refused, saying, that they would observe the law, which they had received from their parents. The count commanded Bonosus to be tied up, and above three hundred blows to be given him, with leather thongs, having lead fastened to the ends; but Bonosus only smiled, making no answer to his questions. The count afterwards caused Maximilian to approach, who said, "Let your gods first hear and speak to you, and then we will adore them. You, yourself know, that we are forbidden to worship deaf and dumb idols." This he said, because count Julian had been a Christian. He caused them both to be tied up, and beaten three times with balls of lead, but they did not feel the pain; then he commanded them to be dipped in boiling pitch, which likewise did them no harm, so that the Jews and Pagans said, that they were magicians. Count Julian ordered them back to prison, and sent them bread sealed with his own signet, marked very likely with the figure of some idol; for they would not eat of it. They were visited in the prision by count Hormisdas, who was a Christian, and who finding them in a good state of health, and very cheerful, recommended himself to their prayers. Julian condemned them to die by the sword, with the rest that were in prison. Milecius, and other Bishops attended them to the place of their martyrdom, which they received with joy.

Among the martyrs of Antioch, who suffered under Julian, there are reckoned two presbyters of this church, viz. Eugenius and Macarius; whom he banished to the Oasis, with secret orders to put them to death. It is certain, that he caused several persons to be slain in the night time, and that such multitudes of bodies were thrown into the Orontes, that the channel was choaked up therewith. Afterwards in the most secret and retired parts of the palace, in wells and pits, were found bodies of little

children of both sexes, that had been dissected for magical operations; and also of persons persecuted on account of religion.

Julian having entered into Assyria, took certain strong places, and came off with advantage in an engagement with a party of the Persians. To return thanks for this success, he resolved to sacrifice ten bulls to Mars; but nine of them fell down of their own accord, before they were brought to the altar; the tenth got loose, and being with much difficulty brought back and sacrificed, his entrails afforded none but unlucky omens.

In his march, the Persians first attacked the rear of the Roman army. Julian having advanced without his army to discover the country, and receiving notice of the attack, ran to the place, taking only a shield in haste, without his cuirass, either through forgetfulness, or by reason of the excessive heat. But he was immediately recalled, by a fresh advice, to the van. Here the Persians were repulsed; and they turning their backs, Julian lifting up his arm, cried out, to encourage his men to pursue them, although his guards warned him to retire; at which time, a dart from a Persian horseman, grazing upon his arm, entered in at his ribs, and struck deep in his liver. He endeavoured to pull out the dart, till it cut his fingers, and then sunk down upon his horse. He was immediately carried away, and the physicians, especially his faithful Oribasus, exerted all their skill. After the first dressing, finding himself a little easier, he called for his horse and his arms, to return to the fight; but losing a great deal of blood, and his strength failing him, he desisted; and asking the name of the place where he fell, they told him it was called Phrygia; upon which, remembering a certain prediction, he looked upon himself as a dead man. He spoke in a lofty strain to those about him, saying, that he was content to die; adding, that it was an indignity to bewail a prince who was going to be re-united to heaven and the stars. He discoursed some time of the excellence and greatness of the soul, with the philosophers, Maximus and Priscus, and died in this manner, on the 6th of the calends of July, at midnight, i. e. on the 26th of June, in the year 363, aged thirty-one years, eight months, and twenty days, being born the 6th of November, in the year 331. He had reigned from the death of Constantius, one year, eight months, and twenty-three days.

I have set down the account of Julian's death, as it is delivered by Ammianus Marcellinus, who was then present, and by Libanius, who was his contemporary. Gregory Nazianzen saith, that it was variously reported, as well by those who were, as those who were not present. Some said, that he was killed by one of his own soldiers; with which the Persians afterwards reproached the Romans; others, by a jester in the Persian army; and others, by a Saracen.

SECTION III.

Persecutions by the Goths, &c.

THE Church was persecuted by the Goths, and some among them suffered martyrdom. The Christian religion had been long planted among this people, whom the ancients sometimes confound with the Scythians and Sarmatians. Their Bishop Theophilus was present at, and subscribed to the council of Nice, as Socrates reports. Cyril, of Jerusalem, relates, that in his time there were martyrs among the Goths, as also among the Persians; and moreover, he reckons the Goths and Sarmatians, among those nations, which had not only Christian converts, but Bishops and clerks. Philostorgius says, that in the time of Constantine the Great, vast numbers of the Getæ, that is, Goths, were driven out of their country, on account of religion, and that the emperor placed them in Mœsia. He reckons their conversion to have been, as early as when they made their inroads into Asia Minor, under the emperor Gallienus, and particularly into Galatia and Cappadocia.

In the reign of the emperor Valens, the Goths were divided under the government of two kings, Fritigern and Athanaric. The greater part still remained Pagans, and many of the Christians, who were subject to Fritigern, suffered martyrdom, although he was an Allay of the Romans. But under Athanaric, who was their enemy, the persecution was much more violent. He put many of them to death, after diverse ways; some because of their boldness with which they answered to the judges; and others, without so much as giving them the hearing; for he caused an idol to be placed, on a chariot, which he ordered to be driven before the cottages of those who had been accused as Christians, who were commanded to adore and offer sacrifice to it: on their refusal, the huts, and those within them were burnt. To avoid the effect of such violence, many persons of every sex and age, even sucking children, took sanctuary in the hut which served for their church; but the Pagans set fire to it, and burnt them all. Athanaric, having killed a great number of them, and abhorring to put all the rest to death, forced them to leave the country, after having endured many hardships; and he obliged them to go into the dominions of the Romans.

Of so great a number of martyrs, there are few who are particularly known. Barthus is named, and Verca, a Presbyter, and Arpilar, a monk, who are said to have been burnt, together with three and twenty more, in a church, where they had met together and they are reported to have suffered martyrdom

about this time, namely, in the reign of the emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian. Under Athanaric, we are told the names only of Nicetas and Sabas. Nicetas is the most famous of the two; but we are not so well acquainted with his story. That of Sabas is more to be depended upon, being preserved in a letter from the church of Gothia, to the church of Cappadocia.

Sabas, a Goth by nation, who had been bred from a child in the Christian religion, was a person of a meek and quiet disposition, and who spake but little; he was well instructed in the principles of religion, which he knew how to defend against idolaters, without any studied rhetoric, but with great freedom. He sang in the church, of which he took great care. He dispised wealth and feasting, avoided the company of women, and was every day constant in fasting and prayer, and he encouraged all men to the practice of virtue. The persecution being begun, and the Christians forced to eat of meats offered to idols; certain Pagans bethought themselves, of giving to their Christian relations some meat that had not been offered in sacrifice, in order to deceive the persecutors. Sabas, not only refused to eat any, but said aloud, that whosoever eats thereof, was no Christian, and by this means, kept many from it; for which reason, they who attempted to make use of this stratagem, drove him out of the village; but afterwards recalled him. The persecutions being renewed, some Pagans in sacrificing to the false gods, began to swear, that there were no Christians in their village: but Sabas came boldly into their assembly, and said, "Let no body swear for me, for I am a Christian." Being then pressed by the persecutors, they concealed their relations, and swore that there was but one Christian in their village, who was Sabas. Their prince having sent for him, asked the bystanders, what wealth he had; and being told, nothing besides the clothes that he had on, he despised him, and drove him from his presence, saying, Such a fellow can neither do good nor harm.

The persecution beginning again, he went to spend the feast of Easter with a presbyter called Sansala. The third night after, a certain person called Atharides came down upon the village, by an order from the state, with a great company; and finding the priest asleep in his house, he caused him to be bound together with Sabas, whom they had taken out of his bed. The priest they put into a cart, but for Sabas, they dragged him naked as he was, over some thorns, forcing him along with whips and staves.

The day being come, Atharides ordered his hands to be tied, and caused him to be hung upon a beam of the house. Soon after there came people from him, who brought the priest and Sabas some victuals that had been offered to idols, and said to

them, See what the great Atharides hath sent you, that you may eat and not die. We will not eat any, said the priest; it is not lawful for us; tell Atharides we will sooner be crucified, or suffer any other kind of death. Who sent that? said Sabas. Lord Atharides, replied they. There is but one Lord, said Sabas, God who is in heaven. This pernicious meat is impure and profane; as is Atharides who sent it. One of Atharides' servants incensed at these words, struck the point of his javelin against the breast of Sabas with so much violence, that all who were present believed that he had been killed. But he said, Do you think you have slain me? know that I felt no more pain than if you had thrown a lock of wool upon me; neither did he in the least cry out, nor was any sign of the blow to be seen upon his body. Atharides being informed of these particulars, ordered that he should be put to death. They let the priest go, and carried away Sabas, in order to throw him into the river Musæus, now called Mussons in Walachia. What harm has the priest done, that he may not die with me? said he. That is not your business, replied the officers. Whereupon he began to pray, and praised God without ceasing all the way. Being come to the river side, the officers said among themselves, Why do we not let this man go? he is innocent; and Atharides will never know any thing of it. Sabas said, What do you stay for? why do you not do what you are ordered? I see what you cannot: behold on the other side, those who shall receive me into glory. Whereupon they brought him to the water-side, and he continued praising God to the last: having thrown him into the river, they strangled him with a piece of wood they had fastened about his neck. He was thirty-eight years of age, and suffered martyrdom on the Tuesday of Easter-week, the day before the Ides of April, under the consulship of Modestus and Arintheus, that is, the twelfth of April in 372.

Simplician had not been long bishop, before he received a letter from Vigilius, bishop of Trent, containing an account of the martyrdom of three ecclesiastics, whom the barbarous people of the neighbouring mountains had put to death; namely, Sisinnius a deacon, Martyrius a reader, and Alexander a porter. Sisinnius was a Grecian, born in Cappadocia, of a noble family, and was a person of an advanced age. He was the first that preached the gospel to these barbarians, and notwithstanding his poverty, built a church among them at his own expense. Martyrius having taken his leave of all worldly affairs, and forsaken the company of his relations, received baptism, and was afterwards ordained reader; and from him these barbarous people first heard hymns in honour of God. He was continually employed in spiritual works, and constant in fasting:

Alexander was his brother. The place where Sisinnius preached the gospel, was called Anagnia or Anaunia, twenty-five furlongs, that is, a league fram Trent, in the narrow passes of the mountains. They had long endured the insults of the barbarians, and at length suffered martyrdom on the following occasion. The pagans, in the latter end of May, made their profane processions, about their lands, pretending to purify them, and obtain the blessing of their gods upon their seed. They wore chaplets, sang hymns, and led their victims with great ceremony; but when they attempted likewise to force certain Christians that were newly converted, to furnish victims, they were opposed by Sisinnius, whom they dangerously wounded. The next morning, as soon as it was day, the barbarians, armed with clubs, hatchets, and such like instruments, came on a sudden to the church, where they found certain clerks singing the morning service: they pillaged and searched into every place, and pulled down the church. The deacon Sisinnius was confined to his bed, by reason of his wounds: they pressed him again to consent to their sacrifices, struck him on the head with a trumpet, which they sounded in their profane ceremonies, and killed him outright with their hatchets. Martyrius was with him, dressing his wounds, and giving him a glass of water to refresh him, as he was just breathing his last: he retreated to a garden joining to the church, and was discovered by a maid to whom the garden belonged. Having taken him, they wounded him in the head, and pierced him with staves sharpened at the end; and as they were leading him to the idol, he expired. The pagans sought diligently for Alexander, who was well known, having always kept the door of the church: they took him in his house, and tied him between the bodies of the other two martyrs. They fastened a bell to the neck of St. Sisinnius, like that which is hung upon the neck of beasts; and said, insulting, let Christ now revenge himself. Alexander was tied alive by the heels between the two dead bodies; and in this manner they dragged him through rugged ways to the temple of Saturn, where they raised a large pile of the timber of the materials of the church which they had pulled down; there they burnt the two bodies before him, ordering him to sacrifice, unless he would be cast into the fire; which he refusing with great constancy, was put to death. A great number of Christians were present at the sight; but the pagans only reviled them. These three saints suffered martyrdom on Wednesday the 29th of May, and in the year 397.

The murderers of the martyrs were taken; and they would have been brought to justice, but the Christians petitioned the emperor for their pardon, who readily granted it, that he might

not dishonour their martyrdom. Their relics were brought to Milan, and probably Vigilius sent with them that letter to Simplician which is now extant.

Vigilius of Trent wrote also some time after a letter to John Chrysostom, then bishop of Constantinople, on the subject of these martyrs. Vigilius was himself martyred by these barbarians, who stoned him on the sixth of the Calends of July, in the consulship of Stilico. It is supposed, that this was his first consulship, and consequently that it was on the 26th of June, in the year 400. Besides these forty, he reckons ten whose relics were preserved by his church; namely, John Baptist, Andrew, Thomas, Luke, Gervas, Protasius, Nazarius, Sisinnius, Martyrius, and Alexander, whom he sheweth to have been martyred not long before, at a place called the Altar of Agathin.

Before the bishops were carried to the places of their banishment, Hunerick sent executioners into every part of Africa at the same time, ordering them to spare none of any age or sex, who should oppose his will. Some died under the bastinado, others were hanged, and others burnt alive; the women were stripped, (especially those of noble birth) to be tormented in the view of the people. One of them, called Dionysia, more courageous, and more beautiful than the rest, said to them, "Torment me as much as you please, spare me only the shame of being stripped naked:" but they raised her the higher, that she might be the more exposed. When they scourged her, and the blood streamed from her body, she said to them, "Ministers of the devil, what you now do to confound me with shame, is my glory:" and being well read in the Scripture, she exhorted the rest courageously to suffer martyrdom. She had a son who was yet young, and brought up tenderly, whose name was Majoricus, and seeing that he dreaded the torture, she cast a severe look upon him, and upbraiding him with the authority of a parent, said, Remember, Son, that we have been baptized in the name of the Trinity, let us not lose the clothing of our salvation, lest the Master of the feast, finding us without the wedding garment, should say to his servants, "Cast them into outer darkness." The young man being strengthened by her words, suffered martyrdom with constancy; and his mother embracing his body, gave thanks to God, with a loud voice, and buried him in her house. Many others suffered martyrdom in that city, by her exhortations; namely, her sister Dativa, and the physician Emelius, her relation; Leontia, the daughter of the Bishop Germanus, Tertius, and Boniface, who were all of them cruelly tortured.

A nobleman of Suburba, called Servus, after having received a great number of bastinadoes, was hoisted up several times with

pullies, and then let him down again, that he might fall with all his weight upon the pavement. He was several times dragged along the streets, and his flesh torn with sharp flints, insomuch, that his skin hung down from his sides, his back, and his belly. At Culusa, there was an infinite number of martyrs and confessors, and among the rest, a woman called Victoria. While they were tormenting her with fire, as she hung suspended in the air, her husband talked to her, in the most moving and passionate manner, begging her at last, to have pity upon her children: but this could not shake her constancy; and seeing that her shoulder bones were dislocated, and that she had no more breath left in her body, they took her down, and she afterwards recovered.

Victorian, a citizen of Adrumetum, was at that time proconsul of Carthage, i. e. the king's governor for that city. He was the wealthiest man in all Africk, and the king, who had great confidence in him, sent him word that if he obeyed his orders, he should have a greater share of his affection, than any of his domestics. Victorian replied, "Tell the king, he may torment me with fire, or expose me to the wild beast, and inflict all kinds of torment upon me: If I yield, I have been in vain baptized into the catholic church: for if there were no other life after this, I would not for a little temporal honour be ungrateful to my Creator, who hath granted me the grace to believe in him." The king, incensed at this answer, ordered he should suffer long and grievous torments; and thus did he happily finish his martyrdom.

At Tambaia, two brothers desired the executioners that they might suffer the same punishment. They were hung up with large stones fastened to their feet, in which posture they continued the whole day. One of them called out for quarter, and desired to be taken down; but his brother, who still remained hanging, called out to him, "No, no, brother, this is not what we promised and vowed to Jesus Christ, that we would suffer for his sake." By this, and a great deal more that he said to him, he so encouraged him, that he cried out, "Make me suffer any torment, I will follow my brother's example." They applied so many hot irons, and tore their flesh so long with iron hooks, that the executioners being quite tired, sent them away, saying, Every body follows their example, and none are converted to our Religion.

At Typasa, in Mauritania Cæsariensis, the Arians ordained one a Bishop, who had been Cyrila's secretary; which the inhabitants seeing, embarked in order to transport themseleves into Spain, which was not far distant; all, except a very small number who could not meet with any vessels for their transportation.

The Arian Bishop endeavoured to seduce them, first by flatteries, and afterwards by threats: but they derided him, and assembled themselves in a house, where they publickly celebrated the mysteries. The Arian Bishop being informed of it, sent secretly an information against them to Carthage: Whereupon, the king in a rage, sent a count with orders to have their tongues and their right hands cut off, in the public market-place, the whole province being assembled to be spectators; which was accordingly executed: but notwithstanding their tongues were cut out to the root, they spoke as well as before; and if any one doubteth this story, adds Victor of Vita, let him go to Constantinople, where he will find a subdeacon, who was one of those that were treated in this manner, called Reparatus, who speaks plainly, and without any manner of difficulty, and who upon this account, has a particular respect shewn him in the palace of the emperor Zeno, especially by the empress.

Victor is not the only witness of this miracle. Æneas of Gaza, a Platonic philosopher, who was then at Constantinople, speaketh thereof, in the conclusion of his dialogue on the resurrection, in this manner: "I myself saw them, and heard them speak, and wondered that their voice could be so articulate. I searched for the instrument of speech, and not trusting my ears, was resolved to have ocular proof; and having caused them to open their mouths, I saw that their tongue was plucked out even by the root; and was not so much surprised that they could speak, as that they could live in this condition. "The historian Procopius, speaking of this persecution, of Humerick, saith, he ordered the tongues of many to be cut out, who, when I was there, were seen in the streets of Constantinople, talking without any impediment in their speech. The count Marcellinus in his Chronicon, saith, I have seen some of this company of faithful professors, at Constantinople, who had their tongues and hands cut off, but spoke without any imperfection in their voice. The emperor Justinian, likewise testifies, that he had beheld the same, in a constitution afterwards published by him for Africa.

Humerick spared not even the Vandals, who were Catholics; nor had any regard to the intercession of Uranius, the emperor Zeno's ambassador. On the contrary, to shew how much he slighted the emperor, and the Romans, he ordered the most cruel executions, and the greatest number of them, to be performed in those streets and public places, through which the ambassador was to pass, in his way to the palace. The marks of the cruelties exercised in this persecution, remained a long time after. Some had no hands, others no feet; some had lost their eyes, some their noses, and others their ears: others, by

having been long hung up, had their shoulders dislocated in such a manner, that they rose above their head: for the rope by which they hung, being fastened to the tops of the houses, the people pushed them forwards to make them swing; sometimes the cords broke, and they broke their legs.

Dagila, wife of one of the king's cup-bearers, who had several times before confessed the faith under Geneserick, though nobly born, and brought up tenderly, having been severely scourged, and bastinadoed, was sent into banishment, to a dry and barren place, where there was none to comfort her, joyfully forsaking her house, her husband, and her children. They afterwards offered to remove her to another desert, not quite so comfortless; but she refused it.

Seven monks likewise, suffered martyrdom, namely, Liberatus, abbot, Boniface, deacon, Servus, and Rusticus, subdeacons, Rogatus, Septimius, and Maximus, simple monks. They were of the territory of Capsa, but were persuaded to come to Carthage, and were at first flattered with fair promises, having a large fortune, and even the king's favour proposed to them. But as they remained constant, they were loaded with irons, and thrown into a dark dungeon. The faithful having bribed the guards, visited them day and night, to be instructed by them, and that they might also mutually encourage one another. The king being informed of this, commanded they should be loaded with heavier irons, and suffer torments unknown till that time. Then he ordered a vessel to be filled with brush-wood, well dried, that they should be fastened thereunto, and that as soon as they were out at sea, it should be set on fire. They were taken out of their prison, followed by a great multitude of people, who exhorted them to martyrdom. Particular endeavours were used to seduce Maximus, who was very young, but he boldly protested, he would not leave his father Liberatus, and his brothers. Being on board the vessel, they were bound upon the wood: but when it was set on fire, it was extinguished immediately, and although they tried several times to kindle it, all their endeavours were in vain. The king, in rage and confusion, ordered them to knock out their brains with oars, and their dead bodies were thrown into the sea.

The bishop *Eugenius* being already exiled, the whole clergy of Carthage, which consisted of above five hundred persons, were likewise sent into banishment, after they had been tormented, and almost starved with hunger. The deacon Murritta, was remarkable above the rest. The officer, who was most forward to inflict torments upon the catholics, was a certain apostate called Elipidiphorus, who had been baptized by the catholics, in the church of Faustus, the deacon Murritta, having been his godfather. All

the clergy being called out in order, that they might suffer the torture; after the priests, came the archdeacon Salutaris, and then the second deacon Muritta, a venerable old man.

After having scourged, and tormented these confessors, they sent them into banishment. While they were upon the road, at the persuasion of the Arian Bishops, some merciless men were sent after them, to take from them, what the faithful had in compassion given them for their subsistence. Two Vandals, who had often confessed the faith under Geneserick, accompanied by their mother, forsook all their wealth and followed. In all 466 Bishops, of which number there died 88; 46 were banished to Corsica, 302 to other places, and 28 made their escape. Many Bishops were sent into provinces, bordering upon their own countries, which Humerick did with this malicious design, viz. that by the near prospect of their native country, they might be the more tempted to renounce their faith.

SECTION IV.

The Martyrdom of Basil, of the Greek Church.

In all despotical governments, the safety of individuals lies in their unpopularity. Tyrants, the unhappiest of all mortals, are subject to innumerable suspicions and fears, unknown to the rest of their fellow creatures. The monarchs of the east had nothing to fear from small unconnected societies, living dispersed all over the empire; but if any congregation produced eminent men, who rose into popularity, the suspicious eye of the throne was attracted and fixed, and it became in that system of government good policy to suppress them. Alexias, well versed in the knowledge of mankind, thoroughly understood he had nothing to dread from the dogmatizing of enthusiasts, or the creeping superstitions of the vulgar, however numerous they might become: but he knew at the same time, that ambition and revenge lurking in the bosoms of disappointed courtiers, were prepared to throw off the mask, to head parties, and to shake, if not subvert, the imperial family. A despot, who heads no religious party, hath nothing to fear from any, for he is the common protector of all: but he, who puts himself at the head of one party, must support, and be supported by that party. If he takes a side, whether the party he thinks fit to espouse be the strongest, is an article of the utmost consequence.

The infirmities of old age pay no respect to rank. The emperor had long been afflicted with repeated attacks of the gout, and now he felt himself decline. He was near seventy, and had reigned almost six and thirty years. He therefore arranged his affairs, and, having placed trusty men in the chief offices of government, employed himself in making inquiries about religion, as a dying man should do. The news of the times was, that the people called Bogomilans, whom the emperor had overlooked when he converted Philippopolis, where they lived, were in high repute for an apparent sanctity of manners, and were very numerous, in various parts of the empire. The courtiers talked of this, and the imperial family understood that they were the same sort of people, that had been known formerly by the names of Fanatics, Manicheans, Euchites, Paulianists, and Massalians, exactly like those the emperor had converted, and that they were now called by the people of Mysia, Bogomilans, from two bulgarian words, which signifies, God be merciful. Having few ceremonies, and none of daily use, the most remarkable part of their public worship was prayer, and as they frequently used an expression taken from the parable of the publican and pharisee, God be

merciful to me a sinner, the populace had given them this name. His majesty irritated his curiosity by many inquiries, and at length understood, that one Basil, a physician, was the man of greatest note among them: a man who was himself a very popular preacher, and who had twelve assistants, who were called apostles, and who also taught with address and success. The emperor began to wish to see this Basil. Having paused awhile he sent for him.

Basil, was a very tall slender old man, being eighty-two years of age. His visage was pale and long, and his beard white and thin. He generally wore a plain gown like a monk. He was born in the reign of Michael IV, about the year one thousand and thirty-four. He had spent fifteen years in study, and having fine popular talents, he had preached and given public instruction for fifty-two years. He and his colleagues, whom the populace called his apostles, had widely extended their doctrine and influence, and Basil had the happiness at a time of life, when other teachers are generally neglected, to see himself on a pinnacle of popularity and pleasure, from which he might survey a wide sourrounding scene flourishing under his hands. This had not made him giddy or imperious; he never altered his habit or his manners, and modesty, frugality, and simplicity, adorned this fine old man. So much was he above the vain affection of distinguishing himself as the instrument of so much good, that he avoided the crowd, and it was only by dint of inquiry to be made out, that Basil was the spring from which all these rivulets flowed. In Constantinople he had numerous converts, and some of high rank.

A man unaccustomed to converse with the masters of the world, enters their magnificent palaces with slow and distrustful steps. Wisdom and virtue are unequal to the task of walking with elegance and ease through the unstudied road of imperial etiquette. Want of familiarity with sourrounding objects forbids ease; while prejudice, like nurses midnight tales, are at the same time recollected, despised, and yet feared. The emperor knew mankind, and contrived to free the old man at once from all fears of this kind. When he was introduced, the emperor was sitting in company with only his brother Isaac. His majesty, with a countenance open and full of sweetness, rose and received him with the most polite affability. Every idea of distance vanished, and Basil sat down as he was ordered, on the imperial sofa, the monarch seating himself by his side. He began addressing himself to Basil, by saying, that himself and his august brother were exceeding desirous to be informed of his doctrine, that they were both ready to receive with the utmost docility, whatever he should advance as proceeding from the oracle of God, and that

they were ready to perform any duties which he should think fit to appoint. "Most reverend father, added the emperor, I feel an extreme veneration for you, I am charmed with your virtue, and I wish to be thoroughly instructed by your reverence in the mystery of that sublime doctrine, by which you daily convince such numbers of the futility and unprofitableness of our popular divinity." Basil conversed prudently, was sent for frequently, and always met with the same courtesy; but whether he suspected the sincerity of his two illustrious disciples; whether he had not got rid of that tremor, which new and magnificent objects produce; or whatever were the cause, he discovered no eargerness to proselyte his auditors. The emperor, with uncommon condescension, made him sup at his own table, and the brothers both protested their sincerity, pressed him to open all his heart, and offered to retire with him to a part of the palace free from interruption and noise. At length he agreed, and along with his two pupils, he went into a private apartment, hung with tapestry to open his lectures. Here, with all sincerity and good faith, Basil laid open his notion of the religion of Jesus. The royal brothers listened, and heard him with edifying marks of approbation. The tutor felt the subjects, and grew warm: the disciples too were instructed and pleased. All on a sudden, the emperor drew the tapestry aside, and discovered to Basil, a secretary writing at a table. At the same instant, he ordered the doors to be opened, and followed by his brother, out he went, leaving Basil to his reflections, who was presently conducted to prison.

The daughter of Alexias, who wrote this history, affects to be shocked at the blasphemies uttered by Basil. She mentions two, the one, that he called the churches, temples of dæmons; and the other, that he spoke against the sacrament, which she calls the body and blood of Jesus Christ. She refers the reader to a book, written by a dutiful monk, who, at the emperor's command, painted the heresies of Basil, on purpose to deter people from embracing them. It is easy to guess what sort of a book this is!

> "What cannot you and I perform upon
> Th' unguarded Duncan?"

The palace was instantly in motion. The council was assembled. Officers civil and military, the patriarch, and the ecclesiastical senate attended, and Basil was brought out to answer to a charge of heresy. The discourse which he had delivered, as the secretary had taken it down, was read. The evidence, it was said, was incontestible, and the doctrine execrable. The clergy thought he deserved to be burnt to death. Basil, far from blushing or recanting, confirmed all he had advanced, and with

a manly courage, declared he was ready to suffer any thing, and even to be burnt to death, rather than to deny what he believed to be true.

The emperor having secured the heresiarch, and having understood that he had a great number of disciples in the city, published an edict that Basil and all his followers should be burnt alive. The officers arrested many. The senate sat. The emperor mounted the throne, and commanded the guilty to be brought in. Some acknowledged themselves Bogomilans, others denied. The clergy sat, the monks stood round to dispute against error, and to applaud whatever the emperor should do. Some persisted. Others said they were orthodox, and had been slandered. At length, up rose the dreadful Alexias, and with eyes flashing fury exclaimed: "I command two large fires to be instantly kindled, and in one a cross to be erected. Let those who choose to die in the catholic faith be burnt in the fire where the cross stands: and let those who are resolved to die in error be burnt in the other. It is better for christians who are innocent to die, than to lie under the scandal of heresy, and to give occasion to the weak to stumble, through suspicions of the purity of their faith." The guards instantly took the prisoners away. The flaming furnaces were quick as thought prepared. The cross was set up. The prisoners arranged themselves. Some drew near to this: others to that. The city was in an uproar. The people howled, and wailed, and execrated the tyrant. Suddenly, the guards turned about, (they had received private orders) dismissed the catholics, and returned with the Bogomilans, whom they committed to prison. There the priests went to plague them into orthodoxy. Some prevaricated, and were set at liberty: others persisted and died in prison.

The barbarous dissembler, who had betrayed Basil, affected great esteem for him, sent for him to the palace to try to convince him, and used every method he could invent, to make him recant his doctrine, that he might save his life. Basil was immovable, his judges unanimously agreed to pass sentence of death on him, and the virtuous old man was committed to the flames. A great fire was prepared in a public place; and in the presence of innumerable spectators he suffered, say historians, with a courage and a calmness worthy of a better cause: as if there were any better cause than that of liberty and virtue! The confusion of the populace was great, and some of his expressions were perverted; however, he was heard to say, as he approached his fate, these words of the Psalmist, "Thou shalt not be afraid for the destruction that wasteth at noon day—it shall not come nigh thee—only with thine eyes shalt thou behold and see the

reward of the wicked." The fire was excessive, and he was instantly consumed.

There is one circumstance so very ridiculous, that had not protestant writers gravely copied the imperial historian, it would hardly be worth while to mention it. It might frighten children in the twelfth century: but can it now excite any prejudice against Basil or his doctrine? It seems, when he was returning to his cell, some evening from conversing with the emperor, who actually took great pains with him, the devils used to pelt him with stones: and even after he was in prison, the stones used to fall with great clang upon the floor, or the roof. There were earthquakes too, where the prison stood. His keeper made oath of this, and he was a man sound in the faith, and he said, the devils threw stones at the old man for disclosing their secrets. Basil laughed at this.

Alexias, never at a loss, had the address to throw the scandal of this murder on the clergy. They give him the praise of it: but the most horrible part of the story is, protestants, unworthy of the name, celebrate the praise of Alexias for burning this inoffensive old man. Poisoned with a venom, cruel as the grave, they chant his fame round these ashes for cleansing the empire of heresy. His daughter is to be forgiven, for applauding her own father for his dissembling abilities, in letting out line to hook this old fish, as the cruel wanton speaks: but who, that merits the name of protestant, can be pardonable in imbibing her spirit, and in crabbed style, not like hers, become the panegyrist of an ancient tyrant, in whose reputation, not a single mortal hath any interest now! It is impossible to look over the books of such men, and not see that knowledge of Greek and Arabick is not the wisdom that cometh from above, pure, peaceable, gentle, and full of good fruits.

This effort to suppress heresy in the metropolis, was the last exploit of Alexias. His old complaint, the gout, attacked his vitals, he complained of a load at his heart, and a difficulty of breathing, and becoming worse and worse, his family, saw with inexpressible feelings, that he was hastening to the grave. The empress Irene, and his daughters, never left him night or day, and with an assiduity and attention full of enthusiasm, watched every motion, and precluded every wish for relief. Messengers were despatched to all the prelates, churches, and monasteries, to command the whole power of prayer to be directed toward heaven for his recovery. Every sacred edifice was illuminated, and providence was besieged with chanting. When he fell into a swoon at any time, the ladies pierced the lofty domes with shrieks, wrung their hands, tore off their hair, wrapped themselves in mourning, and lay all bathed in tears, raving on the

ground. One starting up, and trembling felt his pulse; another embraced and kissed him, and raised his head; a third sprinkled water in his face; physicians joined their efforts, and all conspired, if possible, to torment him into life. "Ah!" exclaimed the tortured Alexias, as he shivered back into observation, "Ah! why do ye excruciate me in this manner! you kill me with grief, before my illness puts an end to me. If you be determined to destroy me, at least, take care of yourselves." He knew the hidden spring of all this. The succession was not settled, and they had practised simulation under the first master in the world. The emperor had by Irene three sons and four daughters, all porphyrogenitan. John, the eldest, was his favourite, and he intended him for his successor. The empress had set her heart on the eldest daughter, Anna, the historian, who was married to Bryennius Cæsar; and she had frequently solicited Alexias to set aside John, and to declare Bryennius his successor. Alexias had sometimes reasoned with her, and, at other times, flattered her, but had never destroyed her hopes. Probably, with his usual artifice, he had encouraged one party in his family with hopes of succeeding, and had concerted measures with John and his party to defeat them. When John found his father was dying, he came into the palace, went to the bed side, took up his hand, bathed it with tears, and pulled the imperial signet from his finger. The empress understood the meaning of this, and endeavoured to prevent him. He persisted, walked out, mounted a fine horse, and sourrounded with friends and guards, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Irene, distracted with various passions, ran to Bryennius, and urged him to declare himself the successor of Alexias. He refused. Then like lightning she flew to the dying man, and shrieking threw herself upon him, embraced and kissed him, and told him his son John had seized the purple now before he was dead. Alexias made no reply, but seemed to be looking up to heaven. She urged him again and again to speak. He fetched a deep groan, said nothing, but lifted up his eyes and hands, as if praying to God. She continued her importunity, and Alexias, just expiring, for the last time, rolled one fierce look of indignation at her. She thought this an indication of his consent to what John had done, and, fetching a deep groan, exclaimed, "O you perfidious husband, ever practised in hypocrisy, whose tongue hath always belied your heart, even now you are putting off life, you cannot lay aside dissimulation!" So died the great Alexias Comnenus, on the 15th of August, in the seventieth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign. The empress retired into a monastrey, which she had erected, endowned, and regulated.

Bogomilism, far from being extirpated, extended itself by means of books written in defence of it, by Constantine Chrysomales, into the monasteries and churches. Some emperors were placid, others were employed in dark conspiracies, or bloody enterprises, to transfer the purple. The patriarchs held synods, condemned the writings of Chrysomales, and deposed some of the prelates from their thrones; so the Greeks call, what the Latin church calls sees. The hurricane chiefly affected Peter, abbot of a monastery, Pamphiles, Clement, Leontius, and a few more Bishops. At length, near fifty years after the burning of Basil, the head of the church was affected with heresy. There was in the reign of Manuel Comnenus, a celebrated Bogomilan, named Niphon, a monk well versed in Scripture, and eminent for the holiness of his life. He was very intimate with a clergyman, named Cosmas, a man of learning and eloquence, of simple and unaffected piety, and the idol of the common people, for his unbounded beneficence to the poor, to whom he often gave even his habits. The patriarch, Michael Oxyita, caused Niphon and some others to be arrested on a charge of heresy. The excellent talents, and more excellent virtues of Cosmas, attracted the eyes of many, and among the rest of Isaac, Sebastocrator, the brother of the emperor. On the death of the patriarch, Cosmas was preferred to the patriarchate. The weaker brethren hoped for a reformation, especially, as the new patriarch released Niphon from confinement, and took him into his house as his chief intimate. The wiser knew better, for they well understood that the religion of Cosmas, could not possibly become a creature of the court. Liberty, not establishment, was their object: and they dreaded the fate of Cosmas. A committee of friends from a faction of priests, went one day to the patriarch, and with a view to Niphon, addressed him thus: "Divine pastor, why do you commit yourself to the care of a wolf? Do you not perceive that on this account your flock despise you? Flee from such pernicious company. To live in habits of friendship with an excommunicated man, is of itself, a sufficient accusation." Cosmas, always firm and mild, heard the complaint, and without discovering any emotions of resentment, persevered in his friendship for Niphon. Next, then, they cabalied at court, and won over the emperor to their party. He conversed with them separately, and all assured him, Niphon was a very bad man. He inquired of the patriarch, and he told him the direct contrary. It is observable, in the history of these troublers of the world, that when in their synods they had wrought themselves up to rage, and could not invent words bad enough to express their abhorrence of one another, they used to exclaim, Your are Euchites! Such an one is an Euchite! This resem-

bles the conduct of those who said said of old, "We shall not find any occasion against this Daniel, except we find it against him concerning the law of his God.

The genius, and consequently the history, of the Greek church are totally different from those of Rome. The great spring of action at Rome was love of dominion; for the head of the church was a secular prince: but the patriarch of Constantinople always had a master at his side, the reigning emperor. The patriarch excommunicated heretics; but the pope destroyed them. This church therefore cannot justly be called a bloody church. The patriarch Chrysostom declaimed perpetually against heresy, and excommunicated heretics: but with a remnant of true Grecian spirit he reasoned against penal sanctions;

Because, says he, I. Christ died for all men; for his enemies, for tyrants, for magicians, for those that hated him and crucified him.

II. Because the Church in imitation of Christ, prays for all men.

III. Because the Christian religion rather obliges us to lay down our own lives for our neighbours than take theirs away.

IV. It is usurping upon the prerogative of Christ: for what is such an anathema but saying, let him be given to the devil, let him have no place of salvation, let him be separated from Christ? Who gave thee this authority and power? Why dost thou assume the dignity of the Son of God, who shall sit in judgment, and set the sheep on his right hand, and the goats on his left?

V. The apostles had no such practice in excommunication. They cast heretics out of the Church, in such a manner, as one would pluck out a right eye, or cut off a limb, with indications of compassion and sorrow. They carefully rebuked and expelled their heresies, but did not thus anethamatize their persons.

VI. It is an absurd practice, whether it be used toward the living or the dead. If toward the living, thou art cruel in cutting off one, who is still in a capacity of turning and changing his life from evil to good; if toward the dead, thou art more cruel, because now to his own master he stands or falls, and is not under any human power. From all this he infers, that we ought only to anathematize the impious and heretical opinions of men, but to spare their persons, and pray for their salvation.

Never was a national character more happily struck off than that of the Greeks, by the man, who was divinely commissioned to instruct them, and who was himself the only scholar of the apostles. The Greeks, said he, seek after wisdom. Sophistry, grafted on the love of freedom, tarnished the glory of the Greek Church. The mischief began at the Alexandrian school, and it was completed by setting the civil power to protect the most

corrupt party, and to discountenance the rest. The Arians saw their folly when the emperors were orthodox: the orthodox saw theirs when emperors were Arian; but as neither of them profited by their calamities so as to alter their conduct, Providence set over both a Mohammedan sultan, and on their own principles the Ottoman emperors became heads of the Church.

It may justly be wondered at, that a people so passionately fond of freedom, should submit to the intolerable despotism of their civil governors. The truth is, they were overpowered and subdued. Tyranny never sat easy upon mankind, and the Greeks were never reconciled to it. When their despots fell into their hands, they treated them with a barbarous rage almost beyond belief.

One of the most cruel emperors of the east was Andronicus Comnenus, who obtained the purple in the year eleven hundred and eighty-three. This horrible butcher of mankind, though he reigned only about twenty-two months, would seem, by the list of persons imprisoned, blinded, castrated, maimed, poisoned, strangled, and murdered in various methods by his order, to have held a dreadful empire over the east for at least a century. His cruelties provoked resistance, and his deposition was determined. In vain he headed troops and fought, he was defeated. Being taken he was first loaded with an iron chain about his neck, and irons on his legs. In this manner he was conducted into the presence of the conqueror Isaac Comnenus. Some struck him with their fists, others kicked him. His teeth were knocked out: his hair was torn off. Women, whose husbands he had killed or blinded, struck him. In the end one of his hands was struck off, and he was thrown into prison, where he lay some time without bread or water, or any kind of nourishment. Thence he was taken out, one of his eyes was put out, and he was set on a sorry camel, bare-headed, covered only with a miserable vest, and led through the city. Never was such a lamentable spectacle. Compassion had fled quite away from every breast. The dregs of the populace flew at him with an infernal fury. Some stoned him, some struck him with clubs on the head, others rubbed filth and ordure in his face. Some wounded and stabbed him with hooks and spits: some uttered horrid imprecations against his parents and his family; and one fiend threw over him scalding hot water. In the end they hung him up by the feet, and practised cruelties too shocking to relate, till at length crying, Lord have mercy upon me! Why do you break a bruised reed! putting his hand to his mouth to suck the blood that ran from a wound, he yielded up his miserable life.

Some accounts are published of Christians who have suffered

martyrdom under Mahommedan governments, and it is very probable that many have thus suffered, but these accounts are not just representations of facts, and therefore rejected as unauthentic. The following extract from a modern writer will enable us to form a tolerably just judgment of them.

The Mozarabs enjoyed many privileges under the Moorish government. They had their priests, monks, and nuns in the habits of their orders. They kept public schools and abounded with wealth. They were under the civil government of a count of their own religion, who himself, or his vice-counts, or deputies, held courts, and determined disputes among themselves. In return, they paid a tribute to the king, under whose protection they enjoyed all these privileges.

It is not conceivable, that in such circumstances as were just now mentioned, there should be any martyrs, properly so called. There were some Mozarabs, as well as some Jews, and some Mohammedans, who were courtiers, and if any of them fell a sacrifice to the lawless passions of the reigning despot, they only shared the fate of others, whose imprudent ambition impelled them to tread such dangerous ground. Religion was out of question; they were not martyrs. There were others, who pretended that the clergy ought not to be taxed. They argued, that estates given to the Church were oblations to God and the saints, in their representatives the monks, who were appointed general receivers by heaven: that it was sacrilege to profane such oblations to secular purposes; and that it was the most infernal of all kinds of sacrilege to apply the property of the saints to the support of infidels; and they added, all the saints in heaven would revenge the crime. The Mohammedan financiers did not understand this logic, and they levied the taxes equally. The Mozarabic commissioners thought the pretended saints revilers, who should not enter into the kingdom of God, they therefore took the side of the Moors, justified their conduct by Scripture, and made impartial assessments. The monks excommunicated the commissioners, called their mild maxims, though expressed in the literal words of Scripture, heresy, and fomented riots, in suppressing which some suffered, and the survivors put them in a list of martyrs, and published their merits to the world, as if they had suffered for conscience sake. King Abdoulrahman was so justly offended at this cruel slander on his mild government, that he ordered the mozarabic bishops to summon a council at Cordova, and to wipe off the scandal, which their seditious brethren had brought on all Christians, by censuring the conduct of the late insurgents, and by issuing an order that they should not be worshipped as martyrs. Historians call this a satanical council, and condemn the bishops,

who obeyed the monarch, as apostates and false apostles. There was a vagabond monk, now called Saint Eulogius, a disciple of an abbot, one father Hope-in-God, who published a memorial in barbarous stile in defence of these martyrs, and filled with invectives against government, and the commissioners, and all other Christians, who denied that rioters were martyrs. This took so well with the bulk of the Mozarabs, that they elected him archbishop of Toledo, an honour which he never enjoyed, for he was imprisoned, and executed for sedition. There were many enthusiasts, who ran up and down to make proselytes, rushing into the presence of judges in their courts, interrupting business, cursing Mohammed, and chanting about martyrs and miracles. The musselmen thought them drunk or mad, and they were obliged to confine some, and punish others: but all were deemed saints, and most were dubbed martyrs. Of such materials are martyrologies made, and hence great caution is requisite in selecting what is worthy of credit, and of being handed down to posterity.

CHAP. II.

Of the Waldenses.

THESE people were called Waldenses, from one Peter Waldo, a native of Lions, who taught the people in 1160. But their enemies the monks, have given them many other opprobrious names, as local circumstances, or malice have suggested. When they were driven away, despoiled of all their property, they called them, in derision, *the beggars of Lyons.* Because some of them passed the Alps, they were called, *Tramontaines.*

In England they were called *Lollards*, from one *Lollard*, who taught there.

And because they were exposed to continual sufferings, from the Latin word *pati*, which signifies to suffer, they called them *Patarinies.*

In Germany they were called *Gazares*, as much as to say, execrable and egregiously wicked.

In Flanders they were called *Turlupins*, that is to say, dwellers with wolves, because when persecuted, they were many times constrained to hide themselves from their enemies in woods and desarts.

Sometimes they were called from the names of those countries where they resided, and always *heretics*, to make them the more odious. But Theodore Beza calls them the seed of the most pure ancient Christian Church, miraculously preserved amidst the darkness and errors which have been hatched by Satan in these latter times.

Constans, in his Comment upon the Revelations, shews that the reformation of the Church in the western parts of the world, began in France, by the preaching of Waldo, and from thence was spread through the rest of Europe.

Bullinger says, the Waldenses have spread the pure gospel of Jesus Christ throughout France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Bohemia, and other kingdoms of the world more than 400 years before the days of Luther, and in their preaching have accused the pope of being Antichrist of whom St. John spake. These people, being persecuted with divers most cruel torments, have with unshaken constancy given testimony of their faith by glorious martyrdoms, and the like they suffer at this very day. It is beyond the power of man to root them out, notwithstanding it has been often attempted by kings and princes, stirred up by the pope, but it is God who hath preserved them. Luther confessed that he hated the Waldenses as desperate men, so vilely had their cruel oppressors misrepresented them, until he became acquainted with their piety and the truth of their doctrines by their own

writings. Then he was convinced that these good and honest men were much wronged, for the pope had condemned them to death as heretics, whilst they deserved the praise due to saints and martyrs. That he admired their diligent study of the Scriptures, of which the common people had more knowledge than the most learned doctors of the Romish Church. He thanked God for the great light imparted to them, and felt much comfort in being so closely knit together with them, so that they were one fold, under one shepherd.

Esrom Rudiger in his account of the Bohemian Churches, saith that the Waldenses had their churches at least 249 years before those of the Hussites were formed, and their religious sentiments were the same. That *James de Misne* and *Peter de Dreze*, two Waldensian preachers, went into Bohemia in the time of John Huss, who having held many conversations with them, embraced their doctrines, and began openly to preach them. Likewise that Wickliffe himself was assisted and encouraged by the Waldenses to shake off the yoke of the pope. In the vallies of Dauphiney, Provence, and Calabria, they have had their preachers, whose memories they have preserved for above 300 years.

A Confession of Faith copied from Manuscripts bearing date 1120, before the time of Luther and Calvin 400 years, contains the following articles at large:—

And as touching the doctrine for which the Waldenses have been persecuted, they do affirm that we are to believe the Scriptures only in that which concerneth our salvation. That the Scriptures contain whatsoever is necessary to salvation, and that we are not to believe any thing but what God hath commanded us.

That we have one only Mediator, and therefore we are not to invocate Saints.

That there is no purgatory, but all such as are justified by Christ go to eternal life.

They approve of two Sacraments, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.

They affirm that all masses are damnable, especially those that are said for the dead, and therefore are to be abolished.

That all human traditions are to be rejected, as not being necessary to salvation.

That singing and often rehearsal of divine Service, fasts tied to certain days, superfluous feasts, difference of meats, so many degrees and orders of Friers, Monks, and Nuns, so many benedictions and consecrations of creatures, vows, pilgrimages, and the whole confusion and great number of ceremonies heretofore invented, are to be abolished.

They deny the supremacy of the Pope, and especially that power that he usurpeth over civil government: and they admit of no other degrees, than Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

That the See of Rome is the true Babylon, and that the Pope is the fountain of all the evils in these days.

That the marriage of Priests is good and necessary.

That they that hear the word of God, and have the true knowledge thereof, are the true Church, unto which Christ Jesus hath delivered the keys, to let in the flock, and to chase away the wolves.

Behold here, the doctrine of the Waldenses, which the enemies of the truth have impugned, and for which in those times they persecuted them, as their enemies themselves do witness.

Viret says, The papists have imposed great crimes, and that very wrongfully, upon *those ancient faithful people*, commonly called Waldenses, or the poor people of Lyons, from Waldo, whose doctrine they followed, by which they make it appear that the Pope is Antichrist, and that his doctrine is nothing else but human traditions, contrary to the doctrine of Christ Jesus. For which cause they have dealt against them, as the ancient Pagans did against the Christians, accusing them that they killed their own children in their assemblies.

Rainerius, a Jacobin, monk and a cruel inquisitor, thinking to darken their reputation because they usually read the Scriptures, saith, that when the Waldenses would give knowledge of their doctrine, they say many things touching chastity, humility, and other virtues, shewing that we are to flee all vice and wickedness, alleging the words of Christ and his apostles, insomuch that the women that understood them, were so ravished therewith, that they seemed to them rather to speak like angels than men.

He adds, that they taught what manner of men the disciples of Christ ought to be, out of the words of the Gospel and the Apostles, affirming that they only were the successors of the Apostles that imitated them in their lives. Concluding that the pope, the bishops, the clergy that enjoy the riches of this world, and imitate not the sanctity of the Apostles, are not the governors of the Church: it not being the will of Christ to commit his Church to such kind of people, that should rather prostitute her by their ill examples and wicked actions, than to present her a chaste virgin, in the same purity they have received her from him; and therefore that we are not to obey them. He addeth moreover, that they lived very religiously in all things, their manners well seasoned, and their words wise and polished, by their will always speaking of God and his saints, persuading to

virtue, and to hate sin, to the end, that they might be in greater esteem with God and good men.

Claud. de Seissel, archbishop of Turin, says, that as touching their life and manners, they have been always sound and unreprovable, without reproach or scandal among men, giving themselves, to their power, to the observation of the commandments of God.

As touching erudition, Rainerius hath said, that they teach their children, yea even their daughters, the epistles and the gospels. Jacobus de Riberia saith, that they were so well instructed in the Scriptures, that he hath heard a plain countryman, repeat the book of Job word by word, and diverse others, that could perfectly repeat the whole New Testament.

The Bishop of Cavaillon, in the time of the great persecution against the Waldenses of Merindall in Provence, appointing a certain monk to enter into conference with them, to convince them of their error, before, saith he, we come to violence: but the monk being much perplexed, returned, saying, that he had not so much profited in his whole life in the Scriptures, as he had done in those few days of his conference with the Waldenses, in examining the articles of their confession, by the passages of Scripture cited by them. This Bishop, not being satisfied by this trial, sent a company of young doctors, that came lately from Sorbonne, to confound them by the subtility of their questions. But one among the rest, said, at his return, with a loud voice, that he had learned more, touching the doctrine necessary to salvation, in attending to the answers of the little children of the Waldenses, in their catechisings, than in all the disputations of divinity, which he had ever heard in Paris.

Bernard de Girard, lord of Haillan, saith, that the Waldenses have been charged with more wicked opinions than they held, because they stirred the popes and great men of the world to hate them, for the liberty of their speech, which they used in condemning the vices and dissolute behaviour of princes, and ecclesiastical persons.

It is not clear that the ancient Waldenses had any preachers who were wholly employed in the work of the ministry. It is certain, they practised no coercion, and their opponents affirm, that they thought none ought to be exercised. They held priesthood in abhorrence. They allowed women to teach, and laughed at the distinction between clergy and laity. Reiner, described the manner in which they insinuated their principles into the gentry. "Sir, will you please to buy any rings, or seals, or trinkets. Madam, will you look at any handkerchiefs, or pieces of needle-work for veils. I can afford them cheap." If, after a purchase, the company ask, "Have you any thing more?" the salseman would reply: "O yes, I have commodities

far more valuable than these, and I will make you a present of them, if you will protect me from the clergy." Security being promised, on he would go. "The inestimable jewel I spoke of, is the word of God, by which he communicates his mind to men, and which inflames their hearts with love to him." "In the sixth month, the angel Gabriel was sent from God into a city of Galilee, named Nazareth." And so he would proceed to repeat the remaining part of the first chapter of Luke. Or he would begin with the thirteenth of John, and repeat the last discourse of Jesus to his disciples. If the company should seem pleased, he would proceed to repeat the twenty-third of Matthew, "The scribes and pharisees sit in Moses' seat—Wo unto you, ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in—Wo unto you, ye devour widows' houses." "And pray," should one of the company say, "against whom are these woes denounced, think you?" He would reply: "Against the clergy and the monks. The doctors of the roman church are pompous, both in their habits and their manners, "They love the uppermost rooms, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and to be called Rabbi, Rabbi." For our parts we desire no such Rabbies. They are incontinent: we live each in chastity with his own wife. They are the rich and avaricious, of whom the Lord says, "Wo unto you rich, for ye have received your consolation:" but we, "having food and raiment are therewith content." They are voluptuous and devour widows' houses: we only eat to be refreshed and supported. They fight and encourage war, and command the poor to be killed and burnt, in defiance of the saying, "he that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword." For our parts, they persecute us for righteousness' sake. They do nothing; they eat the bread of idleness: we work with our hands. They monopolize the giving of instruction, "and, wo be to them, that take away the key of knowledge:" but among us, women teach as well as men, and one disciple, as soon as he is informed himself, teaches another. Among them, you can hardly find a doctor, who can repeat three chapters of the New Testament by heart: but of us, there is hardly man or woman who doth not retain the whole. And because we are sincere believers in Christ, and all teach and enforce a holy life and conversation, these scribes and pharisees persecute us to death, as their predecessors did Jesus Christ."

The popes and the clergy have been their greatest enemies, and the means they have used utterly to extirminate them, have been in the first place, their curses, cannons, constitutions, decrees, and whatsoever else might make them odious to the kings, princes, and people of the earth, giving them over, as much as

lay in their power; unto Satan, interdicting them all communion with those that obey their laws, judging them unworthy and incapable of any charges, honours, profits, to make wills, or to be buried in common church-yards, confiscating their goods, disinheriting their heirs, and where they could by any means apprehend them, they have condemned them to be delivered to the secular power, their houses to be razed, their lands and moveables confiscated, or given to the first conqueror. And of all these sentences we have at this day, the schedule, given by the popes, with the instruments which they have employed to such executions, as also of the commands which they have given unto kings, princes, magistrates, consuls, and people, to make an exact inquisition, to shut the gates of the city, to crave the assistance and best help of the people, to ring the toll-bell, to arm themselves: and if otherwise, they cannot be apprehended, to kill them, and to use all manner of violence, which they shall see needful in such a case; giving to the accusers the third part, or some other portion of that which shall be confiscated, all counsellors and favourers of them, being condemned to the same punishment.

And forasmuch as no prince or magistrate, or any other, had any power to frame a process against any, in the fact of pretended heresy; commandment was given to the Bishops, every one in his jurisdiction, to make an inquiry into their flocks, and take notice, how every particular person was affected, to the ordinances of the popes, and the church of Rome. So when Waldo began to complain, and to cry out against the corruptions of the said church of Rome, Alexander the Third, then pope, enjoined the Archbishop of Lion, to proceed against him; and forasmuch as the said prelate did not banish him accordingly and as soon as he desired, he speedily assembled a council, where he excommunicated Waldo, and all those that followed his doctrine, though it were under other names.

But this means was thought to be too easy for so pressing an action, as this of the Waldenses was, who ceased not for all those thunderbolts, to preach, that the Pope was antichrist, the Mass an abomination, the Host an idol, and Purgatory a fable. Points that being received, were sufficient to overthrow all the authority of the pope, and to dry up all the rivers of the gain of the clergy. And therefore, Innocent the Third, who succeeded pope Celestine, the third of that name, about the year 1198, took another course, than that of the ordinary Bishops, to frame the process against the Waldenses, and others, whom he called heretics. He authorized certain monks, who had the full power of the inquisition in their hands, and framed the process, delivered to the secular power, by a full and absolute

authority, and a far shorter way, but much more cruel, delivering the people by thousands into the hands of the magistrates, and the magistrates to the executioners; whereby, in a few years, all Christendom was much moved by those pitiful, and lamentable spectacles, to see all those burnt or hanged, that did trust only in one Lord Jesus Christ for their salvation, and renounced the vain hopes invented by men, and for their profit.

The first persecution that is come to our knowledge in Dauphiney is, that which was moved by a certain monk, inquisitor of the order of the Frier-Minors, named Francis Borelli, having a commission, to make inquiry, and to inform touching the sect of the Waldenses, in the diocese of Aix, Arles, Ambrun, Vienna, Geneva, Aubonne, Savoy, the Venetian county, Dyois, Forests, the principality of Orange, the city of Avignon and Selon, as his bull gave him authority, which he received from Clement the Seventh, who was then resident, and ruled in Avignon. By reason of the nearness of his court, to the habitation of the Waldenses, he thought good to purge Dauphine, of those that held him to be antichrist; and for this cause, he commanded the Bishops of Dauphine, Provence, and other places, to which his power did extend, (for there was then a schism, and all Europe was divided, partly, for Urbani the Sixth, and partly for this said Clement), to watch in such sort over their flocks, that there might not any live amongst them, that was of the sect of the Waldenses.

This Monk cited to appear before him at Ambrun, all the inhabitants of Erastiniere, Argentiere, and the valley Pute, upon pain of excommunication. They appeared not, nor any for them, and were therefore condemned for their contumacy, and in the end, shut out of the church, by the last and most direful excommunication of offenders: and in the space of thirteen years, during which time, he always caught one or other, he delivered by sentence to the secular power, to be burnt at Grenoble; that is to say, of the valley Pute, William Marie, Peter Long, John Long, Albert Vincens, Joan, the wife of Steven Vincens, and divers others; that is to say, to the number of one hundred and fifty men, divers women, with many of their sons and daughters, whose names we have not here inserted, because we would not weary the reader.

Of the valley of Argentiere and Frastinieres, Astine, Berarde, Barthelemie, the wife of John Porti, and others of both sexes, to the number of eighty, who were all condemned to be delivered to the secular power; in such sort, that whensoever any one of them was apprehended, he was presently brought to Grenoble, and there without any other shew of process, burnt alive.

This last sentence was pronounced at Ambrun, in the cathe-

dral church, in the year 1393, to the great gain and commodity of the monks, the inquisitors, who adjudged to themselves two parts of the goods of the said condemned, and the rest to the temporal commanders, with inhibition to their neighbours, to assist them in any manner howsoever, to receive them, visit, defend them, or to minister relief or sustenance to any of them, or to converse with them in any sort, or to do them any favour, or give them any aid or counsel, upon pain of being attained and convicted for a favourer of Heretics, they being declared unworthy of all offices, and public charges, and councils; forbidding every man to use the service of any of them in matter of testimony, they themselves being judged insufficient to make a will, or to succeed in any inheritance. And if any of them should be judges, that their sentence should be of no force, and no causes should be called before them. And if any of them be advocates, that their defences and pleas be not received; if notaries, that their instruments be of no effect, but cancelled and defaced; if priests, that they be deprived of all offices and benefits, with inhibition to all ecclesiastical persons, to minister the sacrament unto them, to give them sepulture, or to receive from them any alms or oblations, upon pain of deposition from charges, and deprivation of their benefices.

This monk reserved to himself, by the said sentence, the review and examination of the process of some that he had named therein; and they were those which he would willingly have to pass by the golden gate. For in the process's, that are come to our hands, there are many that complain, that they had never been entangled in the snares of the inquisitors, but for their goods: being well known, that they never had any knowledge of the belief of the Waldenses.

As touching the Waldenses, of the valley of Pragela, they were assailed by their enemies, upon the side of Susa, a town in Piedmont, and, forasmuch as they had many times assaulted them in vain, at such times as they could retire into the high mountains, and caves, or hollow places thereof, from whence they might much damage, and hinder those that came to assail them, the said enemies set upon them, about the feast of the nativity of Christ, a time when these poor people never thought that any would have dared to pass, the mountains being covered with snow, who, seeing their caves and caverns taken by their enemies, they betook themselves to one of the highest mountains of the Alps, named afterwards the Albergam, that is to say, the mountain of retreat, and running together in troops, with their wives and children, the mothers carrying their cradles, and leading their infants by the hand, that were able to go, the enemy followed them until night, and slew many before they could recover the mountain. They that were then slain, had the better

bargain. For night coming upon these poor people, which were in the snow, without any means to make any fire to warm their little infants, the greatest part of them were benumbed with cold, and there were found in the morning, fourscore small infants dead in their cradles, and most of their mothers died after them.

The enemies being retired in the night, into the houses of these poor people, they ransacked and pillaged whatsoever they could carry to Susa, and for the full accomplishment of their cruelty, they hanged upon a tree, a poor Waldensian woman, whom they met upon the mountain, named Margaret Athode.

The inhabitants of the said valley, hold this persecution to be the most violent, that their fathers have related unto them, that in their times, or the times of their grand-fathers, they have ever suffered; and they talk of it at this present, as if it were a thing lately done, and fresh in memory; so often from the father to the son, hath mention been made of this unexpected surprise, the cause of so many miseries amongst them.

Now in the mean while, the Waldenses of the valley Frastiniere, that remained, and had escaped this aforesaid persecution, were again violently handled by the archbishop of Ambrun, their neighbour, that is, in the time of pope Pius the Second, of that name, and of Lewis the Eleventh, king of France.

This archbishop named John, made a commissioner against the said Waldenses, a certain monk of the order of the Frier-Minors, called John Vayleti, who proceeded with such diligence and violence, that there was hardly any person in the vallies of Frastiniere, Argentiere, and Loyse, that could escape the hands of the said inquisitor, but that they were apprehended, either as heretics, or favourers of them.

Now we may observe one notorious villiany in the process framed by this monk, for having the said process in our hands, we found certain bills or tickets, in which the said commissary took the answers of those that were accused, simply as they were taken from their mouths; but we have afterwards found them, strangely stretched and extended in the process, and many times quite contrary to that which was in the sumptum, as they call it, inverting and altering the intention of the said accused, making him to say that which he never thought of; as for example: Inquire whether he believed, that after the words of the sacrament were pronounced by the priest in the mass, the body of Christ was in the host, in as gross a manner, and as great as it was upon the cross: if the Waldenses shall answer, no; Veileti, sets down the answer thus, That he hath confessed, that he believed not in God. Again, inquire whether we ought not to pray unto saints; if he answer, no; they set it down, that he railed, and

spake ill of the saints. Inquire, whether we are to reverence the Virgin Mary, and pray unto her, in our necessities; if he answer, no; they set it down in writing, that he spake blasphemy against the Virgin Mary. Behold, here the fidelity of the said monks inquisitors, in an action so important, and it could not be without the great providence of God, that such impiety should be kept unto this present time, that men might see with what spirit they were led, that cut the throats, and burnt the faithful of the Church, after they had oppressed them as impostures, demanding of us, nevertheless, where these faithful of the Church were, which they have massacred before these times, wherein we live.

And if the reader desire to know, how such process, and indictments are come to our hands; here he may see again, that it hath not been without the great providence of God, that they themselves, that have committed these cruelties and villanies, are they that have kept the said papers and process in their libraries, and places wherein their records are laid: as namely, the archbishops themselves of Ambrun; John and Rostain, and others, until the time that this city being recovered out of the hands of the conspirators, in the year 1585, and brought under the obedience of the king, by Monsieur the Mareshal; all the said process and proceedings attempted, and intended for many hundreds of years together, against the said Waldenses, were cast into the street, when the archbishop's house was set on fire, by the enemies themselves, with an intent to defend a tower, called Tour Brune, whither they were retired, and to cut off a gallery of wood, by which the archbishop had passage to the said tower. The lord de Calignon, chancellor of Nauarra, being there, and the lord of Vulcon, counsellor to the king in his court of parliament, at Grenoble, they caused the said indictments, long since, framed against the Waldenses, to be gathered together, from whence we have collected, that which concerns the cruelties, and lewd carriage of the said monks, inquisitors, and their adherents, as also, that which hereafter followeth, touching the Waldenses, in Dauphine, and the persecutions of the archbishops of Turin, against the Waldensian churches of Pragela, by their commissaries.

Hitherto, we have not found that any have hotly pursued the Waldenses by war; but Albert, archdeacon of Cremona, sent against them, by Innocent the Eighth, began to entreat the assistance of the king's lieutenant, in Dauphine, called Hugnes de la Paln, who for this service, levied troops, and marched to those places, where the said Albert told him, there were many of the Waldenses, namely, in the valley of Loyse. And that the business should seem to be undertaken, according to a form of justice,

and to give the better authority to that which should be executed, the lieutenant took in his company, a counsellor of the court, named Mr. John Rabot. Being arrvied at the valley Loyse, they found none of the inhabitants, for they had all retired into their caverns in the high mountains, having carried thither with them their little children, and whatsoever was most precious to them, and fit for nourishment. This lieutenant caused a great quantity of wood to be laid at the entrance of their caverns, and fire to be put unto it, in such manner, that either the smoke by smothering them, or the fire by burning them, constrained a great number, to cast themselves headlong from their caverns upon the rocks below, where they ended their lives, being broken in pieces; and if there were any amongst them that durst to stir, he was presently slain by the soldiers. This persecution was very extreme, for there were found within the said caverns four hundred small infants, stifled in their cradles, or in the arms of their dead mothers. It is a certain truth, that there then died about three thousand persons, men and women of the said valley. And to say the truth, they were wholly extirpated, in such sort, that from that time forward, the said valley was peopled with new inhabitants.

In the same bundle or bag of process against the Waldenses, there is one framed against two preachers, who were taken about the hill, in the side of the plain, the one named, Francis Gerondin, the other, Peter James, in the year 1492. Being demanded, why the sect of the Waldenses grew and encreased so fast, and for a long time together, had spread itself into so many places, this monk thus sets down the answer of the preacher Gerondin; That the dissolute life of the priests was the cause, and because the cardinals were covetous, proud, luxurious, being a thing known unto all, that there was neither pope, cardinal, nor bishop, that kept not their whores; few or none, that had not their youths for sodomy: and, therefore, it was an easy matter for the Waldensian preachers, to persuade the people, that the religion of such scandalous persons was not good, since their fruits were so bad.

This persecution was very extreme; for the Waldenses being condemned by the inquisitor as heretics; Ponce, the counsellor, and Oronce, judge, sent them to the fire without appeal; and that which multiplied the number of those that were persecuted was, that whosoever did any way mediate for them, whether it were the child for the father, or the father for the child, he was presently imprisoned, and his indictment framed, as a favourer of heretics.

Fabri the inquisitor, and one Gobandi, notary, carried to Ambrun, a certain indictment framed against the widow of one

Peter Berand, who being demanded, whether she had seen, or understood of any of the preachers of the Waldenses, she answered, That about twenty-five years since, there were two men clothed in gray, that came to her husband's house, and that after supper, the one of them asked her, whether she had heard of a handful of people that are in the world, without which, the world must have an end. Having answered, that she never heard any speech thereof, he told her, that he was now come to confer with her, about that little flock, and to give her to understand, that they were the men, that had learned by the commandments of God, how to serve him, and that they travelled about the world to instruct men, how they ought to adore and honour him, and to reform the abuses of the church of Rome. Again, that among other things he told her, that we ought not to do any thing to another, which we would not have done unto ourselves; that we are to worship one only God, who is only able to help us, and not the saints departed; that we ought not to swear; that we are to keep faith in marriage, and to keep holy the sabbath day, but that there was no necessity of observing other feasts. That ecclesiastical persons were too rich, which was the cause why they maintained their strumpets, and lived scandalously.

She was sent back to prison, and the next morning called again: but persisting in her former speech, she added, that the said preachers had told her, that the priests that received money for the masses they sing, were like Judas, thatsold his Master for silver; and they that gave money for their masses, were like the Jews, that bought Christ with money.

In their vallies of Pragela and Piedmont, there were preachers, that with a loud voice did preach the gospel. Pope Pius the fourth of that name, being advertised hereof, the college of Cardinals was assembled, and presently concluded, and resolved upon the utter ruin and extirpation of this people, who so near the pope's seat, durst plant the religion of the Lutherans.

The charge of this persecution was given to cardinal Alexandrin, a violent man, if there were ever any amongst the cardinals. He chose two monks of his own humour, to be informers, Valerio Maluicino, and a Dominican named Alphonsus Urbin, who began with the inhabitants of Saint Xist. Being in the place, they assembled the people, giving them good speeches, and protesting that their coming was not to molest them, but lovingly to advertise them, that they were not to hear any other teachers than those which should be sent by the prelates of their diocese. That they knew well, they had received teachers from Geneva, but by renouncing them, and living according to the laws of the church of Rome, they should have no cause to fear:

but if they presumed to keep them, they did put themselves in danger to lose their lives, their goods and honours, because they were to be condemned for heretics. And that they might the better know who they were, that had wholly forsaken the laws of the church of Rome, they caused a bell to be rung to mass, inviting the people to go thither; but instead of going to the mass, they left their houses, and with their wives and children, they did flee into the woods, leaving only some few decrepit men and women, and little children. In the mean time, the monks sent after them two companies of footmen, who pursued these poor people as wild beasts, crying out, Amassa, amassa, that is, kill, kill. They slew divers of them. But they that could get to the top of the mountain, entreated to be heard; which being granted, they besought them to have pity upon them, their wives and children; that they would call to mind that they had inhabited those countries, from father to son for some ages, and that in all that time there was not any that could complain of their conversation; nevertheless, if they would not permit them to continue in their houses, that they might be permitted to retire whither it should please the Lord to conduct them, as they would very willingly forsake all their goods, rather then to fall into any idolatry. They besought them for God's cause, not to drive them to such extremities, as that they must be forced to defend themselves, for if they should be once out of all hope of mercy, it would be dangerous for them who had driven them to these extremities. The soldiers were the more stirred up against them, and presently made a violent assault upon them, which bound these poor people to a just defence, and being assisted by God, they slew the greatest part of the soldiers that pursued them, and put the rest to flight. The monks wrote to the viceroy of Naples, that he should speedily send more soldiers, to apprehend certain heretics of Saint Xist, and la Garde, who were fled into the woods, and that in so doing, he should do that which was pleasing to the pope, and meritorious to himself. The viceroy came himself with his troops. Being arrived at Saint Xist, he proclaimed by the sound of a trumpet, that the place was condemned to fire and sword. But in the mean time, before his arrival, the women returned to Saint Xist, to seek for victuals to feed their husbands and children, which were in the wood. The viceroy caused it to be proclaimed throughout the realm of Naples, that all banished people that would come to the wars against the heretics of Saint Xist, should be pardoned all their offences formerly committed; whereupon great numbers gathered themselves together, and were conducted to the woods; after the slaughter of divers of these poor people, the rest of them retired into the caves upon the high rocks, where the

greatest part of them died with famine. The people of la Garde being cited by a public proclamation to appear before the inquisitors at Cossence, or before the viceroy at Falcade, were easily persuaded to believe the promises and fair speeches of the said inquisitors. But being arrived at Falcade, seventy of them were apprehended, and being bound, were brought to Montaud, before the inquisitor Panza, who put them all to the rack. Amongst others, he tormented one Steven Charlin with such violence, that his bowels brake out of his belly, and all to extort from him this confession and imposture, that is, that they sometimes assembled themselves by night to commit whoredoms, and damnable incests, the candles being put out. But not withstanding his extreme torture, they could never get from him the confession of so great a wickedness.

There was another called Verminel, who with the extreme pain he endured upon the rack, promised to go to mass; the inquisitor thinking, that since the torment of the rack had enforced him to forsake his religion, that redoubling the violence thereof, he might draw from this feeble and tired person, the confession of the former imposture. And so caused him to be tormented in such a manner, that many times he left him eight hours together upon the rack, but yet could never get from his mouth so horrible a calumny.

Another named Marcon, being stript stark naked, was beaten with rods of iron, afterwards drawn through the streets, and burnt with fire-brands. One of his sons was killed with knives, the other was brought to a high tower, where there was offered unto him a crucifix, with promise that if he would kiss it, his life should be saved. He answered, "That he would rather die, than commit idolatry, and though he were cast headlong from that tower, as he was threatened, yet he had rather his body should be broken to pieces here on earth, then by denying Christ and his truth, his soul should be cast into hell." The inquisitor being much enraged with this answer, commanded him to be cast from the tower, to the end, saith he, we may see whether his God will protect him. Bernard Conte was condemned to be burnt alive, and as he was led to the fire, he cast to the earth a certain crucifix, which the executioner had fastened to his hands. The inquisitor hereupon commanded him to be sent back to prison, to the end his pain might be aggravated, and so sent him to Cossence, where he caused him to be covered with pitch, and so burnt. Besides, this inquisitor Panza, cut the throats of fourscore, as a butcher doth his sheep; afterwards, he caused them to be divided into four quarters, and commanded that the highways from Montald to Chateau Vilar should be set with stakes for the space of thirty miles, and caused a quarter to be fastened

to every stake; and in a place called Moran, he caused to be hanged and strangled, four of the principal men of la Garde, that is to say, James Ferner, Anthony Palomb, Peter Jacio, and John Morglia, who died very constantly. A certain young man named Samson, defended himself a long time, against those that would have apprehended him; but in the end, being wounded, he was taken and led to a high tower, where he was ordered to confess himself to a priest, before he should be cast from the tower, which he refused to do, saying, that "He had confessed himself to God." So the inquisitor commanded him to be cast over. The next day, the viceroy passing below by the tower, he found this poor man languishing, having his bones broken, and imploring the mercy of God, to whom he gave a kick on the head with his foot, saying, "Is this dog yet alive, cast him out to the hogs."

Threescore women of Saint Xist were brought to the rack, and used with such violence, that the cords pierced into their arms and legs. They died almost all miserably in prison. Nine of the chief and handsomest amongst them were lost, and it was never known what became of them, after they were delivered to the fathers of the inquisition.

This inquisitor retired to Saint Agathe, where he delivered a great number to the secular power; and if any man offered to intercede for them, he caused him to be put on the rack, as a favourer of heretics: in such sort, that in the end there was not any that durst to open his mouth in their behalf.

Pope Pius the fourth of that name, sent for their utter destruction, the marquis of Butiane, with promise, that if he would do that good office to the holy sea, as to clear Calabria of those Waldenses, he would give unto his son a cardinal's hat. The marquis took no great pains to execute his commission, for the monks, the inquisitors, and the viceroy of Naples, had almost put all to death that they could apprehend, having sent to the galleys of Spain the strongest of them, and condemned to perpetual banishment the fugitives, sold and killed women and children.

As touching their ministers, Steven Negrin was sent to prison at Cossence, where he died with famine; Lewis Paschal was carried to Rome, where he was condemned to be burnt alive. Pope Pius the fourth, would needs feed his eye with this last punishment of him, that had mentioned him to be antichrist, being present at his death, with many of his cardinals. But the pope could have wished himself elsewere, or that Paschal had been mute, or the people deaf. For he spake many things against the pope, out of the word of God, which gave him a great deal of discontent. Thus did this good man die, calling

upon God with an ardent zeal, that he much moved the standers by, and made the pope and his cardinals to gnash their teeth for anger. Thus have you seen the end of the Waldenses of Calabria, who were wholly extirminated: for if any of the fugitives be returned, it is upon condition that they live according to the laws of the Church of Rome. His. Wald. by S. P—l.

Œcolampadius sent a letter to the Waldenses in Provence, exhorting them to constancy in the profession of their faith, amidst their present sufferings. These godly admonitions prevailed much for the confirmation of the weak, and they came in very good time for those who presently after were sifted with many tempestuous outrages, and even one of those that brought the letter, that is to say, Peter Masson, was apprehended at Dijon, where he was condemned to death for a Lutheran. George Morel saved himself, with his letters and papers, and came sound and safe into Provence, where he bestowed much pains, and with happy success, in the establishing of the churches of the Waldenses, of which the court of Parliament at Aix did every day apprehend one faithful member or other, whom they either condemned to the fire, or sent to the gibbet, or dismissed with marks in their foreheads. In the year 1540, the inhabitants of Merindol were summoned before the parliament of Aix, at the solicitation of the Archbishop of Arles, the Bishop of Aix, and other ecclesiastical persons. A sentence was given against them, the most exorbitant, cruel, and inhuman, like in all things to that edict of King Ahasuerus, granted at the instance of Haman against the people of God, as it is written in the History of Esther. For the men and women that were summoned for contumacy, were condemned to be burnt alive, and by the said sentence, their children and families out lawed; and it was decreed that the place of Merindol should be altogether made uninhabitable, the woods cut down two hundred paces round about it, and all this without any audience or leave granted to any to speak a word.

In the year 1545, the president of Opede, governor of Provence in the absence of the earl of Grignan, deputed for commissioners the president Francis de la Fon, Honore de Tributiis, and Bernard Badet, counsellor, and the Advocate Guerin in the absence of the procurator General. He dispatched sundry commissions, and proclaimed the war with sound of trumpet, both at Aix and at Marseilles. So the troops being levied, and the five ensigns of the old bands of Piedmont joined with them, the army marched to Pertuis, and the next day being the fourteenth of April, they went to Cadinet, and the sixteenth they began to set fire to the villages of Cabrieres, Pepin, la Mothe, and Saint Martin, belonging to the lord of Sental, then under age. There

the poor labourers, without any resistance, were slain, women and their daughters ravished, some great with child murdered without any mercy. The breasts of many women were cut off, after whose deaths the poor infants died with famine, Opede having caused proclamation to be made, that no man should give any relief or sustenance to any of them. All things were ransacked, burnt, pillaged, and there were none saved alive, but those that were reserved for the galleys. The seventeenth day, Opede commanded the old bands of Piedmont to draw near, and the day following he burnt the villages of Lormarin, Ville Laure, and Trezimenes, and at the same time on the other side of Durance, le River de la Roque, and others of the town of Arles burnt Genson and la Roque. Opede being come to Merindol, he found not any there, but only a young lad called Morisi Blanc, a very simple fellow, who yielded himself prisoner to a soldier, with a promise of two crowns for his ransom; Opede finding none other upon whom he might wreak his anger, payed the two crowns to the soldier, and so commanding him to be bound to a tree, caused him to be shot. Afterwards, he commanded the said town to be pillaged, sacked, and utterly razed and laid level with the ground, where there were about two hundred houses.

In the mean time, the rest of those of Merindol and other places, were in great extremities in the mountains and rocks, persecuted by Opede and his army. They entreated him, that he would permit them to retire to Geneva, with the rest of their wives and children, promising to leave behind them all their goods. He answered, that he would send them all to dwell in the country of hell, with all the devils in such a manner, that there should be no memory left of them.

At length the judgment of God overtook this monster of cruelty; for he was afflicted with a dreadful bloody flux, and a painful strangury. In this extremity he sent for a surgeon from Arles, who, on examining his disorders, told him they were of a singular nature, and much worse than he had ever seen them on any other person. He then took an occasion to reprehend him for his cruelties, and told him, that unless he repented, he might expect that the hand of Heaven would fall still heavier upon him. On hearing these words, the president flew into a violent passion, and ordered his attendants to seize upon the surgeon as an heretic. The surgeon, however, found means to escape, and soon after the president's disorder increased to a terrible degree. As he had found some little ease from the operations of the surgeon, he again sent to him, for he had been informed of the place of his retirement; his message was accompanied with an apology for his former behaviour, and a promise of

personal security. The surgeon forgiving what was past, went to him, but too late to be of any service; for he found the president raving like a madman, and crying out, that he had a fire within him. After blaspheming for some time, he expired in the most dreadful agonies; and his body in a few hours became so offensive, that hardly any one could endure the place where it lay.

John de Roma, a monk, having a commission from the pope to search for heretics, executed it with great severity in Provence. The king of France hearing of his proceedings, sent an order to the parliament of Provence to apprehend him: the monk, however, made his escape to Avignon, and thought to live luxuriously upon what he had taken from the Waldenses. But in this he was mistaken, for some robbers soon after plundered him of the greatest part of his treasure; and his grief on this account brought on a violent disorder, which turned him, while living, into a mass of putrefaction, and soon put a period to his existence.

The bishop of Aix, with some priests, being at Avignon together, were one day walking along the streets with some courtezans, and seeing a man who sold obscene pictures, they purchased several, and presented them to the women. A bookseller, who had a great number of Bibles in the French language for sale, lived at hand. The bishop stepping up to him, said, "How darest thou be so bold as to sell French merchandise in this town?" The bookseller replied, with a kind of sneer, "My lord, do you not think that Bibles are as good as those pictures which you have bought for the ladies?" Enraged at the sarcasm, the bishop exclaimed, "I'll renounce my place in paradise, if this fellow is not one of the Waldenses. Take him away, take him to prison." These expressions occasioned him to be terribly used by the rabble: and the next day he was brought before the judge, who, at the instigation of the bishop, condemned him to the flames. He was accordingly burnt, with two bibles hanging from his neck, the one before and the other behind.

The principal persecutor of the Merindolians was this bishop of Aix, who persuaded the president and the counsellors of the court of parliament to send a great army through all Provence in order to destroy those who professed the reformed religion. These poor people, on seeing the army, recommended themselves to God, and prepared for butchery. While they were in this grievous distress, mourning and lamenting together, suddenly there was news brought unto them, that the army was retired, and no man knew at that time how or by what means; yet, notwithstanding, afterwards it was known, that the lord of Alene, a wise man, and learned in the Scriptures and in the civil law,

being moved with great love of justice, declared to the president Cassanee, that he ought not to proceed against the inhabitants of Morindol by force of arms, without judgment or condemnation; and after many more arguments to the same effect, he addressed the president Cassanee, who was a bigotted monster of cruelty, and reminded him of a statement, which he, the president, had made in a book that he wrote, called "*Catalogus Gloriæ Mundi.*" This statement, which appears to have been a fact, is of so ludicrous a nature, that nothing but a knowledge of the absurdities of the popish superstitions can render it plausible. The president says, that in the bishopric of Autun, a process was instituted against the *rats* by the officers of the court and jurisdiction of the bishop: for it happened there was throughout all the bailliwick of Laussois such a great number of rats, that they destroyed and devoured all the corn of the country. Whereupon they sent to the bishop of Autun's official, to have the rats excommunicated; and it was decreed by the said official, after he had heard the plaintiff of the procurator fiscal, that before he would proceed to excommunication, they, the rats, should have admonition and warning according to the order of justice; and it was ordained, that by the sound of a trumpet, and open proclamation made throughout all the streets of the town of Autun, the rats should be cited to appear within three days; and if they did not appear, then the court to proceed against them.

The three days were passed, and the procurator came into the court against the rats, and for want of appearance obtained default, by virtue whereof he required that they would proceed to the excommunication. Whereupon it was judicially acknowledged that the said rats, being absent, should have their advocate appointed them to hear their defence, because the question was for the whole destruction and banishing of the said rats. "And you, my lord president," says the lord of Alenc, "being at that time the king's advocate at Autun, were chosen to be the advocate to defend the rats. And having taken the charge upon you in pleading the matter, it was by you there declared, that the citation was of no effect, for certain causes by you there alleged." Then it was decreed, that the said rats should be once again cited throughout the parishes where they were; and after the citations were *duly served*, the procurator came again into the court as before; and there it was alleged by you, my lord president, that the term of appearance given unto the rats was too short, *and that there were so many cats in every town and village that they had to pass through, that they had just cause to be absent.* Wherefore, my lord president, you ought not so lightly to proceed against these poor men, but you ought to look upon the

Holy Scriptures, and there you shall find how ye ought to proceed in this matter; and you, my lord, have alleged many places of the Scripture concerning the same, as appear more at large in your said book: and by this plea of a matter which seemeth to be but of a small importance you have obtained great fame and honour, for the upright declaration of the manner and form how judges ought gravely to proceed in criminal causes. Then, my lord president, you who have taught others, will you not also learn by your own books? which will manifestly condemn you, if you proceed any farther to the destruction of these poor men of Merindol. For are they not christian men, and ought you not as well to minister right and justice unto them, as you have done to the rats?" By these and such like demonstrations the president was persuaded, and immediately called back his commission which he had given out, and caused the army to retire, which was already come near to Merindol, even within one mile and a half.

Then the Merindolians, understanding that the army was retired, gave thanks unto God, comforting one another with admonition and exhortation, always to have the fear of God before their eyes, to be obedient to his holy commandments, subject to his most holy will, and every man to submit himself unto his providence, patiently attending and looking for the hope of the blessed, the true life, and the everlasting riches, having all before their eyes for example our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who hath entered into his glory by many tribulations.

Shortly after the bishop of Cavaillon came to Merindol, and calling before him the children, gave them money, and commanded them to learn the Pater-noster and the Creed in Latin. Most of them answered, that they knew the Pater-noster and the Creed already in Latin, but they could make nothing of that which they spake, except in the vulgar tongue. The bishop answered, that it was not necessary they should be so cunning, but that it was sufficient that they knew it in Latin; and that it was not requisite for their salvation to understand or to expound the articles of their faith; for there were many bishops and doctors of divinity whom it would trouble to expound the Pater-noster and the Creed. Here the bailiff of Merindol, named Andrew Maynard, asked what purpose it would serve to say the Pater-noster and the Creed, and not to understand the same: for in so doing they should but mock and deride God. Then said the bishop, "Do you understand what is signified by these words, I believe in God?" The bailiff answered, "I should think myself very miserable if I did not understand it:" and he began to give an account of his faith. Then said the bishop, "I should not have thought there had been such great

doctors in Merindol." The bailiff answered, "The least of the inhabitants of Merindol can do it more readily than I; but I pray you question or two of these young children, that you may understand whether they be well taught or not." But the bishop either knew not how to question them, or would not. On this a person named Pieron Roy said, "Sir, one of these children may question with another, if you think fit;" and the bishop consented. Then one of the children began to question with his fellows, with as much grace and gravity as if he had been a schoolmaster; and the children, one after another, answered so to the purpose, that it was wonderful to hear them; for it was done in the presence of many, among whom there were four religious men, that came lately from Paris, one of whom said to the bishop, "I must needs confess, that I have often been at the common schools of Sorbon in Paris, where I have heard the disputations of the divines, but yet I never learned so much as I have done by hearing these young children." Then said William Armant, a child, "Did you never read that which is written in the eleventh chapter ot St. Matthew, where it is said, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, I render thanks unto thee, that thou hast hidden these things from the sage and wise men of the world, and hast revealed them unto young infants: but behold, O Father, such was thy good will and pleasure."

When the bishop saw he could not thus prevail, he tried another way, and went about by flattering words to effect his purpose. Wherefore causing the strangers to go apart, he said, that he now perceived they were not so bad as many thought them to be: notwithstanding, for the content of them who were their persecutors, it was necessary that they should make some small abjuration, which only the bailiff, with two officers, might make generally in his presence, in the name of all the rest, without any notary to record the same in writing; and in so doing they should be loved and favoured by all men, and even by those who now persecuted them; and that they should sustain no infamy thereby, for there should be no report made, but only to the pope, and the high court of parliament of Provence. The children, however, unanimously refused, and said, that they conceived the way in which they had been instructed to be the pure faith of Jesus Christ!

In the year 1210, four and twenty Waldenses were apprehended at Paris, whereof some were imprisoned and some burnt. It happened also, that during the one and twentieth schism, and during the time of pope John, the one and twentieth of that name, the persecution was great throughout all France, against the Waldenses, but especially at Paris.

Again in the year 1304, the Monks Inquisitors, appointed

for the search of the Waldenses, apprehended at Paris a hundred and fourteen, who were burnt alive, and endured the fire with admirable constancy.

We find also in the Sea of Histories, that in the year 1378, the persecution continuing against the Waldenses, there were burnt at Paris in the place de Greve a very great number.

The Waldenses, in consequence of the continued persecutions they met with in France, fled for refuge to various parts of the world; among other places, many of them sought an asylum in the vallies of Piedmont, where they increased and flourished exceedingly for a considerable time.

Notwithstanding their harmless behaviour, inoffensive conversation, and their paying tithes to the Romish clergy, the latter could not be contented, but sought to give them disturbance; and accordingly complained to the archbishop of Turin, that the Waldenses of the vallies of Piedmont were heretics, for the following reasons: that they did not believe in the doctrines of the church of Rome; that they made no offerings for prayers for the dead; that they did not go to mass; and that they neither confessed nor received absolution; neither did they believe in purgatory, or pay money to get the souls of their friends out of it. Upon these charges, the archbishop ordered a persecution to be commenced, in consequence of which many fell martyrs to the superstitious rage of the monks and priests.

At Turin, one of the reformed had his bowels torn out and put into a bason before his face, where they remained, in his view, till he expired. At Revel, Catelin Girard being at the stake, desired the executioner to give him up a stone, which he refused, thinking that ne meant to throw it at somebody: but Girard assuring him that he had no such design, the executioner complied; when Girard looking earnestly at the stone, said, "When it is in the power of a man to eat and digest this solid stone, the religion for which I am about to suffer shall have an end, and not before." He then threw the stone on the ground, and submitted cheerfully to the flames. A great many more were oppressed or put to death, till, wearied with their sufferings, the Waldenses flew to arms in their defence, and formed themselves into regular bodies. Full of revenge at this, the Archbishop of Turin procured a number of troops, and sent against them; but in most of the skirmishes the Waldenses were victorious; for they knew, if they were taken, they should not be condsidered as prisoners of war, but be tortured to death as heretics.

Philip the Seventh was at this time duke of Savoy and supreme lord of Piedmont. He determined at length to interpose his authority, and stop these bloody wars, which so disturbed his dominions. Unwilling to offend the pope or the archbishop

of Turin, he nevertheless sent them both messages, importing, that he could not any longer tamely see his dominions over-run with troops, who were commanded by prelates in the place of generals; nor would he suffer his country to be depopulated, while he himself had not been even consulted upon the occasion.

The priests, perceiving the determinaiion of the duke, had recourse to their usual artifice, and endeavoured to prejudice his mind against the Waldenses; but the duke told them, that though he was unacquainted with the religious tenets of these people, yet he had always found them quiet, faithful, and obedient, and was therefore determined they should be persecuted no longer. The priests then vented the most palpable and absurd falsehoods: they assured the duke that he was mistaken in the Waldenses, for they were a wicked set of people, and highly addicted to intemperance, uncleanness, blasphemy, adultery, incest, and many other abominable crimes; and that they were even monsters in nature, for their children were born with black throats, with four rows of teeth, and bodies covered all over with hair. But the duke was not so to be imposed upon, though the priests affirmed in the most solemn manner. In order to come at the truth, he sent twelve learned gentleman into the Piedmontese vallies, to examine into the real characters of the people.

These gentlemen, after travelling through all these towns and villages, and conversing with the Waldenses of every rank, returned to the duke, and gave him the most favourable account of them: affirming, before the faces of the priests, that they were harmless, inoffensive, loyal, friendly, industrious, and pious: that they abhorred the crimes of which they were accused; and that, should an individual, through his depravity, fall into any of those crimes, he would, by their laws, be punished in the most exemplary manner. With respect to the children, of whom the priests had told the most gross and ridiculous falsities, they were neither born with black throats, teeth in their mouths, nor hair on their bodies, but were as fine children as could be seen. "And to convince your highness of what we have said," continued one of the gentlemen, "we have brought twelve of the principal male inhabitants, who are come to ask pardon in the name of the rest, for having taken up arms without your leave, though even in their own defence, and to preserve their lives from their merciless enemies. We have likewise brought several women, with children of various ages, that your highness may have an opportunity of judging for yourself." His highness then accepted the apology of the twelve delegates, conversed with the women, and examined the children, and afterwards graciously dismissed them. He then commanded the priests, who had attempted to mislead him, immediately to leave the

court; and gave strict orders, that the persecution should cease throughout his dominions.

During the reign of this virtuous prince, the Waldenses enjoyed repose in their retreats; but, on his death, this happy scene changed, for his successor happened to be a bigotted papist. About the same time, some of the principal Waldenses proposed, that their clergy should preach in public, that every one might know the purity of their doctrines; for hitherto they had preached only in private, and to such congregations as they well knew to consist of none but persons of the reformed religion.

When this reached the ears of the new duke, he was greatly exasperated, and sent a considerable body of troops into the vallies, swearing, that if the people would not conform to the Roman faith, he would have them flayed alive. The commander of the troops soon found the impracticability of conquering them with the number of men then under him: he, therefore, sent word to the duke, that the idea of subjugating the Waldenses with so small a force was ridiculous; that they were better acquainted with the country than any that were with him; that they had secured all the passes, were well armed, and determined to defend themselves; and, with respect to flaying them alive, he said that every skin he tore off would cost him the lives of a dozen of his subjects. Alarmed at this, the duke commanded the troops to return, determining to act by stratagem. He, therefore, ordered rewards for taking of any of the Waldenses, who might be found straying from their places of security; and these, when taken, were either flayed alive or burnt.

Pope Paul the Third, a furious bigot, ascending the pontifical chair, immediately solicited the parliament of Turin to persecute the Waldenses, as the most pernicious of all heretics. To this the parliament readily assented, when several were suddenly seized and burnt by their order. Among these was Bartholomew Hector, a bookseller and stationer of Turin. He was brought up a Roman catholic, but some treatises written by the reformed clergy having fallen into his hands, he was fully convinced of their truth, and of the errors of the church of Rome; yet his mind was, for some time, wavering between fear and duty, when, after some serious consideration, he fully embraced the reformed religion, and was apprehended, as we have already mentioned, and burnt.

A consultation was again held by the parliament of Turin, in which it was agreed, that deputies should be sent to the vallies of Piedmont with the following propositions: 1. That if the Waldenses would return to the bosom of the church of Rome,

they should enjoy their houses, properties, and lands, and live with their families, without the least molestation. 2. That to prove their obedience, they should send twelve of their principal persons, with all their ministers and schoolmasters, to Turin, to be dealt with at discretion. 3. That the pope, the king of France, and the duke of Savoy, approved of, and authorized the proceedings of the parliament of Turin, upon this occasion. 4. That if the Waldenses of Piedmont rejected these propositions, persecution and death should be their reward.

In answer to these hostile articles, the Waldenses made the following noble replies: 1. That no consideration whatever should make them renounce their religion. 2. That they would never consent to entrust their best and most respectable friends to the custody and discretion of their worst enemies. 3. That they valued the approbation of the King of kings who reigns in heaven, more than any temporal authority. 4. That their souls were more precious than their bodies.

As may be conjectured, these spirited and pointed answers greatly exasperated the parliament of Turin; in consequence of which they continued with more avidity than ever, to kidnap such Waldenses as fell into their hands, and who were sure to suffer the most cruel deaths. Among these it unfortunately happened, that they caught Jeffry Varnagle, minister of Angrogne, whom they accused as an heretic, and committed to the flames.

They soon after solicited from the king of France a considerable body of troops, in order to extirminate the reformed from the vallies of Piedmont; but just as the troops were about to march, the protestant princes of Germany interposed, and threatened to send troops to assist the Waldenses. On this the king of France, not caring to enter into a war, remanded the troops, and sent word to the parliament of Turin, that he could not spare them at present to act in Piedmont. At this time those sanguinary members of the parliament were greatly disappointed, and for want of power the persecution gradually ceased, and they could only put to death such as they caught by chance, which, owing to the caution of the Waldenses, were very few.

After a few years tranquillity, they were again disturbed by the following means: the pope's nuncio coming to Turin to the duke of Savoy upon business, told that prince he was astonished he had not yet either rooted out the Waldenses from the vallies of Piedmont entirely, or compelled them to return to the church of Rome. That such conduct in him awakened suspicion, and that he really thought him a favourer of those heretics, and should accordingly report the affair to the pope. Roused by this reflection, and fearful of being misrepresented to the pope,

the duke determined to banish those suspicions; and, to prove his zeal, resolved to let loose the reins of cruelty on the unoffending Waldenses. He, accordingly, issued express orders for all to attend mass regularly, on pain of death. This they absolutely refused to do, on which he entered the Piedmontese vallies with a great body of troops, and began a most furious persecution, in which great numbers were hanged, drowned, ripped open, tied to trees, and pierced with prongs, thrown from precipices, burnt, stabbed, racked to death, worried by dogs, and crucified with their heads downwards. Those who fled had their goods plundered and their houses burnt. When they caught a minister or a schoolmaster, they put him to such exquisite tortures, as are scarcely credible to conceive. If any whom they took seemed wavering in their faith, they did not put them to death, but sent them to the gallies, to be made converts by dint of hardships.

In this expedition the duke was accompanied by three men who resembled devils, viz. 1. Thomas Incomel, an apostate, brought up in the reformed religion, but who had renounced his faith, embraced the errors of popery, and turned monk. He was a great libertine, given to unnatural crimes, and sordidly solicitous for the plunder of the Waldenses. 2. Corbis, a man of a very ferocious and cruel nature, whose business was to examine the prisoners. 3. The provost of justice, an avaricious wretch, anxious for the execution of the Waldenses, as every execution added to his hoards.

These three monsters were unmerciful to the last degree; wherever they came, the blood of the innocent was sure to flow. But, besides the cruelties exercised by the duke with these three persons and the army in their different marches, many local barbarities took place. At Pignerol, a town in the vallies, was a monastery, the monks of which finding they might injure the reformed with impunity, began to plunder their houses, and pull down their churches; and not meeting with opposition, they next seized upon the persons of those unhappy people, murdering the men, confining the women, and putting the children to Roman Catholic nurses.

In the same manner the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the valley of St. Martin did all they could to torment the neighbouring Waldenses: they destroyed their churches, burnt their houses, seized their properties, stole their cattle, converted their lands to their own use, committed their ministers to the flames, and drove the people to the woods, where they had nothing to subsist on but wild fruits, the bark of trees, roots, &c.

Some Roman Catholic ruffians having seized a minister as he was going to preach, determined to take him to a convenient

place, and burn him. His parishioners hearing of his distress, armed themselves, pursued the villains, and seemed determined to rescue their minister. The ruffians finding they could not execute their first intent, stabbed the poor gentleman, and leaving him weltering in his blood, made a precipitate retreat. The astonished parishoners did all they could to recover him, but in vain; for he expired as they were carrying him home.

The monks of Pignerol, having a great desire to get into their possession, a minister of a town in the vallies called St. Germain, hired a band of ruffians for the purpose of seizing him. These fellows were conducted by a treacherous person, formerly a servant to the clergyman, and who knew a secret way to the house, by which he could lead them without alarming the neighbourhood. The guide knocked at the door, and being asked who was there, answered in his own name. The clergyman, expecting no injury from a person on whom he had heaped favour, immediately opened the door; but perceiving the ruffians, he fled to a back door, but they rushed in, followed, and seized him. They then murdered all his family; after which, they proceeded with their captive towards Pignerol, goading him all the way. He was confined a considerable time in prison, and then burnt.

The troops of ruffians belonging to the monks, continuing their assaults about the town of St. Germain, murdering and plundering many of the inhabitants, the reformed of Lucerne and Angrogne, sent some armed men to the assistance of their brethren. These bodies of armed men frequently attacked and routed the ruffians, which so alarmed the monks, that they left their monastery of Pignerol for some time, till they could procure regular troops for their protection.

The duke of Savoy, not thinking himself so successful as he at first imagined he should be, augmented his forces, joined to them the ruffians, and commanded that a general delivery should take place in the prisons, provided the persons released would bear arms, and assist in the extermination of the Waldenses.

No sooner were the Waldenses informed of these proceedings than they secured as much of their properties as they could, and quitting the vallies, retired to the rocks and caves among the Alps.

The army no sooner reached their destined places, than they began to plunder and burn the towns and villages wherever they came; but the troops could not force their passes to the Alps, gallantly defended by the Waldenses, who in those attemps always repulsed their enemies; but if any fell into the hands of the troops, they were treated in the most barbarous manner. A soldier having caught one of them, bit his right ear off, saying,

"I will carry this member of that wicked heretic with me into my own country, and preserve it as a rarity." He then stabbed the man, and threw him into a ditch.

At one time a party of the troops found a venerable man upwards of a hundred years of age, accompanied by his granddaughter, a maiden, of about eighteen, in a cave. They murdered the poor old man in a most inhuman manner, and then attempted to ravish the girl, when she started away, and being pursued, she threw herself from a precipice and expired.

Determined, if possible, to expel their invaders, the Waldenses entered into a league with the Protestant powers in Germany, and with the reformed of Dauphiny and Pragela. These were respectively to furnish bodies of troops; and the Waldenses resolved, when thus reinforced, to quit the mountains of the Alps, where they soon must have perished, as the winter was coming on, and to force the duke's army to evacuate their native vallies.

But the duke of Savoy himself was tired of the war, it having cost him great fatigue and anxiety of mind, a vast number of men, and very considerable sums of money. It had been much more tedious and bloody than he expected, as well as more expensive than he at first imagined, for he thought the plunder would have discharged the expenses of the expedition: in this, however, he was mistaken; for the pope's nuncio, the bishops, monks, and other ecclesiastics, who attended the army, and encouraged the war, sunk the greatest part of the wealth that was taken, under various pretences. For these reasons, and the death of his duchess, of which he had just received intelligence, and fearing that the Waldenses, by the treaties they had entered into, would become too powerful for him, he determined to return to Turin with his army, and to make peace with them.

This resolution he put in practice, greatly against the will of the ecclesiastics, who, by the war, both satiated their avarice and their revenge. Before the articles of peace could be ratified, the duke himself died soon after his return to Turin, but on his death-bed he strictly enjoined his son to perform what he had intended, and to be as favourable as possible to the Waldenses.

Charles-Emanuel, the duke's son, succeeded to the dominions of Savoy, and fully ratified the peace with the Waldenses, according to the last injunctions of his father, though the priests used all their arts to dissuade him from his noble purpose.

It was in the year 1601, that Barthelomew Copin, a Waldensian, of the valley of Lucerna, was at Ast in Piedmont, with his merchandise, at a fair that should be on the morrow, and being at table in the evening at supper, with divers other merchants, there was one that began a discourse on the diversities of

religions, and spake many things tending to the dishonour of the Waldenses, of the vallies of Angrongne, and their bordering neighbours. Copin, hearing him speak of his brethren with less modesty than became those that professed themselves to be merchants, and of their religion, to the dishonour of God, he thought it would be a fault in himself, if he should make no reply to those blasphemies that he heard; he therefore answered the party that held this discourse, in favour of his religion: "And what," saith he that had been reprehended by Copin, "are you a Waldensian?" He answered, "Yea." "And do you not believe, that God is in the host?" "No," saith Copin. "Fie upon you, replies the other, what a false religion is your's." "My religion, (saith Copin) is as true, as it is true that God is God, and as I am sure I shall die." The next morrow, Copin was called before the Bishop of Ast, who told him that he had been advertised of certain scandalous discourses and opinions, which, but the day before, he held in the evening at his lodging, and that he must acknowledge the offence, if he would obtain pardon, otherwise, he would take order for his punishment. Copin answered, "That he had been provoked thereunto, and, howsoever, he had said nothing, that he would not maintain with the danger of his own life; that he had some goods in the world, and a wife and children; but he had lost the affection he bare unto those things, neither were they dear unto him, to the prejudice of his conscience: and as touching his behaviour, saith he, if it would please the Bishop to inquire of the merchants of Ast, who all knew him, whether he were an honest man, they would all witness for him, that he had never wronged any man, in that whole time he had traded and conversed with them; and that, being a merchant, he was to be dismissed for that cause, for which he was then in that place, that is, for traffic, and therefore not to be molested. That if Jews and Turks were permitted to come to fairs, and to traffic throughout all Piedmont, much more should he be permitted who was a christian, especially, since that in that discourse of religion he did but answer to a question moved unto him, and that it was lawful for any man to answer, and to give a reason of his faith, to whom, and in what place soever, even by virtue of that treaty and agreement between the Waldenses of the vallies and his highness, which forbids them to broach new opinions, but takes not from them the liberty to answer, to whomsoever shall ask any questions of them."

The Bishop hearkened not at all to these allegations, but gave commandment, that he should be sent to prison. The morrow after, the Bishop's secretary came to visit Copin, and making great profession of love towards him, he said unto him, that he would have him know as from a friend, "That if he

did not acknowledge his fault, he would be in danger of his life." Copin answered him, "That his life was in the hand of God, and he would never desire to preserve it to the prejudice of his glory; and forasmuch as he had but two or three paces to walk in his journey to heaven, his hearty prayer unto God was, that he would give him the grace not to draw back." Some few days after, he was examined by a monk inquisitor, in the presence of the Bishop, who tormented him a long time, with sweet and gentle persuasions, endeavouring to win him by fair words, to the abjuration of his belief: but Copin always convinced him by the word of God, alleging unto him, that if he should be ashamed of Christ Jesus, or deny him before men, Christ would be ashamed of him, and deny him before his Father in heaven. The monk ended his disputation with these and the like threatening speeches; "Go thy way, thou cursed Lutheran, to all the devils in hell; and when thou shalt be tormented by those unclean spirits, thou wilt remember those good and holy counsels, which we have given thee, to bring thee to salvation; but thou hadst rather go to hell, than to reconcile thyself to our holy mother the Church." "It is long ago, (said Copin) that I was reconciled to our mother the Church."

After many violent encounters, they caused his wife and a son of his to come unto him, promising him liberty, and to depart with them if he would amend his fault by confessing it. They suffered his said wife and son to sup with him in prison, which time he spent in exhorting them to patience, the wife for that she should want a husband, the child a father, but yet should assure themselves that God would be their father, and more then a husband; and for his own part, he was not bound to love either wife or children more than Christ, and that they should hold it to be no small happiness, that it hath pleased God to do him that honour, as to be a witness unto his truth, with the loss of his life, and that he hoped that God would be so favourable unto him, as to give him strength to endure all manner of torments for his glory. He committed to the care and charge of his wife, his son and his daughter, which they had in marriage, enjoining her to bring them up in the fear of God. He commanded his son to obey his mother, for so he should draw down upon him the blessing of God; he prayed them to pray for him, that God would be pleased to strengthen him against all temptations, and so having blessed his son, and taken leave of his wife, they were dismissed out of prison, and he locked up where he was before; his wife and child shedding fountains of tears, and crying out in such a lamentable manner, as would have moved the hardest hearts to compassion. This good man not being content with what he had said unto them by word of mouth, wrote unto her

this letter following, the original copy whereof she delivered unto us, written and signed by the hand of the said Copin, the superscription whereof was this:

"*To my loving companion, Susan Copin. At the Tower of Lucerna.*

"Most dear companion, I have received much comfort by your coming into this place, and so much the more, by how much the less I expected it: and I think it was some comfort to yourself, that you had the means to sup with me, as it came to pass but yesterday, being the 15th of September, in the year 1601, being Saturday. I know not the cause why this was permitted, but all things are in the hand of God, and whatsoever were the cause; I do not think we shall ever eat together again. And, therefore, pray unto God to be your comforter, and put your trust in him, who hath promised never to forsake those that trust in him. You are wise, and therefore govern our house in such sort, that you keep our children, Samuel and Martha, in obedience, whom I command, by that authority that God hath given me, to be faithful and obedient unto you, for then God will bless them. For the rest be not grieved concerning myself, for if God have appointed, that I am come to the end of my days, and that it pleaseth the Almighty God, that I shall render up my soul, which he hath long time lent me, my trust in him is, that out of his abundant mercy, he will receive it into heaven, for the love of his Son Christ Jesus, by whom I believe, that our sins are blotted out, even by his precious death and passion; and I beg at his merciful hands, that he will accompany me unto the end, by the powerful assistance of his Holy Spirit. Be always careful to pray unto God, and to serve him, for so God will bless and serve you. Take no care to send me any thing for these three weeks, and then you may send me, if you please, some money to pay the jailer, and something else to succour me, if I live till then. Remember also, that which I have often told you, that is, that God prolonged the life of king Hezekiah for fifteen years; but that he had prolonged mine a great deal more, for it is a long time ago, that you have seen me in a manner dead, and nevertheless, I am yet alive, and I hope and hold for certain, that he will still preserve me alive, until my death shall be better for his glory and mine own felicity, through his grace and mercy towards me.

"From the Prison at Ast, Sept. 16, 1601."

The Bishop of Ast, was much troubled, what to determine concerning this poor man: For if he should let him go, they feared a scandal, and that many would gather heart and courage, to speak with a loud voice against the Romish religion. On the

other side, there was a clause in the treaty made between his highness and the Waldenses, which cleared him from all offence, in these words, "And if any question shall be moved unto them, touching their faith, being in Piedmont, with other his highness's subjects, it shall be lawful for them to answer, not incurring thereby, any punishment, real or personal." Now he was asked the question, and, therefore to be quit from blame: But the Bishop would not have it said, that he had committed him to prison unjustly. To the end therefore, that his death might not be imputed unto him, and it might not be thought, that he sent him away absolved, he sent his indictment to pope Clement the Eighth, to understand what course he should take herein. It could never be known what answer the Bishop had; but shortly after, he was found dead in prison, not without some appearance that he was strangled, for fear lest if he should have been publickly executed, he might edify and strengthen the people by his confession and constancy. After his death, he was condemned to be burnt, and so being brought out of prison, his sentence was read in the same place, and cast into the fire. And this was the last of the Waldenses, that is come to our knowledge, that hath been persecuted to the death for his belief.

The Albigenses, differ nothing at all from the Waldenses, in their belief: but they are so called of the country of Albi, where they dwelt, and had their first beginning. The popes have condemned them as Waldenses; the legates have made war against them, as professing the belief of the Waldenses; the monks inquisitors have formed their process and indictments as against Waldenses. The people have persecuted them, as being such, and themselves have thought themselves honoured by that title, upon the assured knowledge that they had of the purity of their doctrine, being the selfsame with the Waldenses: many historians, therefore, call them Waldenses.

SECTION VI.

THE LIFE OF DR. WICLIF.

An Account of John Wiclif, D. D. extracted from a memoir composed by H. H. B. M. A. and prefixed to the last edition of Wiclif's Testament.

Although Wiclif was not put to death as a martyr, yet was he an illustrious confessor of Christ in dark and perilous times; and as his writings had so much influence on the reformation of the Church from the errors of Popery, through a great part of Europe, he well deserves a place in this work.

John de Wiclif, is conjectured to have been born about the year 1324, in the parish of Wiclif, a village upon the banks of the river Tees, near Richmond, in Yorkshire. The rank and station of his parents, where, or how he obtained the common rudiments of learning, and what was the character of his childish years, are particulars of which no accounts are preserved. History first meets with him a commoner of Queen's College, a seminary of learning, in Oxford, then just founded by Robert Eaglesfield, Confessor to Philippina, Queen of Edward II. He soon removed from hence to Merton College, where he is recorded to have been a probationer. This society was then distinguished for ranking in its numbers some of the most learned men of the age. Here Wiclif industriously availed himself of the advantages he enjoyed, and by close application, made himself master of all the fashionable learning of his time. He applied himself to theology with such happy success, that he easily became a most subtle, and indeed an unrivalled disputant. From the schoolmen he proceeded to the study of the law, which at that period was a very important branch of an university education, and was cultivated with the greatest assiduity, by those who were ambitious of the highest honours of the church and state. To these laborious acquirements, he not only added an extensive knowledge of the Latin fathers, but also of all those celebrated authors who had lived nearer his own time. Wiclif, in his active and zealous pursuit of literature, did not confine his studies to those branches of knowledge which at that period were the common object of all scholars; he diligently perused the Scriptures, and was singularly well versed in them. This rare accomplishment procured him the honour of being ranked among the most eminent doctors of his time, by the title of the Evangelic Doctor.

Before the year 1360, Wiclif's walk in life had been confined to the retired and silent paths. An event now happened, which allured him from his privacy, and afforded him an opportunity of exhibiting his extraordinary talents, and of avowing his new opinions. The mendicants, or begging friars had from a very

early period of their establishment in Oxford, been involved in continual disputes with the chancellor and scholars, in consequence of their unremitted endeavours to trespass upon the statutes and privileges of the University, and to establish an exempt jurisdiction. The popes, among many other immunities, had allowed these monks the liberty of the education of the youth; the friars, availing themselves of their privilege, embraced every opportunity in opposition to the interests of the University, of tempting the younger students to desert the college for the convent. They had practised their inveigling arts with so much success, that many parents, fearing to send their children, as in former times, to the University, trained them up to occupations in life which needed not the aid of scholastic learning, nor the ornament of academical honours. Oxford, in happier times, flourished in such a degree, that it could count within its walls thirty thousand students, but, owing to the above-mentioned practices of the monks, that number had been reduced to six thousand. To remedy this ruinous evil, the chancellor called a convocation, and a statute was passed, enacting, that no youths should be received by the friars into their orders, till they had attained the age of eighteen years. In this contest, Wiclif stepped forth as an advocate in the cause of the University, and manfully attacked the monks for their seductive practices, with a freedom of speech to which they were little accustomed, as well as with a severity of censure which they justly merited. His reproofs ended not here, but he distinguished himself by several well written tracts against "able beggary."

The University, in testimony of their gratitude for his zealous defence of their privileges, as well as a compliment to his splendid abilities, elevated him, in the year 1361, to the dignity of master of Baliol College. In the same year, he was presented by his college to the living of Fillingham, in the county of Lincoln, which he afterwards exchanged for that of Luggershall, in Wiltshire. In the year 1365, Simon de Islip, Archbishop of Canterbury, appointed him Warden of Canterbury-hall, in Oxford. This honour was conferred upon him, on December 14, 1365, and how much he was indebted to his virtues and his talents for his preferment, his letters of institution to his office of warden shall testify. In these he is styled "a person in whose fidelity, circumspection, and industry, HIS GRACE very much confided, and on whom he had fixed his eyes for that place, on account of the honesty of his life, his laudable conversation, and knowledge of letters." Wiclif's enjoyment of this honour was but of short duration.

The chair of the professor of Divinity, falling vacant in the year 1372, Wiclif was elected by the chancellor and regents of the University to fill this important station.

Being elevated to an office which enabled him to diffuse with authority, that light which had beamed upon his own mind, and to expose whatever errors his penetration and learning might discover, Theology, the queen of sciences, had now much to hope from a professor of his eminent character and qualifications. He began the exercise of his professorship with great judgment. His good sense taught him, that long-established customs and deep-rooted principles, were not to be removed all at once. "At first," to use the words of an ingenious biographer,* "he thought it sufficient to lead his adversaries into logical and metaphysical disputations; accustoming them to hear novelties and to bear contradiction. Nothing passed in the schools but learned arguments on the increase of time, on space, substance, and identity. In these disputations he artfully intermixed, and pushed, as far as he durst, new opinions in divinity; sounding as it were the minds of his hearers. At length, finding he had a great party in the schools, and that he was listened to with attention, he ventured to be more explicit, and by degrees opened himself at large."

The Professors lectures attracted a vast concourse of pupils, and the discretion which he used in the exposure of error, worked, though at first with a slow, yet a certain effect upon the reflecting and disinterested part of his audience, and eventually disposed them to embrace the doctrine which he taught. He was no less admired in the pulpit than in the schools. The characteristic of his style, as a preacher, was simple energy: he amused not the more learned part of his congregation with the subtleties of scholastic disputation, nor did he entertain the meaner sort with panegyrics on saints, and delude them with accounts of false miracles. The subject matter of his sermons, was, generally, the doctrines and duties of religion: upon these divine matters he discoursed with perspicuity, and pressed them weightily upon his hearers: he would, occasionally, descant upon the corruptions of the church, and the profligacy of the clergy, and the usurpations of the Pope: upon such themes, though he preached with exceeding warmth and vehemence, yet he argued with a strength of reasoning, which for the most part flashed conviction on the minds of his auditors. His tenets, enforced by a commanding eloquence, and recommended by the unimpeachable integrity of his life, procured him a great number of followers, composed of persons in all ranks of life.

Wiclif's fortune and reputation at this time, went hand in hand. The services he had rendered the crown, by defending it against the humiliating demands of the Pope, enjoyed their well-merited reward, by his being presented in 1374, to the valuable living of Lutterworth, in the county of Leicester. In the same

* Gilpin's Lives of Wiclif and his Disciples.

year he experienced a further mark of royal favour, by being sent, in conjunction with the Bishop of Bangor and others, upon an embassy to the Pope, to treat concerning the liberties of the church of England.

It is now that his lectures in the schools, and his discourses in the pulpit, abound with more vehement invective than heretofore, against the abuses of Popery. He reproves in the harshest language, the profligate lives of the clergy of all descriptions, and impugns with the utmost freedom of speech, the unscriptural doctrines they inculcate. In rebuking the former, he did not confine his charges to their pride, their avarice, and their idleness, he moreover taunts them with their ignorance, their hypocrisy and eye-service, i. e. with keeping back the wholesome words of sound doctrine and reproof, through fear of obstructing their own immediate temporal advantages: even he, who under the sacred name of Holy Father, commanded the veneration of mankind, escapes not the bitterest of his censures, for he brands this exalted personage with the opprobrious titles of "Antichrist, the worldly Priest of Rome, the most cursed of clippers and purse kervers." Complaints were now formerly made to the Pope, and nineteen offensive articles, unfairly extracted from his lectures and writings, were exhibited against him. His Holiness, who lent a willing ear to the charges preferred, in his impatience to overwhelm a formidable innovator, issued several mandates, all bearing the same date, viz. June 11, 1377, to Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, and William Courtney, Bishop of London, the purport of which was to cause John Wiclif to be apprehended, and to be kept in sure custody until they received from Rome further commands: he wrote also to King Edward himself, soliciting his co-operation with the prelates, in the extirpation of the heresies of Wiclif, and entreating his endeavours to bring the heretic to condign punishment. Those infirmities which are inseparable from declining life, having now assailed Edward, this prince, willing to withdraw himself from the cares of royalty, had resigned the administration of affairs into the hands of his son, the Duke of Lancaster. This nobleman shielded Wiclif against the Papal mandates to the bishops; for, as yet, no act was in force which could empower a prelate to imprison, without the King's consent, any one who was deemed by Holy Church an heretic. The Apostolical Father despatched a Nuncio to the University of Oxford, accusing them of lukewarmness in the cause of Holy Church, and commanding them, under the severest penalties, to deliver up their Divinity Professor to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London. So strong was the attachment of the University to Wiclif, that they dared to hesitate whether they should receive the Nuncio, and if he was received,

which is doubtful, the injunctions, of which he was the bearer, were totally disregarded. The little devotion which Oxford paid to the commands of a power unused to opposition, incensed exceedingly the Bishop of London, a complete zealot in the Pontifical cause. This prelate determined to silence the Reformer, persuaded Archbishop Sudbury to join him, in citing Wiclif to appear before them at St. Paul's, London, within thirty days.

Upon the day appointed for Wiclif to appear at St. Paul's to account for his doctrines, he went thither accompanied by the Duke of Lancaster, and Lord Percy, Earl Marshal of England. The occasion of this synod had brought together so vast a concourse of people about the church, that it was with difficulty, and not without some tumult, that Wiclif and his noble protectors could pass through the crowd. When the Bishop of London saw, contrary to his expectations, Dr. Wiclif enter the court, supported by personages of so elevated rank and great authority, his malevolent feelings were highly excited, and hurried away by the impetuosity of angry passion, he addressed Lord Percy in terms so haughty and insulting, that the lofty spirit of Lancaster was provoked to answer the Bishop with a tart reply. A fierce dispute ensued, which is thus reported by Fuller, the ecclesiastical historian.*

"*Bishop Courtney.* Lord Percy, if I had known, what mais-
"teries you would have kept in the church, I would have stopt
"you out from coming hither.

"*Duke of Lancaster.* He shall keep such maisteries here,
"though you say nay.

"*Lord Percy.* Wiclif, sit down, for you have many things to
"answer to, and you need to repose yourself on a soft seat.

"*Bishop Courtney.* It is unreasonable that one cited before his
"ordinary, should sit down during his answer. He must, and
"shall stand.

"*Duke of Lancaster.* The Lord Percy his motion for Wiclif,
"is but reasonable. And as for you, my Lord Bishop, who are
"grown so proud and arrogant, I will bring down the pride,
"not of you alone, but of all the prelacy in England.

"*Bishop Courtney.* Do your worst, Sir.

"*Duke of Lancaster.* Thou bearest thyself so brag upon thy
"parents,† which shall not be able to help thee, they shall have
"enough to do to help themselves.

"*Bishop Courtney.* My confidence is not in my parents, nor
"in any man else, but only in God, in whom I trust, by whose
"assistance I will be bold to speak the truth.

"*Duke of Lancaster.* Rather than I will take these words a

* Church Hist. B. IV. Cent. XIV.
† His father, Hugh Courtney, Earl of Devonshire.

" his hands, I would pluck the Bishop by the hair out of the " church."

The latter words, spoken in a low tone, were overheard by the bye-standers, and a violent commotion ensued. The Londoners took the part of Courtney, declaring aloud, that they would oppose, even with their lives, any insult offered to their Bishop. The tumultuous conduct of the populace obliged the delegates to break up the court, without proceeding to the examination of Wiclif. This synod having been rendered abortive, Dr. Wiclif was summoned a second time, by the same prelates, to appear before them at Lambeth. He obeyed the citation, and when they began to question him respecting his sentiments, he gave in to his judges a written explanation of the articles, which had been objected to him as heretical. There were grounds for apprehension that the prelates, who were sitting in judgment upon this undaunted Confessor, would treat him harshly. This occasioned Sir Lewis Clifford to enter the assembly, and in an authoritative tone to command these spiritual judges to desist from proceeding to any decision against Dr. Wiclif. Some say that Sir Lewis acted thus by command of the Queen Mother,* others relate that he was emboldened to do so from his conviction of the support he should receive from the vast concourse of Londoners, partisans of Wiclif, who were collected about the court. This absolute order of Clifford's, together with the menaces of the people, who were heard exclaiming without, that they would not see Wiclif ill-treated, so appalled the prelates, that they immediately dismissed the Reformer with only admonishing him not to repeat any more, either in the schools or the pulpit, his obnoxious doctrines. How little he regarded the injunction of the Bishops, his future conduct will sufficiently testify.

Dr. Wiclif generally visited the University once every year to discharge the duties of his professorship. Soon after his arrival at Oxford, in the year 1379, he was seized with an alarming illness. The friars, thinking that his course was now nearly terminated, and wishing to regain the reputation which they had lost, by the exposure they experienced from this illustrious confessor, encouraged a hope that Wiclif, under his present deplorable circumstances, might be induced to revoke what he had said and taught to their great disparagement. To effect this purpose, a solemn deputation, consisting of a friar of each of the mendicant orders, was sent unto him. The delegates were admitted into his presence, and, after he had given them a patient hearing, he ordered his attendant to raise him up on his pillow,

* Joanna, Dowager of Edward the Black Prince, and Mother of Richard II. the reigning King.

when, with a severe countenance, and in a firm tone he exclaimed, "I shall not die but live, and still further declare the evil deeds of the friars." The deputies, little expecting such a reply from a man whose spirit they had hoped was only now hovering over its earthly tabernacle, retired confounded, and the object of their disappointed hopes lived to execute his menace.

It was necessity which first occasioned the Scriptures to be generally received throughout the Western world in a Latin version; there being no other language, intelligible to an European, in which the books of Holy Writ were translated, when Christianity was first planted in our quarter of the globe. As the Latin tongue became a dead language, the Romish hierarchy were too crafty to encourage any translation of the sacred volume which would place the key of Divine knowledge in the power of the people. They plainly saw, that as long as they had the keeping of this treasure in their own hands, they could impose upon mankind, for doctrines of revelation, whatever articles of faith they pleased, and thus pursue their schemes of interest, with less fear of contradiction. Wiclif, who saw the advantage they enjoyed, and had detected their abuse of it, had long been persuaded that if ever the prejudices which had fastened themselves upon mankind, were to be effectually loosened, it must be by laying the Bible open to the people. To effect this, he had to complete a book, which, alone, would have been sufficient to have procured him the veneration of his own age, and the commendations of posterity. Having used every means that his bold and prolific genius suggested, and that his industry could accomplish for creating a longing desire in the people to consult the inspired records of their religion, he published in the year 1380, the translation of the Old and New Testament. The appearance of the Scriptures in an English dress exasperated and alarmed the favourers of the polity of the Roman Catholic church. They were vexed to see a volume now open to every man, which would erect him into a judge between the doctrines of the church, and the opinions of Wiclif; and as they meditated upon the consequences which might follow from the people at large having it in their power to read and determine for themselves, with respect to matters of religious faith and practice, they trembled for the fate of that colossal power, which had been hitherto so successfully raised upon the credulity and ignorance of mankind. In consequence of this production, the Reformer was assailed by the prelacy with angry menaces, and by the inferior clergy with the most plentiful abuse; but as he had a spirit too high to be dismayed by the one, and an object too grand, to be affected by the other, he steadily pursued his purpose with unwearied activity, and made, without delay, a new assault upon their miserable superstition: it was directed against transubstantiation,

the most revered doctrine of a Romanist. Paschaise Radbert, a French monk, who flourished in the ninth century, is recorded to have been the first person who maintained this dogma, so singular in the history of human opinions. It was introduced into England by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, about the middle of the eleventh century; and the lamentable ignorance of the times favoured its progress.

The primate was exceedingly incensed when he found his power evaded; he, therefore, now turned his thoughts towards more compulsory measures. With this view he brought a bill into parliament, whereby it was provided, "that the King's commissions be made and directed to sheriffs, &c. according to the certificates of the prelates, to be made in the chancery from time to time, to arrest all such preachers as preach sermons containing heresies and notorious errors, as more plainly is found and sufficiently proved before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops, &c. &c. specially assembled for this cause, and also their fautors, &c. to hold them in arrest and strong prison, till they will justify them according to the law and reason of Holy Church." As soon as the Bill had passed the Lords, the Archbishop proceeded upon it; whereupon the Commons petitioned the King that the act should be disannulled, because it was procured without their consent. Courtney was by no means discouraged by the frequent disappointments he experienced; his mind, fertile in expedients, and bold in executing them, immediately devised other means of accomplishing his determined purpose. Knowing that his Sovereign was a weak prince, he applied with success to Richard II. for his royal letters patent addressed to the Chancellor and scholars of Oxford, commanding them, within seven days receipt of these letters, to banish Wiclif and others from the University, and to seize all writings which favoured his doctrines. The disputes at this time ran so high in Oxford, between the disciples and the opponents of Wiclif, that many students carried, concealed under their gowns, offensive weapons, to avenge the cause of their party wherever they heard any thing alleged against it. The Chancellor, upon receiving the royal letters patent, endeavoured to excuse himself from obeying the King's commands, stating, that not only his own life, but that even the peace of the University would be considerably endangered by his compliance. But the Archbishop, deaf to every remonstrance which militated against his determined purpose, was peremptory in his order that the king's instructions be obeyed. Upon this, Dr. Wiclif, to avoid the storm which menaced him, was obliged to quit for ever the University of Oxford: and with what emotions may be in some degree imagined, when we view him reflecting that he should perambulate no more its silent cloisters, which had witnessed

the earliest and most tranquil stages of his life; that he should preside no more over its celebrated schools, where, with unshackled boldness, he had delivered to admiring multitudes those enlightened doctrines, which have rendered him illustrious amongst mankind; that he should visit no more its revered edifices, which still continued to be the abode of his happier disciples and friends.

Whatever satisfaction Courtney might derive from the consideration that he had hushed the voice of heresy in Oxford, and had compelled to retreat before his power, the man whose principles he abhorred, and whose abilities he dreaded, still incomplete must he have thought his triumph, as long as there remained to Wiclif, a vigorous mind, and an unsubdued spirit; and so he found it.

The contest between the rival Popes still subsisting, Urban VI. resorted to different weapons, and more violent measures, than either he himself, or his rival had hitherto adopted. Having now, for a long time, poured forth in vain the most dreadful anathemas, he was determined to have recourse to a more substantial mode of warfare, by bringing the contest to an issue by the force of arms. With this view an army and contributions were solicited in England, where Urban was acknowledged as the lawful successor of St. Peter; and to those who abetted, either by personal service, or pecuniary aid, the cause of this Pope, the most plenary indulgences and pardons were profusely granted. The enlightened Wiclif, animated by the strong indignation which throbbed in his honest bosom, upon viewing religion, which inculcates forbearance and peace, so scandalously abused, resumed his pen, and thus censured the Pope, upon the subject of the war in which he was engaged: "The seal or banner of Christ on the cross, that is token of peace, mercy, and charity, for to slee all Christen men, for love of twaie false priests, that ben open antichrist, for to meyntene their worldly state, to oppress Christendom worse than Jews weren agenst Holy Writ, and life of Christ and his apostles." Accordingly he asks, "why wole not the proud priest of Rome grant full pardon to all men for to live in peace, and charity, and patience, as he doth to all men to fight and slee Christen men?"

The wrath of the Pope being excited by such acrimonious reproof, he summoned the author of it to appear before the apostolical tribunal at Rome. Wiclif wrote to Urban upon the subject, and pleaded his health, (having lately had an attack of palsy) as his excuse for being spared so long and perilous a journey. It is most probable that the exasperated Pontiff would not have accepted this excuse, and have suffered Dr. Wiclif to have descended in peace into the silence of the grave, had he not now viewed him rather as an object of contempt than terror;

for his enfeebled frame and shattered condition, at this time, betrayed evident signs that the days of his earthly sojourning were hastening to a close. Within two years of his first attack, he was again the victim of palsy. This insidious disease seized him on December 28, 1384, whilst he was attending divine service in his church at Lutterworth, and, on the third day after, it put a period to the valuable life of this great and good man. His body was buried in the chancel of his church, and there mouldering laid till his enemies, actuated by the most contemptible malice, violated the sanctuary of death. This indecent act was occasioned by a decree of the council of Constance, in the year 1415, when, after 45 articles of Wiclif's doctrines had been condemned, he himself was pronounced, in the name of the council, to have died an obstinate heretic, and his bones were ordered to be dug up, if they could be distinguished from the bones of the faithful, and thrown upon a dunghill. The brutal sentence was not put in act till the year 1428, when Pope Martin V. commanded Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, to execute the decree of the council. His remains were, accordingly, disinterred, then burnt, and afterwards cast into the Swift, a streamlet which ran by Lutterworth. It is not now possible to ascertain whether any monument was ever erected to his memory: if any frail memorial of this kind had once marked the spot of his interment, it, doubtless, was destroyed by the same hands which tore his body out of its awful depository.*

The doctrines of Wiclif were not buried with him. Soon after he began to publish his opinions, they spread with a rapidity little less than miraculous, and continued to do so, both at home and abroad,† for many years after his death. So general was their reception among mankind, that they were in some

* Fuller observes, in his Church History, (Book iv. p. 171.) that "though Wiclif had no *tombe*, he had an *epitaph*, such as it was, which a monk (Walsingham, vid. Upodigma Neustriæ, p. 322.) afforded him, and that it was no worse, thank his want, not of *malice*, but *invention*, for not finding out worse expressions."

"The devil's instrument, churches enemy, people's confusion, hereticks idol, hypocrites mirror, schisms broacher, hatreds sower, lyes forger, flatteries sinke, who at his death despaired like Cain, and stricken by the horrible judgments of God, breathed forth his wicked soul to the dark mansion of the black divell."

† Wiclif's writings, were very soon after they were published, carried into Bohemia, by a Bohemian gentleman, named Faulfish, upon his return to his native country, after having studied at Oxford. Cocclæus's Hist. of the Hussites, c. 2. "John Huss, the Bohemian martyr, having familiarite with this young man, in reading and perusing these books of Wickliffe, took such pleasure and fruit in reading thereof, that not only he began to defende this author openly in the schools, but also in his sermons: commending him for a good man, an holie man, and heavenlie man, wishing himself when he should die to be there placed where the soule of Wicliffe should be." Fox's Acts and Mon.

degree fostered by the countenance of royalty;* many of the ablest and most skilful courtiers avowed themselves the abettors of the reformer:† the learned were engaged in the defence of his tenets,‡ and a large portion of the clergy made them the topic of their discourses to the people. §

Many and contradictory are the accounts we have of the opinions of Dr. Wiclif. In his life time, he was accused of being the author of doctrines which he had never avowed; and from those sentiments, which he had the honesty to profess, were often drawn the most unwarrantable conclusions. The monkish writers, his earliest historians, and his implacable foes, have most wickedly mistated his tenets; and even his protestant admirers, for want of due information, have imputed to him principles which he never maintained. His opinions, as they are represented by those who have done our proto-reformer the justice to draw them from their only authentic source, are summarily as follows.

This eminent divine, having, for the most part, built the fabric of his faith upon the solid rock of the Scriptures, contended that this sacred book contained of itself, a sufficient and perfect rule of Christian belief and practice; and laid it down as a first

* Edward III. employed him, in matters of the first importance to the royal prerogative, and to the welfare of the kingdom. Joan, the Dowager Princess of Wales, afforded him protection, when he was arraigned before a court held upon him, at Lambeth, by sending Sir Lewis Clifford to forbid the court to pronounce any definitive sentence against him. Anne, of Bohemia, Queen to Richard II. a princess always blameless, and always popular, had embraced the principles of Wiclif, and however she might abstain from publickly interfering in his behalf, appears constantly to have adhered to his party. John, of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, of whom Knyghton says, "semper ei [Wiclevo] et suis in omnibus suis necessitatibus invincibili præsidio affuit, et aliter ipse et sui in foveam interitus viliter cecidissent." De event. Angliæ, p. 2647.

† Henry Lord Percy, Earl Marshall of England. John de Montacute, the nephew and heir to the then Earl of Salisbury, whom he afterwards succeeded. "This is that John de Montacute, who was one of the chief of the sect of the Lollards, and the greatest fanatic of them all, being so transported with zeal, that he caused all the images that were in the chapel at Schenele, (Shenly, in Buckinghamshire) that had been there set up by the ancestors of his wife to be taken down, and thrown into obscure places, only the image of St. Catharine, in regard that many did affect it, he gave leave that it should stand in his bake-house." Dugdale Bar. i. 650. It is further related of him, that for contempt noted in him towards the sacrament incarrying it home to his house, he was enjoined by Radulph Ergham, Bishop of Salisbury, to make in Salisbury, a cross in stone, in which all the story of the matter should be written, and he every Friday, during his life, to come to the cross barefoot and bareheaded in his shirt, and there upon his knees to do penance for his fact.

‡ His opinions were favoured and vindicated by a very large portion of the members of the University of Oxford.

§ Wiclif himself declares, that a *third* part of the clegy, entertained the same opinions as he did, respecting the sacrament of the Lord's supper. "For I am certaine of the thriddle part of the clergie that defendus thise doutis, that is here saide, that they will defend it on paine of her lyf." A confession of Wiclif's, as cited by Knyghton, in his history, De event. Angliæ, p. 2649.

principle, that the "authority of the Holy Scriptures, which is the law of Christ, infinitely surpasses any other writing, how authentic soever it may appear, because the authority of Jesus Christ is infinitely above the authority of all mankind." He extends this principle still further, where he says, that "the authority of the Scriptures is independent on any other authority, and is preferable to every other writing, but especially to the books of the church of Rome, of the modern doctors, and the pope's bulls. In the Old Testament, he reckoned only twenty-two books as authentic or canonical; the remainder he pronounced to be apocryphal. His translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar language, loudly declares his sentiments, respecting the necessity of the people's having it in their power to read, in their own tongue, the word of God.

He denied the right of the pope's interference, in the smallest degree, in temporal matters, confining his power to spiritual concerns, and that only so far as it was exercised in conformity with the rules of Scripture. He maintained that the pope might err, not only in conversation and life, but also in doctrine; and further asserted, that he has no more power to excommunicate any man, than hath another.

The invisible church he defined to be the universal congregation of those predestinated to life eternal. This church, he says, is three-fold: one portion of it is triumphant; consisting of all the blessed saints in heaven, with Jesus Christ, as their supreme head: another part of it is militant; comprising all the faithful, who are living upon earth: the third part consists of those departed souls, who, in purgatory, are being prepared for the joys of heaven.* His notion of the visible church, was not confined (as some understood it to be) to those who exercised ecclesiastical authority, but to the whole body of nominal christians. "Holy chirch, which is the gostly body of Crist is a net which is not yet drawen to the brynk. Therfor it hath evel men medlyd with good men tyll to the dome in which these shulen be departid fro them." As parts of this "medlyd" church, he reckons the clergy, secular lords, and commons. "Whereas,"

* Christis chirche is his spouse that hath three partis. The first part is in blis, with Crist heed of the chirche, and conteyneth aungels and blessid men that now ben in heuene. The secunde part of the chirche be seyntis in purgatorie, and these synnen not of newe, but purgen ther oold synnes; and many errours fallen in preiying for these seyntis, sith thei alle ben deede in bodi: Cristis wordis may be takun of hem, sue we Crists in oure lyf and late the deed birie the deede. The thriddle part of the chirche, ben trewe men that her lyuen, that shulen be aftir saved in heuene, and lyuen her cristen mennes lyf: and alle thes maken oo chirche, and heed of his chirche is Crist bothe God and man, and his chirche is modir to ech man that schal be saaf and conteyneth no membre but oonli men that schal be saued. Of the chirch of Crist and of his membris and of hir gouernaunce. Bib. Reg. 18. B. ix. p. 184. Brit. Mus.

he observes, "when men speken of holy chirche, they understonden anoon prelates and priests, monks, canons and freres, and all men that have crowns, tho' they liven never so cursedly agenst God's law, and clepen not ne holden secular men of holy church, tho' they liven never so truly after God's law, and enden in perfect charity: but netheless all that shullen be saved in bliss of heaven, ben members of holy church and no mo—those ben members of holy church as ben good christen men, that kepeth God's hests."

He declares that the church of Rome was not the head of all churches, any more than any other church is; and that Christ delagated no more power to Peter, than to any other apostle. He opposed also the notion, that the pope was the head of the church, and argued with great acuteness against the extravagant authority usurped by the hierarchy.

How strenuously he supported the king's supremacy, is evident from innumerable passages of his writings, in which he declared that the authority of the civil magistrate should extend over all orders of men.

Though Wiclif makes frequent mention of seven sacraments, yet his notion of those sacraments, which protestants do not acknowledge to be such, so little accorded with the sentiments of the church of Rome upon this subject, that he was accused by his catholic enemies, of maintaining that there were only two sacraments. The sharpest persecutions to which this champion of christianity was exposed, were principally brought upon him, on account of his daring attack upon the doctrine of transubstantiation, the corner stone of Roman Catholic superstition. His opinion of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was, that the body of Christ was really and truly in the sacrament in his kind, that is *sacramentaliter et figuraliter* (to use Wiclif's own expression,) by way of sacrament and figuratively: so John the Baptist, figuratively was Elias, and not personally. He further adds, as Christ was together God and man, so the consecrated host was both Christ's body in figure, and true bread in nature; or which is the same true bread naturally, and Christ's body figuratively. In another place he says, "And damnen we this cursed heresie of anti-christ, and his hypocrites and worldly priests, seying, that this sacrament is neither bread ne Christ's body, but accidents withouten sujet, and there under is Christ's body. This is not taught in Holy Writ, but is fully agenst St. Austin, and holy seints, and reason, and wit." In his attempts to confute this doctrine, by auguments drawn from reason, he lays it down as a first principle, incontestable, and generally received, that God cannot do any thing which is contrary to reason, that he does not destroy a nature innocent as bread is, and that he does

not confound the natural knowledge he has given us, without necessity and without reason. From this principle, he draws several conclusions, and this amongst the rest, viz. "That feeling and tasting being those of our outward senses, which are most to be depended on, the heresy which gives a lye to the testimony thereof, in the sacrament of the eucharist, cannot produce any other sacrament than that of Anti-christ." He exposes with a great deal of vivacity and satire, the absurdities which arise from the doctrine of transubstantiation. It is ridiculous, he says, to attempt to impose upon the understanding, contrary to the evidence of the senses, in a manner that would be too gross to deceive rats; namely, to go to persuade people, that bread is not bread, but only accidents or appearances. He further says, suppose that several wafers consecrated, and not consecrated, were jumbled together, unknown to the heretic, he would then be as much at a loss to distinguish the bread from its accident, as we are to distinguish between wafers consecrated, and not consecrated, because consecration is not a thing to be felt. Moreover, it is certain, that what has been consecrated once, cannot be consecrated twice, because in this case an accident would be consecrated, without bread and wine. From hence it appears, that priests can never know, whether they consecrate truly or not. For, if a great quantity of wafers has been consecrated by a priest, immediately as they came from the bake-house, there will be nothing left but the accidents. What cause, therefore, could induce Jesus Christ, thus to deprive his disciples of the use of their senses, without any advantage redounding to them for the loss?

Wiclif is reported by some writers, to have denied the propriety of infant baptism. His works afford proof to the contrary. "In time of need a lewd man (layman) nay a woman may christen a child with full will to christen it, and with these words perfictly said, *I christen thee in the name of the Fadir, of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost.*"

Though he calls confirmation a sacrament, yet he does not esteem it to be generally necessary to salvation. He thought in this rite, anti-christ had invented ceremonies that have no foundation in Scripture, such as anointing with oil, and putting over the heads of persons confirmed, a linen hood and veil: he objects also to confirmation being confined to prelates.

Established forms of worship, are of the first importance to the very existence of a church, and every particular and national church hath authority to ordain such ceremonies as, in its wisdom, it may deem necessary, to promote decency and order. As far, therefore, as ceremonies tended to assist devotion, Wiclif commended them, esteeming it "necessary that we should be

led in the way to happiness by some sensible signs." But the Romish church having, through corrupt motives, introduced rites which were not only inconsistent with the simplicity of Christian worship, but moreover productive of superstition, he loudly objected to many of its unwarrantable and burthensome forms.

Church music he spoke against, in the strongest language of disapprobation. He thought it was rather calculated to divert the attention from devout offices, than to excite religious feeling. "Mattins, and mass, and evensong, placebo, and dirige, and commendation, and mattins of our lady, were ordained of sinful men, to be sung with high crying, to lett men fro the sentence and undirstonding of that that was sung, and to maken men weary and undisposed to study God's law. It stirreth vain men to dauncing rather than mourning. And if they seyen that angels hearen God by praise in heaven; seye that we kunnen not that song, but they ben in full victory of their enemies, and we ben in perilous battle; and in the valley of weeping and mourning, and our song letteth us fro better occupation, and stirreth us to many great sins, and to forget usselves."*

The admission of the doctrine of purgatory, must be confessed to be among Wiclif's errors. In his works that have come down to us, it is manifest that he believed, that men ordained to be finally blessed spirits in heaven, were purged, in an intermediate state, from all the effects of their sins. But he does not, however, seem to allow, that the pains and sufferings of purgatory may be mitigated or shortened by the prayers of men here on earth, or by the intercession of saints in heaven.

He thought that the memory of saints ought to be so honoured, that we may be excited to imitate, but not to worship them. He denied the efficacy of their mediation in heaven, asserting that the only mediator between God and man is Christ Jesus.

He expressed, in the most unequivocal terms, his disapprobation of the baneful doctrine of pardons and indulgences; for he esteemed them not only unscriptural, but as administering to

* Of Prelates, c. 11. The choral service was introduced by Osmund, Bishop of Sarum, A. D. 1090. The abuses which, before the reformation, had crept into this part of religious worship, are thus described by the pen of Erasmus. "We have introduced into the churches, a certain elaborate and theatrical species of music, accompanied with a tumultuous diversity of voices. All is full of trumpets, cornets, pipes, fiddles, and singing. We come to church as to a play-house. And for this purpose, ample salaries are expended on organists, and societies of boys, whose whole time is wasted in learning to sing. These fooleries are become so agreeable, that the monks, especially in England, think of nothing else. To this end, even in the Benedictine monasteries of England, many youths, boys, and other vocal performers, are sustained, who, early every morning, sing to the organ the mass of the Virgin Mary, with the most harmonious modulations of voice." Annot. in Epis. 1 ad Corinth. c. 14. v. 19.

sin. Against sanctuaries he wrote with great warmth, for he says, that "all clerks of our Lord, semen cursed in this point, for in eche parish church, a common thief and mansleer shall be received fourty daies at least, and no law pass on him, to make restitution though he be of power, and to punish him justly for chastising of other disorders; but after fourty daies he shall forswere the kings lond, and then many times he robbeth more and sleeth more men in trust of such refute." Upon this subject, he further observes, that "great houses of religion, such as Westminster, and Beverley, and other chalengen, usen and meytenen this priviledge that whatever thief or felon come to this holy house of religion, he shall dwell there all his life, and no man impeach him, though he owe poor men much good, and have enough to pay it; and tho' he robb and slee every night many men out of the franchises, and every day come agen he shall be meyntened thereto by virtue of this open heresie."

Wiclif condemned the Romish church, for imposing celibacy on its clergy. The bishops and priests, he said, of the primitive and eastern churches were married, and he saw no reason why the priests of the Latin church should not have the same liberty. With respect to matrimony in general, he entertained some very singular opinions. "Wedlock is nedeful to save mankind by generation to the day of dome, and to restore and fulfil the number of angels, damned for pride, and the number of saints in heaven."

Wiclif is accused of having denied the right of tythes, and of wishing to divest the church of its just heritage and patrimony. In his time the revenues of the church were enormous, and hence occasioned, amongst those who enjoyed them, luxurious living, and very corrupt manners. It was, therefore, against the superfluous wealth with which the church was endowed, by the misguided piety of the affluent, and the abuse of it, by the profligate ecclesiastics, that this bold confessor directed his attacks. With respect to tythes, he acknowledges, again and again, that "it is reasonable that the priest should have a provision, besides the necessaries of food and raiment." He allows, that "dymes and offerings are God's part," and says, that "clerks should live on them." Though he sometimes, indeed, denied the right of monks to tythes and offerings, yet it was as divided from the proper cure of souls; for he has observed, that "the principal cause for which tythes and offerings shulde be paid, was curates teching their parishens in word and example." When the priests, therefore, did not perform the conditions, on which the tythe was his due, then did Wiclif teach, that the laity "in withdrawing tithes and offerings, was not so cursed as the curate,

for withdrawing of teaching in word and deed and good ensaumple."

Refusing to take an oath, was another error objected to this great advocate of reformed christianity. This railing accusation, arose in the first place, from the simplicity of speech, which Wiclif and his followers used in their affirmations and negations. It was a fashionable vice of those times, to swear by the heart, and bones, and nails, and other parts of Christ.* Instead of these blasphemous expressions, Wiclif and his followers were content to enforce, what they wished to be believed, by the simple saying, "I am syker it is soth." Another ground, upon which this charge was founded, was the objection made by the reformer, to the forms in which oaths were administered. "Lordis and Prelates exciten strongly Men to do Idolatrye, for they sweren customarily, nedelessly, and oft unadvisedly and false, bi the Membres of God, by Chryst, and by Sayntis, insomuch that eche Lorde and Prelate comynly maketh to hyme an idole of some Seynt, whom he worshypeth more than God. For comenly they sweren by our Lady of Walsinham, Seinte John Baptist, Seynt Edward, Seynt Thomas of Canterbury, and such other Seintis, and chargen more this ooth, then tho they sweren by the holie Trinitie. And in al thys they honouren more these Seintis, than they honouren the holy Trinitie." That he maintained the lawfulness of an oath, when it was used to preserve justice and order in the world, his own words sufficiently declare, where he says, that it is "leeful to swere bi God Almigti in a needeful case, with three circumstances, in truth, doom, and rightfulness."

The works ascribed to the evangelist of our reformation appear, as we peruse the list of them given by his various biogra-

* Wiclif, of Prelates, c. 3. This is further confirmed by the inimitable Chaucer, a contemporary with Wiclif, who has thus humourously described, in this particular, the manners of the times in which he flourished.

Our host on his stirrups stroode anon,
And said — — —
Sire Parish Preest, quod he, for *Goddes bones*
Tell us a tale, — — —
I see wel that ye lerned men in lore
Can mochel good, by *Goddes dignitee.*
The Person him answerd, Benedicte!
What eileth the man so sinfully to swere?
Our Hoste answered, O Jankin! be ye there?
Now good men, quod our Hoste, herkneth to me;
I smell a *Loller* in the wind, quod he;
Abideth for *Goddes digne passion,*
For we shul han a predication:
This *Loller* here wol prechen us somwhat,
Nay, by *my fathers saule,* that shall he nat,
Sayde the Shipman; here he shall nat preche;
He shall no Gospel glosen here, ne teche.
The Shipmannes Prologue. Ed. Tyrwhitt.

phers, to be very numerous. As long as Wicliffism swayed the sentiments of mankind, they were in so great request, that they were industriously collected, and eagerly perused. To annihilate writings, the depositaries of opinions which the hierarchy felt to be subversive of their interests, the church of Rome resorted without scruple, to every means which fear and its associate, cruelty, suggested, and which power had at its command. In the lifetime of Wicliff the students at Oxford were forbidden to read his productions, and as many of them, as could be procured, were publickly burnt in the presence of the chancellor of that university. Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, perceiving the rapid strides which Wicliffism was making through the land, prohibited the sale of his books under the severest penalties. In these and after times, the readers of them were not only arrested, imprisoned, banished and excommunicated, but, when the persecution of the Lollards was at its most cruel height, frequent, alas! were the instances in which they were condemned to the fire with the volume, which the Catholic so feared and detested, suspended from their necks. In Bohemia, a country in which the opinions of Wicliff had been early planted, and had taken deep root, the writings of the English reformer, met with the same fate as in Britain. But happily this savage and detestable conduct failed of its intended effect. The cruelties which had been exercised upon the persons of the Lollards, excited in the people compassion for the sufferers, and roused a spirit of indignation against their persecutors; and the works of Wiclif, which the church of Rome, with all its unnatural and enormous power could never suppress, continued to be still read, and the more they were read, the more did they awaken that spirit of inquiry, which eventually effected the establishment of that reformed religion, which is a constituent part of the glory, and contributes so essentially to the happiness of Great Britain.

SECTION VII.

An Account of John Huss, who was burnt at the Council of Constance, July 6, 1415.

John Huss was a Bohemian, and born in the village of Hussenits, on July the 6th, 1373. He descended from honest parents, who took great care of his education. Having acquired a tolerable knowledge of what was then taught in private seminaries, he entered a student at the University of Prague, where the strength and acuteness of his understanding, and his diligence in study soon rendered him conspicuous.

All the authors of that time testify, that John Huss was a man of wit, eloquence, and in great esteem for the regularity of his behaviour. The abbot Trithemius, who wrote about the close of that century, speaks of him as a "man of very great note for his judgment, acuteness, eloquence, and his knowledge of the Holy Scriptures." The jesuit Balbinus, who is by no means his friend, but had very good authorities at Prague, has given this character of him: "He was (says he) more acute than eloquent; but the modesty and severity of his manners, his unpolished, austere, and entirely blameless life, his pale thin visage, his good nature, and his affability to all, even to the meanest persons, was more persuasive than the greatest eloquence."

Nothing makes a better discovery of men's characters than the letters which they write to their particular friends, especially in some nice conjectures, when they open their hearts, and depend upon secresy. The letters which John Huss wrote from Constance were of this stamp. He had no design that they should be made public to gain him applause. On the contrary, it was his special request that they might be shewn to no person living, lest they should bring himself or his friends into trouble. For in these letters we shall find a great deal of passion expressed against the church, or the clergy of Rome in general, and against his judges in particular. But there is matter enough in this history to apologize for him on that head. For the rest, every impartial person will observe in all his letters, a piety, candour, simplicity, zeal, charity, constancy, and a greatness of soul, worthy of the apostolical ages.

He lived in times that were very favourable for the improvement of all his various talents. The university of Prague was at that time in a flourishing state, by the great resort of scholars to it from all parts. John Huss had gone through all the degrees of honour in it, except that of doctor, which I do not find

he had. In the year 1393, he was made bachelor, master of arts in 1396, priest and preacher at Bethlehem in 1400, dean of the faculty of divines in 1401, and doctor of the academy in 1409. This we find written with his own hand in the archives of the university of Prague, where he had very great authority, and where he signalized his rectorship by the good order he procured there.

He was as much esteemed in the church as in the academy. In 1400 he was appointed confessor to Sophia of Bavaria, second wife of Wenceslaus, a princess of great merit, and over whom John Huss had a very great ascendancy. It was through this queen's favour, as well as through his own merit, that he soon acquired powerful friends at court. Balbinus affirms, without proof, that after the condemnation of John Huss, and the death of Wenceslaus, the queen repented that she was ever engaged in *Hussitism.* What is certain is, that by order of the emperor Sigismund, she was obliged to retire to Presbourg, which is no very great proof of her conversion. She died in 1425.

In 1405, John Huss made himself very famous for the sermons he preached in the Bohemian language, in the famous chapel of Bethlehem, of which he was parson. It does not appear that he had been charged with any innovation before that. It is true that Balbinus pretends that A. D. 1402, he secretly supported Jerome of Prague and Jacobel, who propagated the opinions of John Wiclif in the university of Prague. Some of Wiclif's works had been brought into Bohemia, by a Bohemian gentleman, named Faulfisch, when he returned from the university of Oxford. But Theobaldus, who, Balbinus says, was better informed of the particular circumstances of Hussitism than all the other authors, pretends that John Huss at the very first abhorred Wiclif's books, and even censured them as *fit* to *be burnt;* and Balbinus himself declares, upon the evidence of Hages, that John Huss at first held Wiclif's opinions in abhorrence, and that he advised that his book might be thrown into the river. It is true, that another author, who wrote the life of John Huss, taken partly from his works, and partly from the history of Peter de Mladouswitz, a notary, and from a journal of John Huss himself, contradicts the account of his aversion to Wiclif's books. Nevertheless the famous Claudius d' Espence, in his book of the Eucharist, alleges a profession of faith, made in 1428, by John de Rezibram, a Hussite, where he says, that John Huss, with the masters and doctors, had above twenty years ago publicly and unanimously condemned about forty of Wiclif's articles. If this fact be true, that condemnation must have been passed in the synod that Sbynko, archbishop of Prague, assembled in 1408, which no doubt was the reason the archbishop pronounced that there had been no heresy in Bohemia. Such

as have endeavoured to reconcile authors in this point, have said, that John Huss did at first censure Wiclif's opinions in public, but that he clandestinely fomented them. Perhaps too the case was the same with him, in regard to the works of Wiclif, as it was with Luther with regard to the works of John Huss. "When I studied at Erford (says Luther) I found in the library of the convent a book, entitled *The Sermons of John Huss.* I had a great curiosity to know what doctrines that arch-heretic had propagated. My astonishment at the reading of them was incredible. I could not comprehend for what cause they burnt so great a man, who explained the Scripture with so much gravity and dexterity. But as the very name of Huss was held in so great abomination, that I imagined the sky would fall, and the sun be darkened, if I made honourable mention of him, I shut the book with no little indignation. This, however, was my comfort, that he had written this, perhaps, before he fell into heresy. For I had not yet heard what had passed at the council of Constance."

Be that as it will, the great applause which John Huss had gained in his chapel at Bethlehem, and his interest at court, authorized him no doubt to inveigh without mercy against the abuses of the Romish church, and the irregularities of the clergy. However, it does not appear that he preached any doctrine in that chapel which was manifestly heretical in the sense of the church of Rome, till the year 1409. For, as was but just now observed, Sbynko, archbishop of Prague, declared in a synod held about the month of July, 1408, that, after a strict inquiry, he had not found any errors in Bohemia. In 1403, Sigismund, king of Hungary, who then assumed the title of Governor of Bohemia, having prohibited the raising of any money in that kingdom to be carried to Rome, because he was incensed against Boniface IX. who supported Ladislaus, king of Naples, his rival, John Huss took that opportunity to preach against the pope's indulgencies. But at that time this was neither a crime nor a heresy; Sigismund approved of it. Wenceslaus being also disgusted at Boniface IX. because he had consented to his being deposed, was not sorry for it; and more than all this, the scandalous schism of the popes was a sufficient warrant for preachments of that nature. It is true also that he composed, in what year I know not, a treatise against the imposture of the covetous priests and laymen, who gave out false miracles on the pretended appearances of the blood of Jesus Christ: wherein he proved, 1. That the blood of Jesus Christ had been glorified with his body by the resurrection, and was entirely inseparable from it. 2. That no believer ought to worship any thing upon earth, as the blood of Jesus Christ, because that blood cannot exist there. 3. He complains bitterly of the malice of the co-

vetous priests, who *diabolically* put their own blood into the host, to make *fools* believe that it is the blood of Jesus Christ. 4. Then he answers objections. The first is taken from the custom of exposing in some churches the crown, the thorns, the nails, the cross, of Jesus Christ, where his blood is very plainly to be discerned. He answers, in the first place, that, admitting the fact, the redness which appears is not the very redness of the blood of Jesus Christ, but a redness left in those relics in memory of that blood. In the second place he answers, that if in the sacrament of the holy supper it is agreed that the accidents subsist therein without the subject; with much more reason may redness be in the nails, the cross, the spear, and the crown, and yet the blood of Jesus Christ not be there. The second objection is founded on the custom at Rome, of exposing the flesh of Jesus Christ's foreskin. He denies the fact point blank in these terms, *Before those forgers, who pretend to shew that foreskin, will be able to prove the reality of it, the angel will sound the trumpet for the day of judgment.* And, says he, if it be objected, that it will follow from thence, that such as expose the foreskin of Jesus Christ at Rome are knaves, and that such as believe them are fools; *I own it, and that they are deceived in just the same manner at Prague by impostors, who pretend to shew the blood of Jesus Christ mixed with dust, his beard, and the milk of the Virgin Mary.* There are many other objections taken from the almighty power of God, which he answers by distinguishing what God can do, from what God will do. The last objection runs upon the miracles wrought by the blood of Jesus Christ, as making the lame to walk, and restoring sight to the blind, &c. He again denies the fact, and maintains that it is a lie, which a covetous priest cannot support but by other lies. 5. He gives an account of several sham miracles worked by the pretended blood of Jesus Christ, which have been convicted of falsehood, and for which the impostors have been punished: as in Italy, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Germany, and particularly at Wilsnach in Brandenburgh. He reports, that in that little town a certain vassal, named Henry, having challenged Frederick his lord to a duel, devoted his arms to the blood of Jesus Christ, and killed his adversary; which made that place so famous, that every body flocked to it. This obliged Sbynko, the archbishop of Prague, in a synod, to order all the curates and preachers to forbid the people every Sunday from the pulpit to go to Wilsnach, under the pretence of the false miracles wrought there by the blood of Jesus Christ. Also, this treatise of John Huss was approved of by the university, and by Sbynko, the archbishop.

This approbation shews, that John Huss had not yet fallen out with the church of Rome. It appears also from several ser-

mons which he preached at Prague, in the archbishop's presence. There is one he preached in a synod, the year of which is not specified, but it must be in 1404 or 1405. In this sermon John Huss declaims with a great deal of force and freedom against the irregularities of the clergy, and particularly against their fornications and drunkenness, and exhorts his archbishop to use his authority to suppress those enormities.

There is another sermon preached in the episcopal palace in 1405, wherein the fornicating debauched priests, together with the mendicant friars, and the endowed monks, are lashed as severely as in the former. I find another that was preached in 1407, in the presence of the archbishop, upon Ephes. vi. 16. It is of the same style as the two others; only I observe this difference in it, that it has not the invocation of the Virgin, or the Ave Mary, as the former have.

The great clamour against John Huss did not begin, therefore, in my opinion, till about the end of 1408, and the beginning of 1409; upon this occasion: when the greatest part of Europe had abandoned Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. to embrace the neutrality, John Huss exhorted all Bohemia to fall off also from Gregory XII. whom it obeyed, and to join with the college of cardinals in their labours for the union of the church. He had also engaged the whole university in the interest of the cardinals of the two obediences, who were united for assembling a council. But the archbishop of Prague and his clergy, always attached to Gregory, thundered at the university, and particularly at John Huss, as a schismatic, and forbade him to exercise the priest's functions in his diocese. John Huss, who upon this occasion spared neither the pope nor the clergy, brought the greatest part of the ecclesiastics upon his back. This appeared by a letter he wrote in 1411 to the college of cardinals.

Much about the same time another affair happened, which created him a great number of enemies in Germany; and this is what we must here briefly lay open, in order to come at a thorough knowledge of the origin of all those troubles. The emperor Charles IV. having founded the university of Prague in 1347, upon the footing of those of Paris and Bologna, he divided it the next year into four nations, viz. that of Bohemia, which included Hungary, Moravia, and Sclavonia; that of Bavaria, that of Poland, and that of Saxony, which were all three included under the name of the German nation. According to the plan of the two universities above-mentioned, those of the country were to have three voices, and the foreigners one only, in the deliberations of the academy. But as the Germans were more numerous in the university than the Bohemians, who at that time neglected their studies very much, the former insen-

sibly became masters of the three voices, and by the same means, of all the profits of the university. John Huss, perceiving that some of his countrymen, as Jerom of Prague, and John de Zwikowies, were very uneasy under this superiority of foreigners, joined with them in a petition to the court, that according to the practice of the university of Paris, and the ordinance of Charles IV. the natives might have three voices, and the other but one. It was on the 11th of May, 1408, that John Huss took occasion to explain himself publickly, as to the pretensions of the Bohemians, when the university was assembled to choose a new rector. He got nine or ten masters in theology to support him, among whom were Jerom of Prague, Prezibram, Peter of Dresden, James de Mise, or Jacobel. The affair of the three voices was very warmly pleaded at court on both sides. Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, is said to have rejoiced at this process, because he found his account in it, each side sparing no money to gain the ascendant: insomuch, that it is reported the covetous prince said with a smile, that he "there found a rare Goose, which laid him every day a fine parcel of eggs of gold and silver." It is also said, that while the process for the rectorship was depending, the king created the master of his kitchen rector. Nevertheless, John Huss, who had interest at court, and especially with the queen, obtained a declaration at last from the king in favour of his countrymen. So that the Germans being provoked that they had lost their cause, and at the same time their privileges, deserted the university by thousands. It is very certain that a great number went away, because it was out of that detachment that the academy of Leipsic was formed, which was founded in 1409, by Frederick and William, dukes of Saxony. The first rector of this university was Dr. John Otho de Munsterberg, a Selesian, who was before dean of the university. The academies of Erford, Ingolstadt, Rostoch, and Cracow, were also considerably augmented by this defection. But it appears, by a letter from the German nation to Wenceslaus, that before they retired the Germans made a vain effort to get that decree revoked.

The Bohemians being then the masters, and having no more cause to fear contradiction from the Germans, began to dogmatize more publickly against the clergy, acccording to the notions of Wiclif, of whom they gave great encomia. John Huss, who at that time was chosen rector, spoke openly of him as a saint, in his public lectures, and in the sermons he preached at Prague in his chapel of Bethlehem; and his zeal, joined to his capacity, soon brought over to his party the greatest, and also what was reckoned the most substantial, part of Bohemia, notwithstanding all the opposition of the clergy. This affair

coming to the knowledge of Alexander V. that pope ordered Sbynko, archbishop of Prague, to use all his diligence to stop the progress of these innovations. In pursuance of this order, the archbishop caused Wiclif's books to be burnt; and they were accordingly committed to the flames in 1410.

The year before, the same archbishop, upon the information of the Germans before their departure, had ordered all the doctors, masters, and bachelors, as well as all the gentlemen and citizens, who had Wiclif's books in their custody, to bring them to the episcopal palace: but as this order was contrary to the privileges of the university, as well as the *Jus Regium*, or royal prerogative of the kingdom, an appeal was made to Gregory XII. who prohibited Sbynko to push that affair any further. The archbishop, not content with having caused Wiclif's books to be burnt, forbade the curates to preach in chapels, even though licenced by the apostolical see. As this prohibition particularly affected John Huss, and his chapel of Bethlehem, he appealed, in the name of the university, to John XXIII. who had succeeded Alexander V.—John XXIII. having committed the examination of the affair to his doctors, the greatest number were of opinion, that the archbishop of Prague had no right to order Wiclif's books to be burnt, and that it was contrary to the privileges of the university, which held immediately of the see of Rome. Mean time, certain enemies of John Huss, having given this pope to understand that he taught heresies at Prague, he summoned him to appear before the court of Rome, which was then kept at Bologna. But the king and queen, the nobility, the university, and the city of Prague, sent a deputation to the court of Rome, to desire the pope to dispense with John Huss's appearance in person; on the one hand, because he had been summoned upon a false accusation; and on the other hand, because it was not safe for him to go to Rome, by reason of the enemies he had in Germany.—Sbynko himself wrote, by order of the king, to John XXIII. not only to entreat him to dispense with John Huss's personal appearance, but to assure him that there had been no heresy in Bohemia: and that all the disputes which he had been engaged in with John Huss, and the university, had been pacified by the interposition of Wenceslaus: but an author of credit affirms, that those letters from Sbynko to the pope were not delivered to him, because his reconciliation with John Huss was not sincere. Mean time, John Huss sent his proctors to the court of Rome, to answer for him; but they were committed to prison, and very unworthily treated, after having stayed there a year and half to no purpose. This was followed by the excommunication of John Huss, who had no other remedy than to appeal to Jesus Christ, till the next council.

As this appeal to God, or Jesus Christ, was charged on him as a crime, it is proper in this place, to give the draft of it entire: "God Almighty, one only essence in Three Persons, is the first and last refuge of those who are oppressed: it is the Lord who protects the truth in all ages, doing justice to such as suffer wrong, standing by those who call upon him in truth, and condemning all incorrigible sinners to destruction. Our Lord Jesus Christ, very God and very man, being encompassed by the popes, scribes, pharisees, and sacrificers, his judges and accusers, and being desirous to redeem from eternal damnation his children, (elected before the foundation of the world,) by a bloody and ignominious death, has given this excellent example to his disciples, to commit their cause to the judgment of God, who is able to do all things, and doth whatsoever pleaseth him. In imitation of this holy, this great example, I appeal to God, who sees me oppressed as I am by the unjust sentence and pretended excommunication of popes, scribes, pharisees, and judges, sitting on the seat of Moses. In this appeal I also imitate St. Chrysostom, who appealed from two councils; the blessed bishop Andrew of Prague, and Robert of Lincoln, who appealed humbly and usefully to the Sovereign and most just Judge, who can no more be intimidated by any terror, or corrupted by presents, than be seduced by false witnesses. I wish that all believers in Christ, especially the princes, barons, gentlemen, vassals, and all the inhabitants of our kingdom of Bohemia, may be informed of, and touched with compassion for, the pretended excommunication fulminated against me by Peter, cardinal deacon of St. Angelo, commissioned thereto by pope John XXIII. at the instigation of my adversary Michael de Causis, and by the consent of the canons of Prague. This cardinal has for near two years refused all audience to my advocates and proctors, though it ought not to be refused to a Jew, a Pagan, and a heretic: that same prelate would not acquiesce in the reasonable excuses I made for being dispensed with from appearing, nor shew any regard to the authentic testimonies of the university of Prague. From whence it is clear, that I have not incurred the brand of contumacy, because it is not from contempt, but from valid reasons, that I did not appear at Rome, when I was cited thither. 1, Because ambushes were laid for me on the road. 2, Because I took warning from the dangers of others. 3, Because my proctors engaged to undergo the fiery trial against any persons whatsoever at the court of Rome. 4, Because my proctor was imprisoned at that court for no crime that deserved it, at least as I know of:—Therefore, since it is established by all the ancient laws, as well as by the divine books of the Old and New Testament, as by the canons, that

the judges shall go to the places where the crime has been committed, and there take information of the matters in charge from people who well know the person accused; persons not ill-minded, nor his enemies, nor such as act out of malice, but from a zeal for God's law; and finally, as it is enjoined by the same laws, that the person who is summoned or accused shall appear in a safe and free place to make his defence, and that neither the judge nor witnesses shall be his enemies; it is manifest, that as all these conditions have not been performed to me, I am absolved in the sight of God of the crime of contumacy, and discharged from a pretended and frivolous excommunication. I, John Huss, present this appeal before Jesus Christ, my Master, and my righteous Judge, who knows, protects, and tries the just cause of any one whatsoever."

Mean time, Conrad, archbishop of Prague, having at the solicitation of John Gerson forbid John Huss to preach at Prague, he retired once more probably to the place of his birth. From that time to the council of Constance, he wrote several tracts in defence of his doctrine, and to answer his adversaries; particularly his treatise of the Church, from whence most of the articles upon which he was condemned were extracted: and another little work which he caused to be affixed to the chapel of Bethlehem, with the title of the *Six Errors.* The first was that of the priests, who boasted of their *making the body of Jesus Christ in the mass.* John Huss indeed believed transubstantiation, but he maintained that it was God that worked this miracle at the mention of the sacramental words, and that the priest only contributed to it by his ministry; for he could not endure that the priests should boast of being creators of their Creator. The second error he took notice of was the *Credenda* used at that time, "I believe in the pope, I believe in the saints, I believe in the virgin;" John Huss maintaining that a man must believe only in God. The third error he attacked was "the pretention of the priest to the power of remitting sins, and the guilt of sin, to whomsoever they pleased." The fourth was, "That a man is bound to obey his superiors in whatsoever they command." The fifth, "That excommunication binds and actually excommunicates the person against whom it is fulminated, whether it be just or not." The sixth error is *Simony*, which he calls a heresy, and of which he accuses the greatest part of the clergy. This treatise of John Huss was received with the more greediness by the greatest part of Bohemia, because, properly speaking, it fell upon none but the clergy, who had for a long time rendered themselves extremely odious to the whole world. The clergy on their part having attacked him with all their power, Bohemia

became by that means the theatre of an intestine war, which the rigour of the council only served to render the more bloody.

When the season for the council drew near, John Huss took measures for his security. With this view he desired Conrad, and Nicholas, bishop of Nazareth, who was inquisitor of the faith in Bohemia, to give him testimonies of his orthodoxy. He obtained them in the month of August, in 1414, and in due time we shall produce them. The archbishop having the same month assembled a provincial synod at Prague, John Huss went without being called to it, in order to give an account there of his faith, and to declare that he was going to the council with the same view. Not being able to obtain audience, he got the act of such refusal drawn up by the hands of a notary, and the act was signed in due form by several witnesses. He afterwards caused writings to be fixed up at the doors of all the churches and all the palaces of Prague, to notify his departure, and to invite all persons to come to Constance to be witnesses either of his innocence or his conviction. That which he caused to be set up at the door of the royal palace, was as follows:

"*To the King, to the Queen, and to the whole Court.*"

"I have heard from good hands, that your majesty has received letters from the pope, whereby he exhorts you not to suffer the heresy which has been propagated for some time in your kingdom, to take deeper root. Though these ill reports are not owing, I thank God, to any fault of mine, yet it is my duty not to suffer the court and kindgom of Bohemia to be exposed to calumny upon my account.—Therefore, I have caused letters to be fixed up every where, in order to engage the archbishop of Prague to vigilance in this affair, by way of public advertisement, that if there be any person in Bohemia who knows I am tainted with heresy, let him repair to the archbishop's court, and there declare what he knows; but as no accuser has appeared, the archbishop has permitted me and mine to set out for Constance: Therefore, I beseech your majesty, as guardian of the truth, as well as the queen and council, that you would please to bear witness, that after having done all that I could to justify myself, there is no adversary that appears against me. Besides, I make it known to all Bohemia, and to the whole world, that I shall go with the first opportunity, and make my appearance in the council where the pope is to preside, to the end that if there be any one who suspects me of heresy, he may repair thither, and demonstrate before the pope and the doctors whether I ever held and taught any false or erroneous opinion. And if they can convince me of

any error, or of having taught any thing contrary to the Christian faith, I will readily submit to all the pains of heretics. But I hope that God will not give the victory to the unfaithful, who attack the truth for the nonce."

John Huss caused papers of this kind to be put up in every place on his road to Constance, as may be seen among his works. That which he caused to be fixed up at Nuremburg ran thus: "Master John Huss is going to Constance, there to make declaration of the faith which he always held, and which he still embraceth, and which, by the grace of God, he shall adhere to till death. Therefore, as he has given public notice throughout the whole kingdom of Bohemia, that he was willing, before his departure, to give an account of his faith in the general synod of the archbishop of Prague, and to answer all things that might be laid to his charge; he gives the same notice to this imperial city of Nuremberg, that if any person has any error or heresy to reproach him with, he need only repair to the council of Constance, because there he is ready to give an account of his faith."

I could never meet with the act which he demanded at court. But it appears by one of his letters, written just before he departed, that he had a safe conduct from the king: now it is natural by that to understand the king of Bohemia, and not the king of the Romans. For he set out about the 11th, or, according to some, the 15th of October, 1414, at which time he had not yet received the safe conduct from Sigismund, because it was not despatched till the 18th of that month. No wonder that he was for setting out before he had this safe-conduct. He had no danger to fear from Prague or Constance. He had indeed a great many enemies in Germany: but as they had all the reason in the world to expect he would be condemned at the council, it was not probable they would way-lay him. Therefore the safe-conduct was necessary for him, principally during his stay at Constance, and for his return to Prague. It appears also, that he was not without violent forebodings of what happened to him, though he was very well satisfied of his own innocence. For in a letter which he wrote immediataly before his departure, to a priest named Martin, who had been one of his disciples, he entreats him on the back of it, not to open it until he has certain news of his death: *Rogo te quod istam non aperias Literam nisi certus fueris de hoc quod sim mortuus.* In this letter he makes a sort of will and confession. Among other sins for which he begs pardon of God, he declares his hearty repentance that he had lost too much time, and taken too much pleasure, in the game of chess, before he was priest; of having put himself into a passion at play, and unhappily drawing others into the like. In this same letter he does not dissemble that he

has not spared the avarice and irregular manners of the clergy, and that it is for this that, by the grace of God, he suffers a persecution which will shortly be consummated. Much about the same time he wrote a letter to his flock in Bohemia, (probably at Prague,) immediately before his departure, which is well worth abstracting. 1, He exhorts them to remain steadfast in the doctrine which he has faithfully taught them. 2, He tells them that he sets out with a safe conduct from the king, which can only be understood of Wenceslaus, as will be seen in its place, *cum Literis publicæ fidei a Rege mihi datis.* 3, He says, that he expects to find more enemies in the council than Jesus Christ had in Jerusalem; first on the part of the bishops and doctors, then on the part of the secular princes, and lastly on the part of the pharisees (that is to say, the monks.) 4. He prays the Lord to give him strength to persevere in the truth to the end, being resolved to suffer the last degree of punishment, rather *than to betray the gospel by any cowardice.* 5. He begs his friends to assist him with their prayers, to the end that if he be condemned, he may glorify God by a Christian end; or, that if ever he return to Prague, he may return thither innocent, and without having taken any one step against his conscience, in order to labour with more zeal than ever to *extirpate the doctrine of Antichrist.* 6. He says, that he had resolved indeed to go to Prague before he set out for Constance, in order to convince his enemies of falsehood, but that the time did not permit him. 7. He speaks of his return in a very uncertain manner, but is resigned to the will of God, and even joyful to die for his cause.—This letter, written in the Bohemian tongue, was translated into Latin, and forged by his enemies, who sent it to Constance, where one may imagine it gained him no good will.

The next day after his arrival at Constance, he caused it to be notified to John XXIII. by two of the Bohemian noblemen that were his convoy, viz. John de Chlum and Henry de Latzenbock. They declared to the pope at the same time, that John Huss was furnished with a safe conduct from Sigismund, and they also desired his holiness to grant him his protection, and to take care that his safe conduct was not violated. The pope received those lords very courteously, and made this protestation to them: *Even though John Huss had killed my own brother, I would make use of all my power to prevent any injustice from being done to him while he stays at Constance.* He was there indeed for several days with freedom enough. It appears also by a letter from a parson, who was his friend, one John Janowitz, which was written at Prague the 4th or 5th of November, that the pope, by advice of his cardinals, had by his own full

power and authority taken off his excommunication, and had declared to him, that he might freely go where he pleased, provided that he kept from the solemn masses, in order to prevent scandal and popular combustion. This news was brought to him, as the letter says, by count Otho de Hochberg, bishop of Constance, accompanied by his official and an auditor of the sacred palace. *(Auditor utinam sacri Palatii Apostolici.)* By the way, this bishop was elected at 23 years of age, and resigned his bishopric in 1433. It appears also by this letter, that they were very apprehensive at Constance that John Huss would preach in public: somebody had actually given out that he was to preach before the clergy upon a certain Sunday, and that he would give a ducat to every one that would go to hear him.—*Whether it was a friend or an enemy that had given out this report,* (says the letter,) *is not known.* But it is certain that John Huss expected to preach, as we find by two sermons he had prepared for that purpose, and which are inserted among his works.

Stephen Paletz, divinity professor at Prague, and Michael de Causis, parson of one of the parishes, were arrived at Constance some days before. The first, who had been John Huss's intimate friend, was become his greatest adversary, upon occasion of the *Croisado* published by John XXIII. against Ladislaus. As to Michael de Causis, I learn from a German author, who wrote the history of John Huss in 1623, from the memoirs of that time, that Michael de Causis was parson of St. Adalbert, in the old city of Prague. This author represents Causis as a man very covetous and greedy of money. "He quitted (says he) his church, and employed himself in recovering gold mines that were fallen in, for which he pretended to have a secret. The king of Bohemia having ordered him to retrieve one, he took up a round sum of money for it before hand. But not being able to accomplish this undertaking, he fled to Rome with the money that was left. There he offered his service against John Huss: and it was upon this consideration, that when he came back to Bohemia, he was not troubled for the money which he had embezzled." Paletz had already written some tracts against John Huss, among which there was one entitled *Anti Huss;* which I saw in MS. in the hands of Dr. Von der Hardt, at Helmstadt. As Paletz and Causis were both animated with the same zeal against John Huss, they let no moment pass, nor left one stone unturned, for his condemnation. Their first care, after their arrival at Constance, was to cause bills to be posted up against John Huss, as an excommunicated heretic; for which he could obtain no justice from the pope. *What can I do in it?* (said John XXIII.) *they who have done it are your own countrymen.* On the other hand, they had drawn up certain articles,

which they pretended to have extracted from his books, and which they distributed to the pope and cardinals. They not only acted as adversaries or accusers, but as mere spies upon him, by watching his behaviour at home: and insinuated to the cardinals, that it was proper to arrest him.

Being therefore assembled in a congregation in the pope's apartment, they deputed the bishops of Augsberg and Trent, with Henry of Ulm, consul of Constance, and a gentleman, to tell him that he must forthwith appear before the pope and cardinals, there to give an account of his doctrine, which he had so often wished to do. The deputies performed their commission with a great deal of civility and courtesy. Nevertheless, they had taken the precaution to post a good number of soldiers in the neighbourhood, in case of necessity. John Huss answered, that the only motive of his repairing to Constance, was to give an account of his faith in full council, and not barely in a private congregation of the pope and cardinals; but that since they had so ordered it, he would go thither nevertheless, being fully resolved to lay down his life, rather than betray the truth. Accordingly he set out without delay, being accompanied by the count John de Chlum, a generous zealous friend, who never abandoned him. When he arrived at the episcopal palace, one of the cardinals spoke to John Huss in these terms: "Many complaints have been made to us against you, of such a grievous nature, that, if they are just, it will be impossible to tolerate you. For public fame accuses you of having propagated capital and manifest errors in Bohemia, against the Catholic Church. To know what truth there is in all this, is the reason we have sent for you hither."—"I entreat you, my fathers, to be assured, (said John Huss,) that I would sooner die than be convicted of any heresy, much less of capital errors, as you say: for this reason I came with joy to this council, and promise you, that if I am convicted of any error, I will abjure it without hesitation." The cardinals told him that they were satisfied with his answer; and leaving him in custody, as well as John de Chlum, till farther orders, they retired, with design to meet again in the afternoon.

Mean time, a certain monk, of the order of the minor friars, was sent to him to be a spy upon his discourse, under pretence of friendly conversation. This monk, pretending at first to be very simple and ignorant, told him that he only came to him with a view of being instructed, and to have a true account from him of several articles which he was accused of teaching contrary to the Catholic faith, and which had raised some scruples in his mind. "In the first place (says he to him) you are accused of believing that nothing but bread remains in the sacrament of the

altar after consecration, and the pronoucing of the sacramental words." John Huss answered bluntly, that it was a false imputation. "*Why,* (says the monk,) *is not that your opinion?*"—*No,* replied John Huss, *it is not.* The monk was going to press him farther upon that article, when John de Chlum taxed him with indiscretion; upon which he called a new cause, still making ignorance, and his great desire of knowledge, his excuse. Therefore he asked John Huss, what he thought of the union of the Divine and Human Natures in the Person of Jesus Christ? Upon which John Huss, turning about to John de Chlum, said to him in the Bohemian tongue, *Believe me, this man is not such an ignoramus as he pretends; for this question which he puts to me is very difficult!*" Then turning to the monk, "Brother, (says he) you say you are simple; but I see, by this subtle question, that you are more knave than fool, and that under the veil of ignorance you conceal a very great penetration of mind. Be that as it will, know then, that this union is personal, inseparable, and entirely supernatural." John Huss, having answered the monk's question, the latter withdrew, thanking him for his explanations. But when John Huss heard afterwards that this monk was one of the most eminent divines of Italy, he was sorry that he did not know it at first, that he might have had more discourse with him.

The cardinals meeting again the same day, at four o'clock in the afternoon, in the pope's chamber, it was resolved among them, at the instigation of Paletz, Causis, and some others, to commit John Huss to prison. At night, therefore, they sent the governor of the pope's palace to tell John de Chlum, that as for him he might go where he pleased, but that he had orders to commit John Huss to some place of security. John de Chlum went immediately, and complained of it to the pope, as a manifest violation of the public faith, and his own promise, But the pope laid the blame of it upon the cardinals and bishops, adding, that he himself was in their hands. It does not appear, indeed, that the pope was present in the congregation when it was resolved to arrest John Huss. Nevertheless, it is not to be supposed that the cardinals would have presumed to have put such an undertaking in execution, without his knowledge and consent. But as the pope could not be ignorant that Sigismund would take this violation of his safe conduct very ill, he was very glad he had an opportunity to say, that this resolution was taken in his absence; and probably the cardinals engaged to pacify the emperor. Be it as it will, John Huss was carried to the house of the chanter of the cathedral of Constance, where he was confined under a strong guard. A Vienna MS. adds, that he was committed to the care of the bishop of Lausanne. Mean time,

John de Chlum daily solicited John XXIII. for his enlargement; and as it still seemed to be a doubt with the pope whether he had a safe conduct from Sigismund, though the Bohemian lords assured him of it the next day after their arrival, John de Chlum confirmed it to him again, but without shewing him the safe conduct, because he did not ask to see it, and probably did not very much care to be convinced of it with his own eyes. But John de Chlum shewed it to any that had a mind to see it. In order that the public may be better able to judge of this important affair, it is proper to insert the passport in this place:

"Sigismund, by the grace of God, king of the Romans, &c. to all princes, as well ecclesiastical as secular, &c. and to all our other subjects, greeting. We affectionately recommend to all of you in general, and every one of you in particular, the honourable master *John Huss*, B. D. and A. M. the bearer of these presents, going from Bohemia to the council of Constance; whom we have taken into our protection and safeguard, and into that of the empire, desiring you, when he comes amongst you, to receive him well, and entertain him kindly, furnishing him with all necessaries for his despatch and security, whether he goes by land or water, without taking any thing either from him or his, at coming in or going out, for any sort of duties whatsoever; and to let him freely and securely pass, sojourn, stop, and repass; and providing him, if need be, with good passports, for the honour and respect of his Imperial Majesty. Granted at Spire, the 18th of October, 1414, the 33d of our reign, as king of Hungary, and in the 5th as king of the Romans. By order of the king." And underneath, "*Michael de Pacest*, canon of Breslaw."

If we may judge of this safe conduct by the form of it, and by the term *affectionately*, it cannot be doubted but Sigismund granted it *bona fide*. But the event will illustrate it to us better than all conjectures. John Huss remained eight days at the chanter's house, from whence he was carried to the prison of the Dominicans' monastery, where he fell dangerously ill. The old historian of his life says here, that the pope, not willing perhaps that he should die a natural death, sent his physicians to him to take care of his health.

The accusers of John Huss were as zealous to bring him to a trial, as John de Chlum was to demand his liberty. With this view, Michael de Causis exhibited eight articles to the pope, which I will here set down, because they are the chief that were produced against him. In the first, which relates to the eucharist, it is pretended, 1. That he publicly taught, that the *sacrament ought to be administered to the people in both kinds*. The

proofof this article is, that his disciples practised it at Prague. 2. That he taught publickly also, both in the academy and in the church, or that at least he holds, *that in the sacrament of the altar, the bread remaineth bread after the consecration.* This article, says Causis, will be cleared up in the examination of John Huss. The second article relates to the ministers of the church. He is therein accused of saying, *that the ministers in a state of mortal sin cannot administer the sacraments, and that on the contrary, any other person may do it, provided he be in a state of grace.* The third article relates to the church, wherein he is accused of teaching, "1. That by the Church, ought not to be understood the pope, cardinals, archbishops and clergy; and that this is a wicked definition invented by the schoolmen. 2. That the church ought not to possess temporalities, and that the secular lords may take them away from the churches and ecclesiastics with impunity." This appears, say they, because, at his solicitation, most of the churches of Bohemia had been stripped of their revenues. 3. "That Constantine, and the other princes, were guilty of an error in endowing the church. 4. That all priests are of equal authority, and that consequently the ordinations and casualties reserved to the popes and bishops, are the mere effects of their ambition. 5. That the Church has no longer the power of the keys, when the pope, cardinals, bishops, and all the clergy, are in a state of mortal sin, which may be the case. 6. That he contemns excommunication, having all along celebrated the divine office during his journey." The two following articles contain nothing but what is included, at least in substance, in the preceding six. After these articles, Causis makes some remarks upon the conduct of John Huss. He accuses him first of having been the cause of the desertion from the university of Prague, by the use he made of the secular authority to the oppression of the Germans. 2. Of having singly maintained the errors of Wiclif, against the whole university, which condemned them. 3. Of having persecuted the clergy, and set them and the laity together by the ears, by tempting the avarice and lusts of the one, to the prejudice of the estates and revenues of the other. 4. Of being followed by none but heretics, and the enemies of the church of Rome. From hence he inferred, that if John Huss be not severely treated by the council, he will do the church more harm, than ever any heretic did since the reign of Constance; and prays the pope immediately to appoint commissioners to examine him, and doctors carefully to read his works.

This memorial did not fail of its effect. The pope immediately appointed three judges or commissioners, viz. the patriarch of Constantinople, with the bishop of Castel, in Naples,

and the bishop of Lebus, in the marquisate of Brandenbourg, the one an Italian, the other a German, to hear the articles exhibited against John Huss, and to take the oaths of the witnesses. Then those commissioners went and carried those articles to John Huss himself in his prison, where he lay very sick. He desired them to grant him an advocate to defend his cause; by reason that being sick and a prisoner, he could not defend it himself. But this was what they would never allow him, because, said they, the canon law prohibits the espousing or pleading the cause of a person suspected of heresy. And as, according to the same law, all manner of witnesses are admitted against a heretic, they did not fail to pick up a great number among the clergy of Bohemia, whom John Huss had exasperated by his preaching. He complains in one of his letters, that so many false and ensnaring articles were every day invented against him, that he had scarce time enough to answer them. In those letters may be seen the great number of vexations which he suffered from his judges; the insults he met with from Paletz, Causis, and some other ecclesiastics; their refusal to allow him proctors and advocates, and the artifices and intrigues they made use of to hinder his having a hearing in council. I will here give a fragment of one of his letters, because it contains some curious particulars:—"My enemies say, that they will not grant me a hearing, unless I pay 2000 ducats to the minister of Antichrist. I hear that Michael de Causis has found means to get a copy of a letter which I wrote to master Jacobel, and of his answer, which no doubt will not be very pleasing. The said Michael de Causis came to me in prison, together with the patriarch, accompanied by several notaries and witnesses. One of the commissioners having examined me upon oath, whether the letter was mine? I answered him, *Yes.*" Notwithstanding he was thus disturbed in his mind, he composed several Treatises, by which he comforted himself in his captivity; particularly upon *Marriage*, the *Decalogue*, the *Love and Knowledge of God*, *Repentance*, the *Three Enemies of Man*, the *Lord's Supper*, and several others which he mentions in his letters, and may be found in his works. These Treatises were sent to Prague, by friends that John Huss had at Constance, who received them from the hand of his keepers.

Mean time, John de Chlum, not being able to obtain a reason from the pope why John Huss was detained, wrote about it to the emperor, who was still absent. This prince being provoked to see his authority thus unworthily trampled under foot, immediately sent express orders to his ambassadors to cause John Huss to be set at liberty forthwith, and even to break the gates of the prison, in case of disobedience. Though the pope pro-

tested that he had no hand in that violence, yet he looked upon the emperor's orders with a very evil eye, and even complained of it after he was withdrawn, in these terms: "Though John Huss was apprehended by our order, no process was yet made against him, nor sentence passed upon him. So far from it, that his releasement was solicited on the part of Sigismund, whom they called the protector of the council, and the advocate of the church, so far as to threaten to break open the gates of the heretic's prison, if he be not set at liberty." These words plainly shew, that there was nothing could be more insincere than the protestation which John XXIII. had made *viva voce*, that he had no hand in the imprisonment of John Huss. And by leaving him in prison, he put a very gross contempt upon the emperor's orders. This obliged John de Chlum to complain of it publicly in a Latin and German writing, which he caused to be fixed to the gates of all the churches in Constance. It was in these terms:

"I, John de Chlum, make known to all who shall see or hear these presents, that master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, being come to Constance, there to give an account of his faith in a public hearing, under the safe conduct and protection of the most serene prince and lord Sigismund, king of the Romans and of Hungary, my most gracious lord, as well as under the protection and safeguard of the empire, for which he has my said lord the king's letters patent; yet notwithstanding this safe conduct, master John Huss has been apprehended, and is actually detained in a prison of this imperial city. And though the pope and cardinals have been very seriously required, by solemn ambassadors from the king of the Romans, to give him his liberty, and to recommit him to my care; they have hitherto and do still refuse it, to the great contempt of the safe conduct of the king, and of the safeguard of the empire. Therefore I, John de Chlum, do declare in the king's name, that the imprisonment and detaining of master John Huss, is not at all pleasing to the king of the Romans, and that they have taken the advantage of his absence to commit an enterprise, which they would never have dared to do if he had been present. When he arrives, every one will know how he resents the contempt of this safe conduct. *Dated at Constance upon Christmas Eve*, 1414."

The commissioners for religious matters, fearing that the safe conduct which the emperor had granted to John Huss would cramp the council, desired that prince to allow them free liberty of acting. This step of theirs had two views in it; the one that the legates of Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. might come to Constance, with all manner of security; the order which is just

now mentioned, and the chief, was to remove the obstacle which the safe conduct granted to John Huss might prove in the course of his prosecution. They received as favourable an answer as they could desire. The emperor declared, "That the council was free to act as they pleased in matters of faith; that they might proceed according to the rules *(servatis servandis)* against such as were notoriously tainted with heresy, and judge them according to their deserts, after having heard them publicly; that as to the menaces which had been made in certain places and at certain times, in favour of John Huss, his majesty had forbid the putting them in execution, and would do it again if necessary, and would order passports to be despatched for all that were willing to come to the council." Such a sudden turn makes it very plain, that Sigismund was already perverted, and that the clergy had made him believe that the council had a power to disengage him from a promise which he could not legally make to a heretic. This was the judgment passed upon it by Gebhard Dacher, an eye witness, in the preface to his German history of this council. "Sigismund was persuaded (says he) after a great many words, that by virtue of the decretals he was dispensed with from keeping his faith with a man accused of heresy." Nauclerus, whose writings are of a date not very much later, reports likewise, "That Sigismund was made to believe that he could not be accused of breach of promise, because the council, which is above the emperor, having not granted a safe conduct to John Huss, he had no authority to grant him one without the consent of the council, especially in matters of faith; and that the emperor acquiesced in this decision, like a good son of the church." The same thing may be inferred from the emperor's own words: for speaking to John Huss after his examination, he tells him, that there were some who believed he had no authority to grant any protection to a heretic, or a person suspected of heresy; and indeed it is visible, this was the opinion of the council, from two decrees which they issued to disculpate the emperor, and as far as possible to defeat the disadvantageous rumours that were given out against him on account of this safe conduct, so basely violated by the imprisonment of John Huss. These decrees shall be exhibited in due time. From hence it must be inferred, that John Huss was a victim, not only to the passion of his enemies, but also to the weakness and superstition, not to say the treachery, of the emperor: and that they had such an opinion of him in Bohemia, appears from a letter which John Huss wrote in his prison, where he says, that there were people who before his departure had prophesied to him, that the said prince would betray him, and that, for his part, he should never see Prague again.

Nevertheless, it appears by a letter which that emperor wrote to the Bohemians in 1417, that it was against his consent. I will here insert as much of it as relates to this affair. It is not one of those *rude* or *satyrical* letters which an author, whom I quote elsewhere, says the emperor wrote to the Bohemians; on the contrary, he treats them here with a great deal of kindness and sincerity. He sets before them the fatal consequences which might attend their divisions about John Huss, with regard to the tranquillity of the kingdom, and the security of the king himself; and that they had reason to fear that their neighbours, who already owed them no good-will, would take advantage of their broils to crush them. Then talking of John Huss, he says, That as he had with concern heard how many parties they were split into on account of this doctor, so he was very glad to hear of his design to go to the council, in hopes that there he would justify himself. "Mean time (says he) he arrived at Constance before I was come, and was arrested there in the manner you have heard of. But if he had attended me before-hand, and had gone to Constance along with me, his affairs perhaps would have taken another turn. God knows, and I am not able to express, how much I was afflicted at his calamity; and all the Bohemians, who were then near me, plainly saw how uneasy that affair made me, and that several times I went out of the council in a rage. I had actually left Constance, when the fathers of the council sent me word, that if I would not permit the council to do justice, they had no business at Constance; so that I resolved not to meddle in that affair, because if I had determined to interest myself farther for John Huss, the council must have been entirely dissolved."

But Maimbourg pretends, that John Huss having not complied with the terms upon which the safe conduct was granted him, there was no obligation to observe it. In order to shew the vanity of this pretence, one need only give a short history of the conduct of John Huss, to the first violation of his safe conduct by his being detained. John Huss is summoned to the council; thither he comes: as soon as he arrives, he causes it to be notified to the pope, and desires his protection. The pope promises it to him in the strongest and most affectionate terms. John Huss stays about three weeks at his own lodging without going abroad, waiting for the judgment of the council. At the end of that term he is summoned before the cardinals, to give an account of his faith. He appears, and declares that he is come freely to the council to defend his doctrine against his accusers, and that he is ready to retract, if he be convinced of the least error. The cardinals are satisfied with this answer; and yet on that every day he is arrested, and remains a prisoner

till his final punishment. After what has been said, I leave it to the reader to judge whether John Huss broke the conditions upon which he had obtained a safe conduct.

When they heard at Prague that John Huss was committed to prison, the nobles of Bohemia were extremely enraged at it. They wrote several letters to the emperor to desire his liberty. In the first, three of those lords, speaking in the name of the rest, tell him, that at the entreaty of John Huss, they had demanded of Conrad, their archbishop, at one of their assemblies, whether he had ever observed that John Huss had taught any error? and that this prelate had declared of his own accord, and without any manner of constraint, *That he had never met with one single erroneous word in his writings, and that he had nothing to accuse him of.* This declaration they send to the emperor sealed with their seal, and beseech him to procure the liberty of John Huss, that he might be in a capacity to confound his accusers. Mean time this letter of the Bohemians had no other effect than to confine John Huss more closely. At the solicitation of Paletz, and other divines, he was removed to the convent of the Dominicans, where he fell sick of the stench and other annoyances of his prison.

This obliged the Bohemian nobility to write another letter to the emperor, which was larger and more to the purpose than the former. They represent to him, with respect, that John Huss is gone of his own accord to the council, to confute the false accusations laid against him and Bohemia: that he earnestly desires and insists to be heard in full council, to evidence the purity of his doctrine, declaring, that if he be convinced of any error, he will readily retract it: that though it is notorious that he went to Constance with a safe conduct from his imperial majesty to protect him, yet he is confined to a loathsome prison. That people from the highest to the lowest are astonished and provoked to see, that the pope should presume thus to commit an honest man to prison, contrary to the public faith, and without assigning any reason for it. That an enterprise of so dangerous a precedent may encourage all the world to depart from their respect to public faith, and to expose the best of men to the insults of the worst. They concluded with an earnest supplication to the emperor to procure the liberty of John Huss, to the end that he may be justified if innocent, or punished if guilty. "God is our witness (say they) that we should be extremely sorry to hear that any thing should fall out to the dishonour of your majesty, much more that you should foul your hands with so enormous an act of injustice. It is incumbent on yourself to repair, by your prudence and sagacity, all the wrong that has been done hitherto, and to make yourself master of

this whole affair." This letter is signed by ten lords in the name of all the others. Notwithstanding this, John Huss remained at the Dominicans' prison for two months; at the end of which he was removed to the Franciscans' prison, where he stayed till the pope's escape.

John Huss being confined from the 28th of November, when he was arrested, to the time of his condemnation, I know not how some authors could pretend that he made an attempt to escape.

Though the affair of John XXIII. took up great part of their time, yet the council did not neglect the others that were depending. On the one hand, the commissioners in the affair of John Huss did all they could to oblige him to retract, and his enemies on the other hand left no stone unturned, to aggravate his condemnation, as he complains in many of his letters. Though he was a prisoner, infirm, and fretted upon several accounts, yet he answered to every particular. But he declared at the same time, that he desired to have a public hearing, and that whatsoever the commissioners did, he intended to be governed only by the decision of the council. He had solicited for such a hearing a long while to no purpose. The emperor too had promised him, as John Huss says in his 34th letter, though when all's done he did not much expect it. While he was in suspense betwixt hope and fear upon this head, he was carried to a new prison. For the pope's officers, who had the guard of him at the Franciscans' monastery, and whom he praises to the last degree in his 52d letter, being gone to their master at Schaffhausen, he was not many days after delivered over to the bishop of Constance, and then carried to the fortress of Gotleben. It appears from his 56th letter, which he wrote to the Bohemian gentlemen that were at Constance, and particularly to Wenceslaus de Duba and John de Chlum, how much he was alarmed at the withdrawing of those guards that had treated him so civilly. This letter must have been written on the 24th of March, being Palm Sunday. It is in substance this: "My guards are all drawn off, and I know not how I shall subsist, nor what will befall me in prison. I beg you to go with the other lords (of Bohemia) to find out the king (Sigismund,) and to beseech him to make an end of my affair, that he may not be troubled, or be guilty of any crime upon my account. I desire you also to come and see me with the lords of Bohemia, because it is necessary that I should talk with you, and there is danger in delay. I fear that the master of the pope's palace will carry me off with him by night, for he is still in the monastery. The bishop of Constance writes to me, and so do the cardinals, that they do not desire to have any controversy with me. If you love the poor Goose (*miserum*

unserem) (alluding to the meaning of his own name,) prevail with the king to give me guards of his court, *(de sua Curia,)* or to release me out of prison this night." Sunday in the evening.

The great men of Bohemia, who had not patience to see John Huss languish so long without obtaining the hearing which he desired, and which was put off from time to time, under various pretences, had delivered in a very pressing memorial, to prevail for his liberty. But they could not obtain satisfaction, and therefore in this assembly they renewed their instances by a fresh memorial of the following tenor:

In the first place, they entreat the assembly to let them know their resolution upon the memorial, which they had presented on the 18th of May, against the false reports of the enemies of John Huss, with respect to his safe conduct, and concerning other articles. Then, to shew the malice of his accusers in its utmost extent, they produced a protestation to the assembly, which they affirm was made by John Huss, in the hearing of all Bohemia, in all his public acts, as well at church as in the university; but particularly in his sermons. The protestation follows: "Whereas I desire above all things the glory of God, and the profit of holy Church, as well as to be a faithful member of Jesus Christ, who is her head and husband, and hath redeemed her; I now again make this protestation, which I have already made several times, viz. That I never obstinately maintained, nor will ever hereafter maintain, any article contrary to the truth of faith. That I have held, do hold, and with the help of God always will hold, all the truths of faith, being prepared to suffer the most cruel death rather than defend any error contrary to those truths. That I am ready to lay down my life for the law of Jesus Christ, of which I believe every part was given by the counsel of the most holy Trinity, and published by the saints of God for the salvation of mankind. I believe, moreover, all the articles of this law, in the sense in which the holy Trinity has commanded them to be believed. Therefore, as in my public acts and sermons, I ever made profession of submitting and conforming myself to this holy law, I am still, and always shall be, submissive to the same, being ready to retract as soon as ever I am convinced that I have advanced any thing contrary to the truth." Upon this head, said the Bohemians, "You see by this protestation, and the many others he has made of the like nature, how far John Huss is from any inclination to maintain any thing obstinately against the church of Rome, and against the Catholic faith. Yet his enemies, to satisfy their malice against him, have caused him to be imprisoned, notwithstanding the emperor's safe conduct, in order that they may be able to oppress him with impunity, by their false imputations,

inventing erroneous articles to lay to his charge, castrating or corrupting his writings, without any regard to his answers and solutions, which they will very seldom vouchsafe to hear." After this reflection, the Bohemians entreat the fathers to interpose their authority for the enlargement of John Huss, to the end that he may have all the necessary freedom to make his defence, and to convince his accusers of their imposture and slander, not only against him, but the kingdom of Bohemia, in the justification whereof Sigismund, say they, is so much concerned, as presumptive heir of the crown. But in order to set the innocency and orthodoxy of John Huss in a clear light, they quote an indisputable testimony, which is the certificate that was given him by the inquisitor of the faith at Prague, in the month of August, 1414, in these words: "We, Nicholas ————, bishop of Nazareth, inquisitor of heresy in the city and diocese of Prague, certify, that after having had conferences for a long time past with honest master John Huss, batchelor of divinity, upon the Holy Scriptures, and other matters, we always found him a sound Catholic in his discourses, behaviour, and public acts, and could never yet find any thing therein that was evil, sinister, or erroneous, in any manner whatsoever. We declare, moreover, that the said John Huss has caused a writing in Latin and Bohemian to be fixed up at the gates of all the churches, colleges, and public structures of Prague, and at the gates of the palaces of the king and the archbishop, whereby he gives notice that he is ready to appear before the archbishop and all the clergy of Bohemia at this time assembled, that he may there have an opportunity to give an account of his faith and hope, and to hear all that shall pretend to convince him of heresy: desiring that if they prove to be slanderers, they may be treated according to *lex talionis*. He gives notice at the same time, that he is going to the council of Constance with the same view. Mean time, since that writing has been affixed up as aforesaid, nobody has appeared to accuse him of error or heresy. In witness whereof we have writ and sealed these presents, at Prague, Aug. 30."

The lords of Bohemia conclude with desiring the releasement of John Huss, to the end that he may recover his strength and health, that he may be in a condition to answer his examiners; and they offer good securities that he shall not depart out of the hands of his judges, till this affair be determined.

The patriarch of Antioch immediately returned them an answer in the name of the assembly, "That as to the protestation of orthodoxy, which they had made in the name of John Huss, the truth of it would appear in the course of his examination: That as to the false extracts which they pretend had been made of his works, the same would likewise appear in the process of

the affair; to the discharge of John Huss, if he be found innocent, and to the confusion of his slanderers. But as to the sureties they had offered, the patriarch made answer, that though there were a thousand of them, the deputies of the council could not accept them with a safe confidence, for a man who was not to be trusted by any means. That, however, they would cause John Huss to be brought to Constance, on the 5th of June, when he should have all the freedom of speech, and should be heard with good temper and charity."

It is certain that the council did all in their power to avoid the noise of a public trial. On the other hand, most of the doctors were of opinion, that a public hearing ought not to be allowed to an heretic; and on the other hand it was apprehended that some uproar might happen at a hearing of that nature. Therefore, the council thought fit to send deputies to Gotleben, to induce him either to make recantation or declaration, which might excuse them from hearing him in a public manner. It appeared by the letters of John Huss, that those private examinations, which were very frequent, alarmed his friends and party, and that they wished he had refused any answer at them. These interrogatories were likewise accompanied with an air of violence and insult, enough to have shocked the constancy of a man already weakened by a tedious and severe imprisonment. The examination he underwent on the first of June, was no doubt of this character. "Michael de Causis (says John Huss in one of his letters) was there, holding a paper in his hand, and stirring up the patriarch of Constantinople, to oblige me to answer to every article. He is brewing some mischief or other every day. God has for my sins permittted him and Paletz to rise up against me. Michael examines all my letters and words with the air of an inquisitor, and Paletz has set down all the conversation we have had together for many years. The patriarch says aloud, that I have a great deal of money. An archbishop said to me in the hearing of all, that I had 70,000 florins: Ha! ha! said Paletz to me, what's become of that robe so lined with florins? I have this day suffered great vexation."

Some days after this private hearing, John Huss was carried from Gotleben to Constance, and put into the monastery of the Franciscans, where he was laden with chains to the day of his condemnation. Upon the day of his arrival, the cardinals, prelates, and almost all the clergy at Constance, being assembled in the convent, thought fit to examine the articles said to be extracted from his books, and the testimonies with which they were supported, before they sent for him into the assembly. But Peter Maldoniewitz, a Hussite, who was there without doubt in quality of notary public, perceiving that they were

going to condemn John Huss without hearing him, posted to give an account of what passed to Wenceslaus de Duba and John de Chlum, who went instantly to advertise the emperor of it. Sigismund no sooner had advice of it, than he sent the elector palatine and the burgrave of Nuremberg to the assembly of the prelates, to forbid them in his name to try John Huss, without giving him a fair hearing, and to order them at the same time to send those articles, which they deemed erroneous, to his imperial majesty, because he was willing to have them examined by men of learning and probity. The princes having discharged their commission, the prelates put off their examination of the articles till John Huss was present. Before they sent for John Huss, the two lords of Bohemia, just now mentioned, delivered to the elector palatine and the burgrave of Nuremberg some of his books, from which the articles of his doctrine had been extracted, desiring them to produce those books to the assembly, and afterwards to cause them to be read, that in case of need they might be able to convince John Huss's accusers of forgery. As soon as the princes had delivered those books to the assembly, John Huss was carried thither, and they withdrew. As soon as he came in, they put his works into his hands; which he owned, and offered to retract if any error was found in them. After this they began with the reading of the articles. But they had scarce made an end of the first, with the evidences supporting it, when so terrible a noise arose, that the fathers could not hear one another, much less the answers of John Huss. When the clamour was a little over, John Huss offering to defend himself by the authority of the Scriptures and the fathers, was interrupted, as if he had spoke nothing to the purpose, and they set upon him with reproach and banter. If he chose to hold his peace, his silence was looked upon as an approbation, though he declared he was forced to be silent, because they would not hear him. In short, every thing passed with so much confusion, that, for the council's honour, the most judicious of the members advised the putting off the affair to another day.

This was Friday the 7th of June, a day remarkable for a great eclipse of the sun, which was totally eclipsed at Prague about seven o'clock in the morning, and was almost quite darkened at Constance. About an hour after the eclipse, the prelates being again assembled in the presence of the emperor, whom the lords of Bohemia desired to be there, to prevent the disorder which happened in the preceding assembly: John Huss appeared the second time, encompassed with a great number of soldiers. Wenceslaus de Duba, John de Chlum, and Peter Maldoniewitz, the notary above-memtioned, came in the emperor's retinue, to take notes of what passed at the hearing.

When all had taken their places, Michael de Causis read a paper containing these words, "John Huss has taught in the chapel at Bethlehem, and other places in Prague, a great number of errors, taken partly from the books of Wiclif, and partly of his own invention, and has always maintained them very obstinately, as he doth still. The first is, *That the material bread remaineth in the sacrament of the holy supper, after the consecration and pronunciation of the words.*" This Michael de Causis proved by the evidence of several clergymen of Prague, among whom was Andrew Broda, canon of Prague, famous for his dispute with Jacobel. John Huss answered this article by calling God to witness, that he never advanced this proposition, and never so much as believed it. He only acknowledged, that when the archbishop of Prague forbad him to make use of the term *bread*, he could not consent to it, because in the 6th chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, Jesus Christ is several times called *the bread of angels which came down from heaven to give life unto the whole world*, but that he had never spoke of *material bread*.

Several other articles were afterwards brought against him; but he defended himself with great calmness and address: after which he was remanded to prison.

But before they carried him away, the cardinal of Cambray reproached him in the emperor's presence, for having said, "If he had not been inclined to come to the council, neither the king of Bohemia, nor the emperor himself, could have compelled him to it." He answered, that all he said was, "That there were so many nobles in Bohemia, who honoured him with their protection, that if he had not been inclined to come to the council of his own accord, they could have put him into a place so secure, that neither the emperor nor the king of Bohemia would ever have had the power to send him to it." The cardinal of Cambray exclaiming against the man's impudence, there was a great murmuring in the assembly against John Huss. But John de Chlum courageously supported him on this as well as upon all other occasions. "John Huss (says he), has asserted nothing but what is true; for though I am one of the meanest lords in Bohemia, I would undertake to defend him for a twelvemonth against all the forces of the emperor and the king; and much more could the other nobles, who are more potent, and have stronger places than I have." "Be that as it will, (said the cardinal of Cambray to John Huss,) I advise you for your own safety and honour, to submit yourself to the sentence of the council, as you promised when you were in the prison." Then the emperor, who was present while the cardinal of Cambray was talking to him, spoke himself to John Huss in these terms:

"Though there are people who say that you did not receive my safe conduct till a fortnight after your imprisonment, by means of your friends and patrons, yet we can prove, by the testimony of several princes and other persons of distinction, that you received this safe conduct before your departure from Prague, by Wenceslaus de Duba and John de Chlum, under whose protection we placed you, to the end that no injury might be done to you, and that you might speak with freedom, and give an account of your faith in full council. In which thing you perceive that the cardinals, the bishops, &c. have so well answered our intentions, that we cannot enough thank them, though there are those who affirm that we could not answer to take into our protection a heretic, or one suspected of heresy. We, therefore, as well as the cardinal, advise you to maintain nothing obstinately, and to submit yourself with all obedience to the authority of the council, in all the articles which have been exhibited, and solidly proved against you. Which if you do, we will take care that for the sake of the king and the kingdom of Bohemia, you shall retire with the good-will of the council, after you have made tolerable penance and satisfaction; but if not, the council will know how to deal with you. For our part, we shall be so far from supporting you in your errors and obstinacy, that we will with our own hands kindle the fire to burn you, rather than tolerate you longer. You will do well, therefore, to stand to the judgment of the council."

John Huss was called again next day, the third time, to the same place, and before the same persons. At first they read to him 26 articles, which were pretended to have been extracted from his book *of the Church*. They were very near the same that had been read to him in his prison, and to which he had made answer, *viva voce*, and by writing.

At this public hearing John Huss behaved as he had done in prison. He owned the articles that were his, cleared up others, and disowned those that were laid to his charge by his enemies, but especially by Stephen Paletz. This will appear from the exact report which I am going to make of those articles, and of the answers which he had already made and written in prison, as well as of those which he made thereunto by word of mouth, when he was at liberty so to do.

After this examination, the council wanted John Huss to retract, and the cardinal of Cambray was the man that addressed him first, in these terms: "You see how many heinous crimes you have been accused of. You are now to consider well what you have to do. The council has but two things to propose to you, of which you will act wisely to embrace the first, which is to submit yourself humbly to their sentence and decree, and to

undergo without repining, whatever they shall please to inflict on you; in which case you will be treated with all the gentleness and humanity possible, in respect to the emperor, who is here present, and the king of Bohemia his brother, as well as for your own sake. If on the contrary you choose the other way, which is to defend any of those articles laid to your charge, and to demand another hearing for that purpose, you shall not indeed be refused a hearing; but consider well that here are a great many persons of weight and knowledge, who have produced such strong arguments against your articles, that I much fear, while you persist in your defence, your obstinacy will expose you to some fatal consequence. This I say, not as your judge, but as your monitor." The other prelates added their exhortations and entreaties to those of the cardinal. But John Huss, with a lowly countenance, humbly made answer, "Reverend fathers, I have already said, more than once, that I came hither of my own free will, not to maintain any thing with obstinacy, but to receive instruction, if it should appear that I had been mistaken. I entreat you, therefore, that I may be allowed to explain my sentiments more at large, and if I do not support them by certain and solid arguments, then I will readily conform to your instructions, as you desire." Upon this one cried out, "See the man's craft; he talks indeed of the instruction of the council, but not of their censure and determination." *With all my heart*, (said Huss) *call it instruction, censure, or determination, which you please, for I take God to witness that I speak as I think.* Upon this the cardinal of Cambray said to him, "That since he was willing to submit to the council, he ought to know, that it had been resolved by about 60 doctors, of whom some were already withdrawn, and afterwards unanimously approved by the whole council,

"1, That he should confess to have erred in holding those articles which had been alleged against him, and ask pardon. 2, That he should promise upon oath never to teach or hold them any more. 3, That he should retract them all in public."

The cardinal had no sooner pronounced this kind of sentence, but there arose a great noise in the assembly; after which John Huss made this answer: "I say it once again, I am ready to receive the instruction of the council; but I entreat and conjure you, in the name of God, who is our common Father, not to force me to do any thing against my conscience, and to the hazard of my eternal salvation, which I should risque by abjuring all the articles that have been proposed to me. *To abjure, is to renounce an error that hath been held.* But as there are many of those articles in which errors are laid to my charge, that never once entered into my head, how can I renounce them

by oath? As to those which I own to be my articles, if any one will teach me any thing better than what I have therein advanced, I am ready with all my heart to do what you require of me." "But (said the emperor) where's the danger and difficulty of your renouncing even those articles which, as you say, were falsely alleged against you? For my own part (continued he) I am ready this very minute to abjure all errors of any kind. Does it follow from thence that I held them before?" Then John Huss represented to the emperor, with respect, that the word was equivocal, and that there was a great difference between abjuring all manner of errors in general, and the renouncing of errors in particular charged upon a man, which he never held. The cardinal of Florence, in hopes to stagger John Huss, gave him hopes he should have a form of abjuration so equitable and gentle, as perhaps he would like. The emperor and several fathers of the council made the same proposal to him, and the same entreaties. But as he still persisted to say, that he would neither approve nor abjure any thing contrary to his conscience, and to desire to be heard once more, "especially (said he) as to ecclesiastical offices and dignities;" the emperor spoke to him at last in these terms: "You are of age, and after what I have now repeated to you, it is at your option to choose the alternative. We cannot but give credit to those witnesses, so worthy of it, that have been heard. For if in the mouth of two or three witnesses every truth shall be established, how much more ought we to rely upon the testimony of so many persons of worth? Therefore, if you are wise, you will submit with a contrite heart to the penance that shall be imposed on you by the council; you will renounce your errors, because they are manifest, and you will swear to teach and hold them no longer, but, on the contrary, to oppose them as long as you live; otherwise there are laws, according to which the council will judge you."

After this long examination, John Huss was again put into the hands of the archbishop of Riga, to be carried to prison, whither John de Chlum followed him to comfort him; for it appears by the relation, and by the letters of John Huss, that so tedious and painful a hearing had extremely weakened him both in body and mind. "Oh! what a comfort was it to me (says he) to see that the lord de Chlum did not disdain to stretch out his arm to a miserable heretic in irons, whom all the world had in a manner forsaken!" In this same letter, he conjures his friend to pray to God for him, because, says he, *the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.*

When John Huss was withdrawn, the emperor delivered his opinion to the council in these terms: "You have heard the articles laid to the charge of John Huss. They are grievous,

numerous, and proved not only by credible witnesses, but by his own confession. In my opinion, there is not a single one among them which does not call for the punishment of fire. If therefore he do not retract all, I am for having him burnt. And even though he should obey the council, I am of opinion, that he should be forbid to preach and teach, or ever to set foot again in the kingdom of Bohemia. For if he be suffered to preach, and especially in Bohemia, where he has a strong party, he will not fail to return to his natural bent, and even to sow new errors worse than the former. Moreover, I am of opinion, that the condemnation of his errors in Bohemia, ought to be sent to my brother the king of Bohemia, to Poland, and other countries where this doctrine prevails, with orders to cause all those who should continue to believe and teach it, to be punished by the ecclesiastical authority and by the secular arm jointly. There is no remedy for this evil, but by thus cutting off the branches as well as pulling up the root. Moreover, it is absolutely necessary, that the bishops and other prelates, who have laboured here for the extirpation of this heresy, be recommended by the suffrages of the whole council to their sovereigns. Lastly, (says the emperor) if there are any of John Huss's friends here at Constance, they ought to be restrained with all due severity, but especially his disciple Jerom." Whereupon some said, that Jerom of Prague might be brought to reason by the punishment of his master.

Next day John Huss had a form brought to him of the recantation, which the cardinal of Florence had spoken of the day before. It ran as follows:—"I John Huss, &c. Besides the protestations which I have already made, and to which I adhere, I do again protest, that though a great many things are laid to my charge which I never thought of, I humbly submit myself to the merciful ordinance, determination, and correction, of the sacred council, concerning all matters which are to me imputed or objected, and which are taken out of my books, or, in a word, proved by the deposition of witnesses, in order to abjure, revoke, and retract them, and to undergo the merciful penance of the council, and to do in general whatever they shall think necessary in their goodness for my salvation, recommending myself to their mercy with an entire submission *(devotissime)*."

John Huss having read this form, thanked the father by a letter for "his paternal favour and goodness;" but he declared at the same time, "That he did not dare to submit to the council on the foot of this form; first, because he would then be under a necessity of condemning several propositions that are termed scandalous, which he holds nevertheless for so many truths; secondly, because he could not abjure without being guilty of

lying and perjury, because this would amount to a confession that he has taught errors, which he could not make without giving offence to the people of God, who have heard him teach the contrary in his sermons. If therefore (continues he) Eleazar, who was a man under the old law, refused to say falsely that he had eaten of the flesh forbidden by the law, for fear of offending God, and leaving a bad example to posterity, should I, who, though unworthy, am a priest of the new law, presume for fear of transitory punishment to transgress the law of God, by so great a sin as it would be to lie, to perjure myself, and to give offence to my neighbours? Verily, I had rather suffer death than to fall into the hands of God, and perhaps afterwards into everlasting fire and disgrace, by avoiding a punishment which is only temporary. As I have appealed to Jesus Christ, the almighty and all-righteous Judge, I shall abide by his sentence, being very sure that he will not judge, neither according to false witnesses, nor according to fallible councils, but according to the truth, and to the desert of every mortal."

And to this resolution John Huss persisted, adding, that he had rather be cast into the sea with a milstone about his neck, than give his neighbour offence; and that as he had preached up patience and constancy to others, he was willing to shew an example thereof, and hoped by the grace of God to be able. It appears from several of his letters, that he was most earnestly solicited to retract by several persons of different characters, but that he would never consent so much as to the least equivocation.

As resolute as John Huss was not to retract, his constancy had nothing in it that was stiff or stoical. We find him sometimes attacked with the fear of death: but he immediately recovered himself, with the hopes of the assistance of God, which he implored, as well as the prayers of his friends. This appears from those words of his 29th letter, "I am far from saying rashly with St. Peter, *Though all men shall be offended because of thee, yet will I never be offended.* The strength and zeal of that apostle were incomparably greater than mine are. Jesus Christ has not given me his talents; besides, I have more violent conflicts, and a greater number of shocks to sustain. I say, therefore, that placing all my confidence in Jesus Christ, I am resolved, when I hear my sentence, to continue steadfast in the truth, even to death, as the saints and you shall help me." This humble, modest language, does very great honour to John Huss, and raises the value of his constancy and resolution.

Though the affair of John Huss was on the point of being determined, it made the emperor very uneasy. Notwithstanding all the arguments of the doctors, he had still some scruples of mind concerning his safe conduct. He would have fain engaged

John Huss to retract, rather than that things should run to the last extremity, which, without some such recantation, was unavoidable, according to the jurisprudence of the council. For this end, John Huss was sifted several times in the emperor's absence, and after his return, that is to say, after the 28th of June. Every body tried in his own way to shake his constancy, but all to as little purpose as before. The council sent several deputations to him, which he always answered with the same modesty and resolution, being as far from an attachment to any known error, as from a cowardly recantation of what he thought the truth.

On the 21st of June he made answer, that it was his final intention neither to own the extracts faithfully made from his books to be erroneous, nor to abjure those which had been laid to his charge by false witnesses; because in such case abjuration includes a sort of confession. He was also tempted the same day to an abjuration by the deputies, among whom were Michael de Causis and Stephen Paletz. This appears from a letter of his to one of his friends: "You are to know (says he) that Paletz would fain persuade me that I ought to make no scruple of abjuring, considering the great advantage that would redound to me from it. But I told him, that there was less scandal in being condemned and burnt, than in abjuring. I will leave it to your own conscience, said I to him, if it was proposed to you to abjure errors which you did not think such, would you do it? He told me, it was a hard case, and the tears stood in his eyes."—As to Causis, John Huss says this of him: "that poor man, Michael de Causis, has been often with the deputies, before the prison. When I was in their presence, I heard him say to the guards, If it please God, we shall shortly burn this heretic, who hath cost me so many florins."

On the 24th of June, it was resolved to condemn his books to the fire; with a view, no doubt, to intimidate him by those forerunners of his fate, in hopes that a sort of fatherly tenderness for his works would make him to relent. But it appears by the two letters he wrote thereupon to his friends, that this sentence did not at all discourage him. In one he told them, that they need not be alarmed at the condemnation of his books to the fire; that those of Jeremiah had the same fate, but that nevertheless the Jews suffered the calamities which the prophet had therein foretold to them; and that in the time of the Maccabees the books of the law were burnt, and those who had them in their custody were put to death. In this letter there are some smart turns, which are very remarkable. "I entreat you, dear brother, (says he) not to be discouraged. I trust in God, that this school of Antichrist shall one day be afraid of you, and

suffer you to be in quiet, and that the council of Constance will not extend to Bohemia. For I doubt not but many of those who are there will be dead, before they can get my books out of your hands. When all the members of the council shall be scattered in the world like storks, they will know, when winter cometh what they did in summer. Consider, I pray you, that they have judged their head, the pope, worthy of death, by reason of his horrible crimes. Answer to this, you teachers, who preach that the pope is a god upon earth; that he may sell and waste, in what manner he pleaseth, the holy things, as the lawyers say; that he is the head of the entire holy church, and governeth it well; that he is the heart of the church, and quickeneth it spiritually; that he is the well-spring from whence floweth all virtue and goodness; that he is the son of the church, and a very safe refuge, to which every Christian ought to flee. Yet behold now that head cut off, *(gladio amputatum,)* this god upon earth is bound, his sins are declared openly, this well-spring is dried up, this heart is plucked out. Among other crimes, the council have condemned him for selling indulgences, bishoprics, and other such like. But with respect to this, they have condemned him for a crime of which they are themselves accomplices, because many buy those things of the pope, in order to sell them again to others. The bishop of Litomissel, who is at the council, went twice to buy the archbishopric of Prague, but others out-bid him. But why should a curse be pronounced upon the seller, and the buyers escape unpunished? They follow this traffic even at Constance, where one sells and another buys a benefice. I would that God had said in this council, *He that is without sin amongst you, let him pass sentence against the pope.* I doubt not but they would all have gone out one after another."

On the 5th of July, the emperor, having a desire to make one trial more upon John Huss, sent four bishops to him, with Wenceslaus de Duba and John de Chulm to demand of him, "Whether he would abjure the articles which he owned for his; and as to those which he did not own, though they were proved, whether he would swear that he did not hold them, and that he had no other sentiments than those of the church?" But he answered, that he would stand to the declaration which he had made upon the first of July. The old historian of his life says, That upon that day, as they were taking him out of prison to carry him before his commissioners, John de Chulm spoke to him (and it was, according to the best of my conjecture, the last time he ever opened his lips to him,) in these terms: "My dear master John Huss, I am but a man of no learning, and consequently not able to give advice to so learned a man as you

are; nevertheless, if you think yourself guilty of any of the errors of which you have been publickly accused, I beg you not to be ashamed to retract them; but if, on the other hand, you are satisfied of your innocence, so far am I from advising you to say any thing against your conscience, that, on the contrary, I exhort you to endure all manner of punishment, rather than to renounce any one truth which you know to be so."—John Huss answered with tears, "That he called God to witness, that as he had always been, he was still ready to retract with all his heart, and upon oath, as soon as he should be convinced of an error by the evidence of the holy Scripture." One of the prelates having thereupon said to him, that for his part he would not be so presumptuous to prefer his own private opinion to that of the whole council: "So far from it, (replied John Huss,) that if the meanest member of the council can convince me of an error, I am wholly disposed to do whatsoever they shall order me." Upon which said some of the bishops, "See how obstinate he is in his errors!" After this he was remanded to prison till the next day, which was the day of his condemnation, and the last of his life.

Though John Huss had expected death ever since the time that he set out from Prague, as he signifies in many of his letters, yet till this day he did not fully despair of escaping it. This appears from his 29th letter, where he answers Peter, the notary, who had exhorted him to constancy. His expression is this, "If I should happen to return to Prague, I will do myself the pleasure to communicate what I have to you like a brother, and, thanks to the Lord, I do not see that my return is impossible, though I only desire it as far as it shall please God." In this letter he makes a sort of settlement of his estate, and leaves his friend the choice of those books of Wiclif that he likes best. Nor in his 32d letter does he seem to have lost all expectation of returning to Prague. He founded these hopes upon advice that he had received of the approaching arrival of Nicholas lord de Husinetz, a zealous Hussite, of whom more hereafter. But in his greatest conflicts, he always discovered an heroic courage, and a resignation entirely Christian. And so far was he from fearing death, that sometimes he seemed to expect it with impatience, and only comforted himself for the delay of it, by having recourse to religion and devotion. "God (says he) in his wisdom has reasons to prolong my life, and that of my dearest brother, master Jerom, who, as I hope, will die religiously, and without rendering himself guilty before God. For I know that at present he struggles with more courage than I, a miserable sinner. God is willing to give us time to bewail our sins, and to comfort us in this long trial, with the hopes of

their being forgiven. He grants us this respite, to the end that by our meditating on the sufferings of Jesus Christ, we may be the better enabled to bear our own; and to convince us, that the joys of the next life are not tasted immediately after the joys of this life, but that the saints enter into the kingdom of heaven through many tribulations." He concludes this letter with expressing his gladness that his enemies had been forced to read his books, because there they find their wickedness painted to the life. *I know* (says he) *that they have read them more critically than the Gospel, in order to spy faults in them.*

These were his sentiments, when the archbishop of Riga came to the prison to carry him before the council. The Cardinal de Viviers presided as usual at this session; the emperor was present, with all the princes of the empire, and an incredible concourse of people came to be spectators of this melancholy scene. As they were celebrating mass just as John Huss arrived, they made him stay at the church door till it was finished, lest the mysteries should be profaned by the presence of a man whom they reckoned an heretic, and even a leader of heretics. A high table was erected in the middle of the church, upon which were the priests' habits, in order to put them upon John Huss, and then to strip him. They placed him on a high stool before the table, that all the people might see him. As soon as he was upon it, he made a long prayer, undoubtedly with a low voice, because the bishop of Lodi began his sermon at the same time, from those words of St. Paul, *That the body of sin might be destroyed.*

In this sermon the prelate treats the schism as the source of the heresies, murders, sacrileges, robberies, and wars, which had for so long a time ravaged the church; and he makes such a horrible picture of the schism, that one would think at first he was exhorting the emperor to burn the anti-popes, and not John Huss. Yet his discourse was only designed to declare the punishment of John Huss; and therewith the bishop concludes in these terms, addressed to Sigismund: "Destroy heresies and errors, but chiefly (pointing to John Huss) that *obstinate heretic.*" After the sermon, four bishops, deputies of the nation, and an auditor of the rota, brought John Huss out in public, to be condemned.

But before his process and sentence were read, the bishop of Concordia read a decree of the council, enjoining all manner of persons, of what dignity soever, emperors, kings, cardinals, bishops, &c. to keep silence during this act, on pain of excommunication and two months imprisonment. All persons were forbid to contradict, dispute, interrupt, clap hands, make a noise with the feet, in a word, to do any thing which might

tend to the disturbance of the session, or so much as to speak without the express order of the council.

After this decree was read, upon a motion of Henry de Piro or Poiriers, proctor of the council, they began with the reading of a certain number of Wiclif's articles, about 60 that had been selected out of 260, which were pretended to have been extracted from Wiclif's books.

When these articles were read, the bishop of Concordia read the sentence passed upon them, which was almost in these terms: "The sacred council of Constance, &c. having carefully heard and examined the books and opinions of John Wiclif, of damnable memory, by the doctors and masters of arts of the university of Oxford, who have out of them collected 260 articles fit to be condemned, and by the cardinals, bishops, abbots, masters of arts, doctors of the civil and canon law, and by a great many other eminent persons of divers universities; and after such examination, the council finding that among those articles there are some which are notoriously heretical, and were condemned long ago by the holy fathers, others which are offensive to pious ears, and others which are rash and seditious; for these causes the council, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, reproves and condemns all and every one of those articles by this perpetual decree, forbidding all Catholics, on pain of the anathema, to teach, preach, and hold, any of those articles, and commanding all the ordinaries of places, and the inquisitors of the crime of heresy, to keep a watchful eye, and to punish the contraveners according to the canons."

From these they proceeded to the articles of John Huss himself, but only 30 of them were read, the council deeming the others to have been read, as indeed they had already been more than once in public.

The first article that was read was the article *of the Church.* John Huss maintained it in the same manner as he did at his first hearing: but as he was going to answer every article separately, the cardinal of Cambray imposed silence on him, and told him that he might answer all at the same time. John Huss remonstrated, that it would be impossible for him to remember so great a heap of accusations; and as he was preparing to answer them in particular, the Cardinal of Florence bid him be silent, and ordered the officers of the council to hinder him from speaking. Then John Huss lifting up his hands to heaven, begged the prelates in God's name to let him have the freedom of speech, to the end that he might justify himself before all the people that surrounded him; *after which* (said he) *you may dispose of me as you shall think fit.* But the prelates persisting in their refusal, he fell on his knees, and lifting up his eyes and

hands again towards heaven, he recommended his cause to the sovereign Judge of the whole earth, by a prayer which he pronounced with a loud voice. He was again upbraided with his appeal to Jesus Christ, but he maintained it, and renewed it, as a very just and lawful appeal, founded upon the example of Jesus Christ himself, who had referred his cause to the judgment of God. "See, (said he, with his hands lifted up to heaven,) O my sweet Jesus, how thy council condemns as an error, what thou hast prescribed and practised! when being oppressed by thine enemies thou referredst thy cause to God thy Father, the most righteous Judge; leaving us this example, to the end that we also may have recourse to the judgment of God when we are oppressed. Yes (continued he, turning towards the assembly,) I have maintained, and do still maintain, that there can be no surer appeal made than to Jesus Christ, because he can neither be corrupted by presents, nor deceived by false witnesses, nor overreached by any artifice." And when he was accused of having slighted the pope's excommunication, and of having preached and said mass after such excommunication: "I have not (says he) despised it; but I have appealed against it in my sermons; and as I did not think it lawful, I continued the functions of my priesthood. Not being able to appear before the pope, for reasons which I have mentioned elsewhere, I sent my proctors to Rome, where they were committed to prison, turned out of the city, and in several respects abused. It was this that induced me to come of my own accord to the council, under the public faith of the emperor here present." When he pronounced these words, he looked earnestly at Sigismund, who could not help blushing, according to the report of the old author of the life of John Huss. They tell a very good jest of Charles V. upon occasion of the blush which appeared on Sigismund's face, viz. That when Charles V. was solicited by Eccius and others, at the diet of Worms, to cause Luther to be arrested, (notwithstanding the safe conduct he had granted him,) the emperor answered, *I do not care to blush with my predecessor Sigismund.*

When all this proceeding was over, the bishop of Concordia, at the request of the proctor, read two sentences, of which the one condemned all the books of John Huss to the fire, and the other John Huss himself to be degraded.

While they were reading this sentence, which he received upon his knees, he took notice of the falsehood of several articles from time to time, though they did what they could to hinder him from speaking. For instance, when they accused him of obstinacy, he flatly denied it, "This (says he) I absolutely deny. I always did, and do desire, to be better informed from the Scriptures *(firmiore scriptura,)* and I declare, that I am so

zealous for the truth, that if with only one word I could subvert the errors of all the heretics, there is no danger which I would not encounter with that view." As to the condemnation of his books, he declared it was unjust, for two reasons: In the first place, because he had always shewn a readiness to correct any errors that should be discovered to him; but that as hitherto they had not found any, they could not answer to condemn them. In the second place, because most of his books being written in the Bohemain, or translated into some other foreign language, the council could neither read nor understand them.

After this sentence was read, he took God to witness of his innocence, and prayed him to forgive his judges and accusers. But if we may believe the author of his life, this prayer of his only subjected him to the rage and raillery of the fathers, who pretended that they had done him justice. As nothing remained but to proceed to his degradation, the bishops, who were appointed for that office, ordered him to put on the priest's garments, and to take the chalice in his hand, as if he was going to celebrate mass. When they put on the *albe*, he said, *They put a white garment on our Lord Jesus Christ to mock him, when Herod delivered him to Pilate.* And he made reflections of the same kind upon each of the sacerdotal ornaments. When he was thus apparelled, the prelates exhorted him once more to retract, for his own safety and honour; but turning towards the people, he publicly declared that he was far from any thought of scandalizing and seducing the faithful, by an abjuration so hypocritical and impious; and he publicly protested his innocence. Then the bishops, causing him to come down from the stool upon which he stood, first took the chalice from him, and pronounced these words: "O cursed Judas, who having forsaken the counsel of peace, art entered into that of the Jews; we take this chalice from thee, in which is the blood of Jesus Christ," &c. Whereupon John Huss said aloud, that he trusted in the mercy of God, that he should drink thereof on that very day in his kingdom. Then they stripped him of all his vestments one after another, with some curse at the taking off of every one, as is usual in the like case. But when they came to take off the marks of the tonsure, there was a great dispute among the prelates, whether they should make use of a razor or scissars. Whereupon John Huss turning towards the emperor, "See, (said he) they cannot agree among themselves how to insult me!"—Reichental says, that they washed him, in order to take off the marks of his tonsure, but that he laughed at all these ceremonies. At last the majority having carried it for the scissars, they cut his hair cross-wise, that there might appear no mark of the crown. We learn from the canon law,

that such degradation sets the priest in the rank of the laity, and that though it does not take away the character from him, which is *indelible*, yet it renders him for ever incapable of exercising the functions of the priesthood. After having thus degraded him, they put a paper coronet or mitre upon his head, in form of a pyramid, and the height of a cubit, on which they had painted three devils of a horrible shape, with this inscription *Heresiarcha;* i. e. *Arch-heretic.* And in this condition the prelates commended his soul to all the devils; *(Animam tuam devovemus diabolis infernis.)* Mean time the monk, who had confessed him a few days before, gave him absolution, as he says in one of his letters. Be this as it will, John Huss, not moved at the imprecation, recommended his soul to God, and said aloud, that he was glad to wear this crown of ignominy, for the love of him who had one of thorns. From that moment the church shook him off, he was declared a layman, and as such delivered over to the secular arm in order to be carried to execution, by this sentence of the council, "The sacred synod of Constance declares, that *John Huss* ought to be delivered over to the secular arm, and does actually deliver him over to it, considering that the church of God has nothing more to do with him."

After John Huss was degraded, the emperor having his person committed to his possession, as advocate and protector of the church, commanded the elector palatine, vicar of the empire, to officiate for him as advocate of the church or council, and in that quality to deliver John Huss into the hands of justice. This prince therefore surrendered him to the magistrates of Constance, who forthwith delivered him to the city sergeants, and the executioner of justice, who was ordered to burn him, with his clothes, and every thing in general that he had about him, even his girdle, knife, and purse, and every penny of money in it. A certain historian of credit reports, that when the elector palatine, Otho Henry, sirnamed the *magnanimeus*, (who was the last of the electors palatine of that branch, and the first promoter of the Reformation in the palatinate,) found himself with one foot in the grave, and no issue to survive him, he used to say, that God punished the crime of his great-great-grandfather in conducting John Huss to execution, and so zealously performing the order he received from the emperor, to the fourth generation. Another historian says, that in 1521, Lewis, elector palatine, declared at the diet of Worms, that as an honest German he desired they would give entire credit to his promises and letters under his seal, because they who had not kept their words with John Huss never prospered afterwards.

John Huss walked to the place of execution between two of

the elector palatine's officers, without being chained, having two of the city serjeants before him and two behind. The princes followed with a retinue of 800 men armed, not to mention the vast multitude of people, insomuch that they were fain to make a stand till John Huss and his guard had passed a certain bridge one by one, for fear it should break under them. When John Huss came to the episcopal palace, whither he was carried on purpose to see the burning of his books, he could not forbear smiling at the execution, because he thought it equally unjust and irregular, as he had several times declared. As he walked along, he declared to the people that he had not been guilty of any heresy, that his enemies had unjustly condemned him, and that they had not been able to convict him of any error, though he had so often and so earnestly defied them. When he came near the place of punishment, he fell on his knees, and rehearsed some of the penitential psalms, often repeating these words, "Lord Jesus, have mercy on me: into thy hands, O God, I commend my spirit." The old historian of his life informs us, that some of the people, when they heard him pray with such zeal, said aloud, "What this man hath done before, we know not, but now we hear him put up excellent prayers to God." Reichenthal adds, that they then asked him whether he would have a confessor, in hopes, no doubt, to engage him to a recantation, rather than undergo the last punishment. The old author of his life says, that there was a priest on horseback in a green jacket lined with red, who said that he ought not to have a confessor, because he was a heretic. John Huss having said that he had a mind to be confessed, Reichenthal, as he tells us himself, called one Ulric Schorand, a priest of reputation for learning and probity, and very well esteemed by the bishop and council. When this priest came, he said to John Huss, that if he was inclined to renounce the errors, for which he had been condemned to suffer the punishment that he saw prepared for him, he was ready to confess him; but that if he refused to make such abjuration, he knew himself, that, according to the canon law, a heretic can neither administer nor receive the sacraments. When John Huss heard this condition, he answered, that he had no need to be confessed, because he did not know that he had been guilty of any deadly sin. And when he was going to take that opportunity to speak to the people in the German tongue, the elector palatine hindered him, and at the same time ordered him to be burnt. Then John Huss prayed aloud in these terms, "Lord Jesus, I humbly suffer this cruel death for thy sake; and I pray thee to forgive all my enemies." While his eyes were lifted up towards heaven, his crown or mitre of paper fell off his head, at which he smiled, but the

soldiers put it on again, saying, that it must be burnt with the devils whom he had served. John Huss having obtained leave to speak to his guards, he thanked them in the German tongue, for the favourable treatment he had received at their hands, and declared that he hoped to reign with Jesus Christ, because he suffered for his gospel.

Then they bound him to a stake or post set up for the purpose; but his face happening to be turned towards the east, some thought it wrong, because he was a heretic; and therefore they turned him towards the west. The old author of his life observes, that his neck was fastened to the stake with a black nasty chain, which had served for a pot-hanger. John Huss smiled again, and upon this occasion made some pious reflections on the ignominious sufferings of Jesus Christ. Being thus fastened, they piled the wood about him to burn him; but before it was set on fire, the elector palatine, accompanied by the Count d'Oppenheim, marshal of the empire, advanced, to exhort him once more to retract in order to save his life, as some writers say, and as another says, to save his soul. But John Huss declared, that as what he had written and taught was only to rescue souls from the power of the devil, and to deliver them from the tyranny of sin, he was glad to seal it with his blood. Then the elector withdrawing, the wood was kindled, and John Huss was soon suffocated, after having called on God's mercy to the last. The executioners cut and hacked what remained of his body into a thousand pieces, that it might be the sooner consumed, and when they found his heart, they beat it, fastened it on a sharp stick, and roasted it at a fire apart. They secured his clothes, contrary to order, but the elector made them cast them into the fire, and promised to indemnify them for the loss. His ashes were carefully gathered up and thrown into the Rhine, for fear that his disciples or followers should carry them into Bohemia for relics: but if we may believe Æneas Sylvius, this precaution was to no purpose, for the Hussites scraped up the very earth of the place where John Huss was burnt, and carried it as a very choice cargo to Prague, where he says, that John Huss and Jerom of Prague were held in as great veneration as St. Peter and St. Paul.

It is hardly to be doubted indeed, that if John Huss had lived longer, and had not been so harassed, his principles would have carried him much farther than he could go through so many obstructions. This the emperor foresaw very clearly, when he was of opinion, that in case he retracted, he should not be allowed the liberty of returning to Bohemia, or even of preaching any where, because he guessed from his temper and character that he would not stop half way. The good father confessor

who so tenderly exhorted him to retract, thought he could not make use of a sharper incensive, than to tell him that *he must expect to wrestle yet more for the truth.* John Huss himself makes it appear very plainly understood in some of his letters, that he was not yet content with the progress he pretended to have already made in the knowledge of the pure truth of the gospel. In the second, of which mention has been made more than once, he hopes that if he return to Prague, God will do him the favour to increase and improve his knowledge of the gospel truths, in order to extirpate the doctrine of Antichrist. In his eleventh letter he also says, that God will preserve Bethlehem chapel, and that his words will bring forth more truths there by the ministry of others, than it has done by his. He seems by his letters to have been very full of these hopes. In the twelfth he says, "That they who have condemned his doctrine shall fly about like butterflies, and that their decrees shall last no longer than spiders' webs." "The council of Constance will not extend as far as Bohemia, (says he in his 13th letter.) I reckon that several of this council will be dead before they can take my works from you. And when they are all dispersed like storks, they will perceive at the entrance of winter what they have done in summer." As these notions perpetually ran in his head, no wonder that they appeared to his imagination in dreams, which though he did not think divine, as he expressly declares, yet he gave great heed to them. He dreamed one night that he had painted Jesus Christ upon the walls of Bethlehem chapel, and that at the same time his workmanship was defaced, but that next day several painters more able than he, having made figures of Jesus Christ much better than his, those painters bid public defiance, with the applause of the people, to all the bishops and priests, ever to deface those figures. The friends of John Huss did not fail to explain this dream in a manner favourable to his hopes. The Picture of Jesus Christ was his gospel, which John Huss had preached at Bethlehem, and which after a little interruption should be preached with more splendour and purity than ever. When he was obliged to retire from Prague, by reason of his interdict, he had written something very like it to his friends, though under other images. Alluding to his name, which signifies a *goose*, he says, *That the goose is a domestic animal, which does not wander far from home, nor fly very high; but that other birds would come, whose wings should mount them above the snares of the enemy.* This great and good man fell a victim to Popish cruelty, July 6, 1415.

SECTION VIII.

An Account of Jerom of Prague,

Who was burnt at the Council of Constance, May 30, 1416.

JEROM of Prague, was a bachelor and master of arts, which academic degree he received in 1399. All authors give a very good character of his talents, and it is even said that he exceeded John Huss by far, both in learning and subtle reasoning, though he was the younger man. He had studied in most of the famous academies of Europe.—When he returned from those travels, he adhered to John Huss, who was not sorry to find so good a second in his design to reform the abuses that were in the church and the university.

It has been thought a little extraordinary, that Jerom of Prague did not come to Constance at the same time as John Huss. There are authors who say that he was summoned to it, but the contrary is evident from the whole history.

When John Huss was on the point of setting out from Prague, Jerom exhorted him to be steadfast in maintaining what he had advanced, both by word of mouth and writing, especially against the pride, avarice, and other irregularities, of the clergy, and promised to go himself to Constance to support him, if he should hear that he was oppressed there. This obliged John Huss to desire his friends, in one of the letters which he wrote to them from his prison, to exhort Jerom of Prague not to come to Constance, for fear he should meet with the same treatment. However, Jerom was resolved to keep his word at all events, and there were some people at Prague that found fault with him for tarrying so long before he went to the assistance of his friend and countryman. He arrived at Constance the 24th of April, 1415, with one of his scholars. They entered the city privately, without being observed, because of the vast concourse of people that was then in the city. But his stay there was not long; for being told that John Huss was denied a hearing, and that there was some contrivance on foot against himself, he retired with his scholar to Uberlingen the very same day, according to Reichenthal; but, as others say, two days after. Jerom being safer at Uberlingen, wrote to the emperor and the lords of Bohemia, that were at the council, to desire a safe conduct. But the emperor flatly refused it undoubtedly, because it was not well taken that he had given one to John Huss. The council being afterwards prayed to grant him one, they offered indeed to give him a safe conduct to *come to* Constance, but not for his *return* to

Bohemia. Jerom no sooner received this answer, but he composed a paper in the Latin, German, and Bohemian languages, which he addressed to the emperor and council, and sent to be fixed up at all the churches and monasteries in Constance, as well as the cardinals' doors, in these terms:

"To the most illustrious and most invincible prince and lord, chosen, by the grace of God, Roman emperor and king of Hungary, and to the Sacred General Synod, I, Jerom of Prague, master of arts in the famous universities of Paris, Cologne, Heidelburg, and Prague, make known to all by this public writing, that I am come to Constance of my own accord, and without being forced to it, to answer my adversaries and my calumniators, who defame the most illustrious and most celebrated kingdom of Bohemia, and to defend our doctrine, which is pure and orthodox, as well as to prove my innocence, not in secret, but in the presence of the whole council. If there be any persons, therefore, of what order or nation soever, who have a mind to calumniate or accuse me of any crime or heresy whatsoever, I am ready to justify my innocence and the purity of the doctrine, and to undergo any punishment, if I am convicted of heresy. In order to execute a design so honest and necessary, I beseech your imperial majesty, in the name of God, to grant me a safe conduct to come to Constance, and to return from thence with safety. And if by appearing voluntarily as I do, I am put in prison, and violence is used against me, before I am convicted, the council will manifest their injustice to the whole world by such a proceeding, which I cannot expect from an assembly so sacred, and composed of personages of such wisdom and learning."

This writing having no better effect than his letters, he resolved to return to his own country, after having furnished himself with a good testimonial, which the Bohemian lords gave him, to certify what diligence he had used to give an account of his faith and conduct.

On that very day, April 25, Jerom of Prague was arrested as he was returning to Bohemia, because the council had been pleased only to give him a passport or safe conduct to come to Constance, but not to return. It is true, that as he was absent on the 17th of April, the first time that he was summoned, a safe conduct was despatched to him, which promised him all manner of security: but it was with a *salvo to justice*, and without prejudice to the interests of the faith. Two relations written at that time by the disciples of Jerom of Prague, say, that he was arrested at Hirsaw, by the officers of the duke of Sultzbach; that being carried from thence to Sultzbach, he was detained there till orders came from the council, who had advice of

Jerom's being in custody from one of the sons of John count palatine of the Rhine, duke of Bavaria, and prince of Sultzbach, and that this nobleman receiving orders to send him to Constance, he was carried thither in chains.

This prince having sent him back to the council according to their order, he was carried in bonds to the elector palatine, who led him as it were in triumph to the refectory of the minor friars, where a general congregation was assembled to examine him. As soon as he was arrived, the letter was read which the prince de Sultzbach had writ to the council, to acquaint them that Jerom of Prague had been apprehended in his territories as a heretic and a fugitive: as was also the act of his citation, which had been published several times since his departure. After the reading of those pieces, a bishop asking him *why he fled, and why he did not appear?* he answered, that he was obliged to retire, because he had been refused the safe conduct which he had desired for his security, as might be seen by the certificate which the Bohemian lords had given him at his departure, and which they had in their hands. (The prince of Sultzbach having taken away this certificate from Jerom, had sent it to the council). As to the citation, he protested, that if he had known any thing of it, he would not have failed to return instantly, even though he had been actually in Bohemia. Upon this answer of his, there was such a noise in the assembly, that they could not hear one another speak. When the tumult was somewhat appeased, Gerson, who had formerly known Jerom of Prague, at Paris, reproached him with a very insulting air, for having given offence to that university, by several erroneous propositions, especially concerning *universals* and *ideas*. Jerom answered modestly, that after having been admitted master of arts in the university of Paris, he had only used the liberty allowed to philosophers, of affirming and denying, and that then he was not charged with any error; that he was still ready to maintain what he had advanced at that time, if they would be pleased to give him leave; as well as to retract, if they could convince him that he was mistaken. Then a doctor of the university of Cologne, accused him of having vented several erroneous opinions in that university. But Jerom of Prague defied him to give one instance of it; upon which the doctor stopped short, and pleaded that his memory failed him. A third, viz. a doctor of Heidelberg, accused him of having advanced several errors in that place, and especially concerning the Trinity; which he had painted on a shield, under the likeness of water, snow, and ice. He returned the same answer, that he still persisted in what he had written, and in the comparisons he made use of upon that subject; adding, nevertheless, that he was very ready to retract

with joy and humility, when he should be convinced of an error. Mean time, as some cried out, *To the fire! to the fire!* he said aloud, that if his death was so agreeable to them, he was resigned to the will of God. "No, Jerom, (said the archbishop of Saltzburg to him) God hath no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that he turn from his way and live."

After this tumultuous examination, Jerom was delivered over to the officers of the city to be carried to prison, and every one departed home. Probably that was the time when some of his friends called to him from a window, to stand up for the truth, even to death: and that he answered courageously, that he was not afraid to die, and that he would stand to every thing that he had promised when he was at liberty. Some hours after, towards the evening, John de Wollenrod, archbishop of Riga, caused him to be carried privately to a tower of St. Paul's church, where they bound him to a post, and chained his hands to his neck in such a manner that they weighed his head downwards. In this cruel posture he remained ten days, having no sustenance but bread and water, those of Bohemia not knowing what was become of him, till at last one of his friends had notice of it from one of his keepers, and procured him better nourishment. But notwithstanding this relief, he fell so dangerously ill, that he was obliged to desire a confessor, by whose means he obtained some small ease in his bonds. He lay in prison till his death, which happened, as we shall find, a twelvemonth hence.

On the 23d of May, Jerom of Prague was brought back to Constance. That was the first examination he underwent, which, though a very rigorous one, he sustained with a great deal of intrepidity. We left him in a noisome prison, where he fell dangerously ill. He was again examined the 19th of July, in hopes that the execution of John Huss would have rendered him more tractable than he had appeared in the first audience. As to his second interrogatory, we know nothing particular, only that in a MS. at Leipsic it appears, that Jerom of Prague being examined as to the articles laid to his charge, answered, with respect to that of the eucharist, "That in the sacrament of the altar the singular substance of the piece of bread, which is there, is transubstantiated into the body of Christ, but that the universal substance of bread remains."'—He believed, as well as John Huss, universality *a parte rei*.

In September of this year, 1415, a letter came from the great men of Bohemia, to the council of Constance, wherein they protested against the execution of John Huss, which had the same effect in Bohemia as oil has when thrown into a quick fire. As soon as the news of it came to Prague, it inflamed the zeal of

his disciples more than ever. They met in Bethlehem chapel to decree the honours of martyrdom to John Huss, and also to Jerom of Prague, who they supposed had by this time undergone the same fate as his colleague.—They talked loudly of the fathers of the council, as persecutors and real hangmen. The king himself, and the great men of the kingdom, looked upon the sentence as an affront offered by the council to the kingdom of Bohemia. The letter was signed by about sixty great men, barons, gentlemen of Bohemia and Moravia, and was worded as follows:

"As by the laws of God and nature every one should do to others as he would that they should do to him, and as we ought not to do that to others which we would not they should do unto us: after reflection upon that divine maxim of love to our neighbour, we have thought fit to write these letters to you, touching the reverend master John Huss, regular batchelor of divinity, and preacher of the gospel. Mean time, we know not from what motive you first condemned him in the council of Constance, and then put him to a cruel and ignominious death, as an obstinate heretic, without his having made any confession, or being convicted of any error or heresy, upon the false and sinister accusations of his capital enemies, and those of our kingdom, and of the marquisate of Moravia, and by the instigation and importunity of certain traitors, to the eternal scandal of our most christian kingdom of Bohemia, the illustrious marquisate of Moravia, and all of us. This we have already justified in writing, to the most serene prince and lord, Sigismund, king of the Romans and Hungary, and successor of our king to the kingdom of Bohemia. And this writing ought to have been communicated to your congregations; but we have been told you burnt it, to our great dishonour. We protest, therefore, by these presents, with the heart as well as the lips, that master John Huss was a man very honest, just, and catholic; that for many years he conversed among us with a godliness void of offence. That during all the time he explained to us, and our subjects, the gospel, and the books of the Old and New Testament, according to the exposition of the holy doctors approved by the church; and that he has left writings behind him, wherein he constantly abhors all error, and all heresy, as he taught us to detest them; exhorting us at the same time, without ceasing, to peace and charity, and persuading us to it both by his discourses and example. So that we cannot find, after all the inquiry we have made, that the said master John Huss ever taught or preached any error or heresy whatsoever, or that he offended any of us, or our subjects, in word or deed. On the contrary, he has lived with piety and good nature, exhorting all mankind

to the observation of the gospel, and of the maxims of the holy fathers, for the edification of holy mother church, and of our neighbours. You are not content with disgracing us, our kingdom of Bohemia, and the marquisate of Moravia, by these undertakings, but you have unmercifully imprisoned, and perhaps already put to death, master Jerom of Prague, who certainly was a torrent of eloquence, *eloquentiæ lacteo fonte manantem.* He was a master of the seven liberal sciences, a very able philosopher; you have condemned him without having *seen*, without having convicted him, upon the false informations of his and our perfidious accusers. Besides this, we have heard, to our very great sorrow, and have collected it from your own writings, that certain slanderers, hateful to God and men, treacherous enemies to the kingdom of Bohemia, and the marquisate of Moravia, have wickedly and falsely reported to you and your council, that in the said kingdom and marquisate several errors were propagated, which had infected both us and many others of the faithful. So that if a speedy remedy be not applied, the believers have irreparable loss to apprehend. Though these bitter accusations are entirely false, is it possible for us to hear, and not refute them? Verily, by God's grace, the most christian kingdom of Bohemia, and the illustrious marquisate of Moravia, have, ever since the establishment of the christian faith among them, always constantly adhered, without reproach and variation, to the Holy Roman Church, like a perfect tetragon, while other kingdoms have wavered by fomenting the schism, and favouring the anti-popes. All the world knows how much labour it has cost us, as well as expense, to keep up that respect and veneration among both princes and people, which they owe to holy mother church, and the pastors; and you yourselves, if you will declare the truth, have been witnesses of it. To the end therefore, according that, to the precept of St. Paul, we may behave well both towards God and man, and for fear lest by our negligence to support the reputation of the above-mentioned kingdom and marquisate, we may be thought cruel to our neighbours, we make known to you, fathers, by these presents, and also to all christian people, with a firm confidence in Jesus Christ, attended with a pure and sincere conscience, and an orthodox faith, that whosoever, of any rank, pre-eminence, dignity, condition, degree, or religion whatsoever he be, has said and affirmed, or doth say and affirm, that errors and heresies are propagated in the kingdom of Bohemia, and the marquisate of Moravia, which have infected us, and such of our subjects as are believers, has told a capital lie, *recte mentitur per caput suum*, as a villain, a traitor, the only dangerous heretic, and a child of the devil, who is a liar and a murderer. We except, however, the person

of our most serene prince and lord, Sigismund, king of the Romans, because we believe him innocent of the calumnies with which we are aspersed. Mean time, we leave it to God, to whom vengeance belongs, to punish the offenders, reserving it to ourselves to prosecute them more at large before him whom God shall set over his church, for the only undoubted pastor, being fully resolved, by the help of God, to pay him honour and obedience in all things that shall be lawful, honest, and reasonable. But in the mean time we desire that, according to the law of Jesus Christ, and the canons of the holy fathers, effectual remedies may be applied to the calamities of the kingdom of Bohemia, and the marquisate of Moravia: for notwithstanding all that hath passed, we are resolved to sacrifice our lives for the defence of the law of Jesus Christ, and of his faithful preachers, who declare it with zeal, humility, and constancy, without being shocked by all human constitutions that shall oppose this resolution."

This letter was dated the 2d of September, and unanimously aproved in an assembly of the great men of Bohemia, which was held at Prague on the 5th of the same month, when they agreed upon the following articles: 1, To send deputies with this letter to Constance, who should at the same time make their opology. 2, To provide all the churches within the extent of their dominions with good pastors, to preach the word of God without any molestation. 3, That if a priest was accused of any error, he should be summoned before his bishop, in order to be punished, and expelled, if he was convicted of having taught any doctrine contrary to the word of God. And if it happened that any bishop should condemn and punish any priest clandestinely, and of his own accord, and in hatred to the truth of the gospel, without having convicted him of any error, it should no longer be lawful for any priest to be cited before such bishop, but that the affair should be referred to the judgment of the university, who should examine it according to the Holy Scripture. 4, That they should order the priests in their dependency to receive no excommunications but from their bishops, and to obey them when legal; but, on the contrary, to resist such excommunications when they are unjust or rash, and fulminated out of hated to the word of God, or for any other cause not fairly proved: and they declare, that they are heartily disposed to obey such citations and excommunications of their bishops as are legal. This act concludes with their prayers, that it may please God speedily to grant a good pope to the church, to the end that they may make their just complaints to him; and they declare, that they will obey him in all things that he shall com-

mand agreeable to the word of God. This is a proof that it was not their intention to make a rupture.

The letter and the resolution of the great men of Bohemia, engaged the council to try all their efforts to induce Jerom of Prague to retract, that they might not carry things to that extremity against him, as they had done against John Huss. We have already seen with what tumult his first examination was attended, upon the 23d of May. On the 19th of July, the deputies of the nations held an assembly in St. Paul's church, to which he was brought from his prison for another examination. On the 11th of September he appeared again in a public congregation, where he was so teased with promises and menaces, that at last he signed a writing, whereby he submitted himself to the council, and approved of the condemnation of the errors of Wiclif and John Huss, adding for his excuse, that he did not think at first that the articles of which John Huss was accused were really his. This was but a lame excuse, in my opinion, for nothing had been extracted out of the books of John Huss, which Jerom of Prague had not heard him say to himself more than once; and the book *of the Church*, from which the principal articles were extracted, had been publickly read at Prague. But there were, moreover, in this paper of Jerom's, certain restrictions which could not be relished by the council: indeed he thereby subscribed to the condemnation of Wiclif's 45 articles, and of the 30 articles of John Huss; but he declares, that *by so doing he does not intend to prejudice the sacred truths which these two men have taught and preached.* And then when he comes to explain himself touching John Huss in particular, he again repeats it, that *it is not his intention to prejudice his person, nor his good manners, nor the many truths he has heard from his lips.* He owns, that he had been an intimate friend of John Huss, and disposed to vindicate him before and against all the world, by reason of the meekness of his conversation, and the sacred truths which he heard him explain to the people; but that now he is better informed by the reading of his works, he is not willing to be an advocate *for his errors*, though he was for his person. *Esto quod sint amici & Plato & Socrates, sed magis amica Veritas mihi est & esses debit*; i. e. Grant that both Plato and Socrates are my friends, yet the truth is and ought to be much dearer to me. He says also something more, for he declares, that by condemning the errors of John Huss, he does not pretend to make any recantation, because, though he has often heard and read the condemned propositions, he never looked upon them as articles of faith, and that he never preferred his own sense to the authority of the church. The fathers of the council, not being satisfied with the loose and ambiguous terms

of this writing, employed all the time, from this day to the general session, to persuade Jerom to a plainer and more circumstantial retraction. And it must be observed, that this session, which was to have been on the 20th, was not held till the 23d, perhaps, because all that time was wanted to oblige Jerom to make that recantation.

Mean time, the minds of the people were prepared for the reformation of the church, by the sermons which were preached on that subject from time to time, upon sundays and holidays. On the 15th of September, I find one upon those words of St. Paul, "I beseech you, that you walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called." The preacher insists very much on the necessity of learning and knowledge in the prelates. "When a prelate is consecrated (says he) they ask him if he knows the Old and New Testament? I will be judged by most of them, whether they can affirm it with a safe conscience." He urges the necessity of the reformation of manners with the same vehemence; and after having levelled at the clergy of his time a great many very sharp arrows, which St. Bernad, in his Commentary upon the *Song of Songs*, had let fly at the clergy of his time, he concludes his moral reflections by saying, that as God anciently reserved to himself seven thousand men that had not bent the knee to Baal, he hopes there will be found, in so general a corruption, some good clergymen who will exert themselves for the reformation of the church. But at the same time, this preacher throws an unhappy obstacle in the way, by granting, as he does, an unlimited power to the pope, and by maintaining that he is the universal head of the church, the bishop of bishops, has the immediate cure of every believer's soul, and is the *ordinary* of *ordinaries*.

Jerom of Prague's recantation took up great part of this session, because the articles of Wiclif and John Huss were again read over in it, to the end that Jerom of Prague might anathematize them in a public manner. The cardinal of Cambray, one of the commissioners, read the act of recantation, written in Jerom's own hand, and drawn up in these terms.

I, Jerom of Prague, master of arts, acknowledging the true Catholic and Apostolical Faith, do anathematize all heresies, and especially that wherewith I have been hitherto infected, and which John Wiclif and John Huss taught in their sermons and books, and for which the sacred council has condemned them as heretics, as well as their doctrines and works, but especially certain articles expressed in the sentence of the said council. I declare with my lips, and from my heart, that I accord in all things with the holy Roman Church, and the apostolic see, and that I believe every thing in general, and in particular, that the

said church and the said council do believe, especially touching the keys, the sacraments, orders, and offices, and ecclesiastical censures, ceremonies, and all things appertaining to the christian religion, acknowledging that many of the above articles are notoriously heretical, and long ago condemned by the holy fathers, some blasphemous, others erroneous, others scandalous and offensive to pious ears; and others, in short, rash and seditious, and, as such, condemned by the sacred council, which has forbid all catholics to hold and teach the said articles, on pain of being accursed."—(Alas; what is man!)

In fine, he promised and swore, by the Holy Trinity, and by the holy gospels, to persist always in the truth of the catholic faith, and anathematized those who believed the contrary; adding, that if ever any doctrine should slip from him contrary to his recantation, he would submit to the severity of the canons, and to everlasting punishment. After this he was remanded to prison, where he had somewhat more liberty than before.

Though Jerom of Prague had made a very formal recantation, yet he was remanded to prison, and had only a little more liberty allowed him than before, as was just now said. Besides, at the solicitation of Michael de Causis and Stephen Paletz, new accusations were come to Constance against him, which were exhibited at Prague by the Carmelites, who strenuously solicited that he might be heard over again. His judges, who were the cardinals of Cambray, Ursins, Aquileja, and Florence, represented in vain, that it was doing him a piece of injustice to detain him a prisoner, and that it was absolutely necessary to set him at liberty, because he had obeyed the council. This equity only served to render those cardinals suspected by the enemies of Jerom; and it is even said, that there was one Naso, who took the liberty to speak to the cardinals in these terms: "We are very much surprised, most reverend fathers, that you should offer to intercede for this wicked heretic, who has done us so much mischief in Bohemia, and by whom you yourselves may be sufferers. I fear that you have received presents from these heretics, or from the king of Bohemia." These contradictions obliged the cardinals to desire their discharge, and other commissioners were appointed, at the head of whom was the patriarch of Constantinople, who had been one of the most zealous solicitors for the punishment of John Huss.

After his recantation came to be suspected, new commissioners were appointed to examine him, as well upon the articles formerly exhibited against him, as those which were lately brought from Bohemia. The articles upon which Jerom had been heard, and the answers he made to his commissioners, were read by John de Rocha, D. D. of the order of friars minors.

The old author of his life says, that he did not care to own those new commissioners, and that he desired to give in his answer at a public hearing. Mean time, as it appears by the acts that he answered before them, to be sure he resolved upon it without prejudice to the public hearing which he demanded. The first article of accusation related to Wiclif; Jerom was accused of having spoke of him, not only as a very catholic doctor, but as a saint and a martyr; of having maintained his errors upon various occasions, and in several places.

The second accusation was his having trampled the authority of the church under foot, because that after he had been excommunicated in Austria, and several other countries, as well as in Bohemia, he had presumed to receive the sacrament at Prague, from the hands of the parish priest of St. Michael.

In the third place he was accused of having published defamatory libels against the pope, several princes, the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, and especially against his archbishop.

The fourth accusation consists of the acts of violence and sacrilege laid to his charge; particularly, that in 1412 he caused the relics in a church of the Carmelites to be thrown upon the ground, and trampled under foot; that he had reviled and beat the monks who had the custody of them, and begged alms for the building of the church; that some days after this, he entered the said monastery with violence, and there wounded some of the friars, particularly one who had preached against Wiclif; that he gave a Dominican friar a box on the ear in the open street, and also took a knife out of his pocket, with which he would have wounded, if not killed the said friar, if persons had not been there to hinder him; and, in fine, of having by main strength unfrocked a young friar, and compelled him to put on a lay-habit, which he gave him with his own hands; after which, it is added, that the young friar drowned himself for grief. As to the pretended profanation of the relics, Jerom absolutely denied it. As to the violences offered to the friars in a monastery, he made answer, That finding those monks quarrelling with two burghers, whose footmen they had clapped in prison, he endeavoured to reconcile them; but that some people falling upon him with drawn swords, he disarmed one of them of his sword, and with it defended himself as well as he could. As to his boxing the Dominican in the street, he owned, that the said Dominican having given the first provocation, because he had censured him for affronting the gentlemen, he gave him a blow with the back of his hand. As to any knife, there is no mention of it in the report of the commissioners. But in his hearing, upon the 23d of May, he owned, that when he found that monk had hired persons to fall upon him, he borrowed a knife of a peasant to defend himself, and that indeed he did thrash the youth

but that on this occasion his life, and not any point of religion, was the thing at stake. Finally, as to the monk who was unfrocked by violence, and afterwards found drowned, he answered, that this young friar put off the frock of his own accord, and had afterwards the misfortune to be drowned, as he was washing himself.

The fifth accusation was, that he had for many years supported and favoured one Peter de Valence, excommunicated by Sbinko, because he would not deliver up Wiclif's books to him.

The sixth was, that while he was in Russia and Lithuania, he had endeavoured to pervert the Catholics who were new converts to Christianity.

The seventh was, that he had been one of the most flaming abettors of John Huss, and was so still; and that by his dissembling, hypocritical behaviour, and by his seditious discourse, he had hindered the execution of the king's declaration against Wicklif and the Wiclifites.

The eighth was, for refusing to appear at Rome, when he was cited thither for having visited profane chapels and parishes, namely, such as were excommunicated.

The ninth was, his having counterfeited the seals of the university of Oxford, and forged letters from the said university in favour of Wiclif, and reading the same publickly in the pulpit.

The tenth was, that he had induced the nobility to despise the tonsure, relics, and indulgences, and to rob the clergy.

The eleventh, that at Paris, Cologne, and Heidelberg, he had publickly and obstinately maintained heretical opinions.

To these the proctor of the council added others of his own head; upon which he demanded, that Jerom of Prague might be interrogated, and which he insinuated were publickly notorious. There were several which related to Wiclif and John Huss, and which came so near to the articles upon which Jerom had been already examined, that they need not be repeated here. For I observe, that the commissioners for the trials of John Huss and Jerom of Prague, acted much like the common disputants, who aim at the multiplying of heresies, by making several different articles of what in equity ought only to be considered as one and the same.

He was also accused of having said, that neither the pope nor the bishops have the power of granting indulgences; and also of having made a forcible entry one morning into a church where they were to be published, and of having turned out the collectors, saying, 'Depart from hence, ye liars, with your lies,

for your pope is a liar, a heretic, and an usurer, who has no power to grant indulgences."

In fine, the proctor of the council gave a very long account of Jerom's whole conduct since he came to Constance; of his clandestine retreat, of his return, of his feigned recantation, of his relapse into his errors; and laid as much stress upon every circumstance, as if it was a fresh article of accusation. To this he added one which related to his morals; for he asserted, that Jerom was such an Epicurean in his prison, that he spent his whole time in drunkenness and gluttony. From whence he inferred, that he ought not only to be obliged to fast, but to answer *Yes*, or *No*, to all the articles, and to suffer the torture, because he is no clergyman: and that, in fine, he ought to be delivered up to the secular arm as an obstinate heretic, if he persevered in his errors.

As Jerom of Prague had all along demanded a public hearing, and refused to take the oath before the last commissioners, a general congregation was summoned on the 23d of May, to swear him. But in this assembly he also refused to take the oath, unless they would promise him before-hand that he should have an entire freedom of speech. But the council not thinking it fit to grant him permission, those articles were read to him which he had not yet answered.

They met again for the same affair on the 26th of May. Jerom no sooner made his appearance, but the patriarch of Constantinople asked him, if he was willing to take the oath before he gave in his answer to the rest of the articles upon which they were to hear him? He refused, as before, to be sworn, because they would not grant him the liberty of speech; nevertheless they read all the articles to him that remained. At length, after he had answered all the charges, owning some, denying others, and clearing up the rest, the patriarch of Constantinople said to him, that though he had been fully convicted of heresy by proofs that were unanswerable, and by witnesses that were unexceptionable, yet they gave him the liberty of speaking, either to defend himself, or to retract; but that if he persisted in his errors, he must expect judgment would pass upon him according to the laws.

Jerom did not let slip the opportunity: after having put up a prayer himself, he desired the prayers of the assembly, that it might please God and the Virgin so to enlighten his understanding, that no word might drop from him which should be prejudicial to the salvation of his soul. He afterwards said, that it was no extraordinary thing to see innocent persons oppressed by false witnesses, and he instanced it in the believers of the Old and New Testament, as also in the Christian and Pagan philosophers;

such as Elias, Daniel, the other prophets, Susanna, St. Stephen, St. Jerom, Boetius, Socrates, Plato, Cato, Seneca, &c. that therefore he should not be surprised if he met with the same fate; but that he hoped one day to see his accusers, and to call them to judgment before the tribunal of the sovereign Judge of the world. He accused the council of an act of high injustice, in appointing new commissioners to try him after the first had owned his innocence; and he declared, that he never acknowledged the last set of commissioners, and still refused to own them, but looked upon them as no better than judges sitting in the chair of *pestilence*. Then he takes notice of the pretences which his enemies had made use of to persecute him, gives a long account of the disputes betwixt the Bohemians and Germans in the university of Prague, and affirmed, that he had only incurred the hatred of the latter because he had defended the privileges of his country in concert with John Huss, whom he spoke of as a holy man.

Then he told how he came to Constance to defend John Huss, because it was he that had advised him to go thither, and that he had made him a promise to come to his assistance, in case they should go about to oppress him. "When I arrived (said he) at Constance, and found John Huss a close prisoner, I gave ear to the advice given me by several persons of credit, to get out of the way, and retired some distance from Constance, from whence I made a complaint to the emperor of the injustice that had been done to John Huss, and demanded a safe conduct from the council for myself; which being refused me in the form I desired for my security, I returned towards Bohemia, when I was arrested upon the road, and brought back to Constance, bound hand and foot. I am not ashamed here to make public confession of my cowardice. Yea, I confess, and tremble to think of it, that nothing but the fear of punishment by fire made me consent basely, and against my conscience, to the condemnation of the doctrines of Wiclif and John Huss."

After having uttered these words with great fortitude of mind, he declared, that he disowned his recantation, as the greatest crime that he had ever been guilty of; and that he was resolved to adhere, to his last breath, to the doctrine of Wiclif and of John Huss, as to a doctrine which was as sound and pure, as their lives were holy and unblamable.

Jerom concluded his speech with an invective against the pride, covetousness, lewdness, and all the other irregularities of the pope, the cardinals, and the whole body of the clergy. After which he was carried back to prison, where he remained till the next session.

On the 30th of May, Jerom of Prague being brought to the council by the archbishop of Riga to hear his sentence, the bishop of Lodi opened the act by a sermon which he preached upon these words, *He upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart.* The bishop speaks to Jerom at first very mildly, and seems even to insinuate to him, that he might still hope for favour from the council, if he would but repent. Then he makes a distinction betwixt error in the understanding only, and an error of the will which is maintained with obstinacy; and said that the latter constituted a heretic, which he declared to Jerom was his very case. But it seems he was for soothing him, by his telling him that the greatest wits were the most liable to fall into an error. After this the prelate by degrees sharpens his language, and tells Jerom, that he had no design to spare him, because he would fain reclaim him, and that he was going to smite him on one cheek, in hopes that according to the command in the Gospel, he would turn the other to him also; and he exhorted him not to shew himself incorrigible, as he had done hitherto. Here the *learned* prelate made use of the following words: *Primo projicio stercus non alienum, super faciem tuam, sed tuum proprium;* i. e. "I cast thy own, not another's, dung upon thy face." After this expression, the prelate addressing himself to the whole assembly, gave them a long and pathetic description of the troubles and ravages which the opinions of John Huss and Jerom of Prague had occasioned in the kingdom of Bohemia. Then turning about again towards Jerom himself: "I must now show you (said he) the lenity with which you have been treated by the council. You know how heretics are used. They are first of all committed to a close prison. All manner of articles are admitted against them, and all sorts of witnesses too, even the most infamous, such as pawnbrokers, whoremongers, and common strumpets. They are obliged, upon oath, to tell the truth, which if they refuse, they are put to the torture, and obliged to undergo all manner of torments. No person must be suffered to come near them, unless it be for some great necessity. They ought not to be admitted to a public hearing. If they repent they may be pardoned; but if they persevere obstinately, they are delivered over to the secular arm." He afterwards represents to Jerom, "That he had not been treated with such severity, though he was more infamous than any heretic, than Arius, Sabellius, Faustus, or Nestorius; and that he had propagated his errors, not only in Bohemia, but in England, France, Hungary, Poland, Lithuania, Russia, Italy, and all Germany. That as to his being committed to prison, there was a necessity for it; and that if he had not fled, he might have been as easy and as free at Constance as he pleased.

That all the witnesses admitted against him were men of known probity, and such as he himself had made no objection to. That he had not been put to the torture, but that the omission of it had been a very great wrong to him, because such punishment might have opened his eyes." The bishop concluded his speech with Jerom of Prague's condemnation.

Then Jerom exalted himself on a bench, and confuted him from the beginning to the end with great strength and courage. He declared that he had done nothing in his whole life which he ever repented of so bitterly as his *recantation*; that he revoked it from his very soul, as also the letter he had been induced to write on that subject in Bohemia; that he had lied like a miscreant by making that recantation, that he esteemed John Huss a holy man. But he protested at the same time, that he had always been religiously attached to the sentiments of the holy Catholic church; that he did not know himself to be guilty of any crime, unless they gave that name to the reproaches he had cast upon the clergy for their irregularities. That if, after this declaration, credit should still be given to the false witness borne against him, he could no longer consider the fathers of the council than as unjust judges, unworthy of all belief.

Poggius, the Florentine, says, that every body was touched to the quick at this speech, and wished he might come off; which, no doubt, was the reason that it was proposed to him once more to retract. But he was now as inflexible as he was timorous before. One of the ancient authors of his life says, that when he was threatened with punishment, if he did not give marks of his repentance, he made this prophetical answer: "You have resolved to condemn me maliciously and unjustly, without having convicted me of any crime; but after my death, I shall leave a sting in your consciences, and a worm that will never die. I make my appeal from hence to the sovereign Judge of all the earth, in whose presence you shall appear to answer me a HUNDRED YEARS HENCE." But the fathers only laughed at this prediction.

The council perceiving the constancy of Jerom of Prague, the patriarch of Constantinople, upon the proctor's motion, publickly read his sentence, which ran as follows:—

"Our Lord Jesus Christ being the true Vine, whose Father is the Husbandman, told his disciples that he would cut off all the branches that did not bear fruit in him. Therefore the sacred synod of Constance, in obedience to the order of the sovereign Teacher, being informed, not only by public fame, but by an exact inquiry into the fact, that Jerom of Prague, master of arts, a layman, has affirmed certain erroneous and heretical articles maintained by John Wiclif and John Huss,

and condemned not only by the holy fathers, but by this sacred synod; and that after having publickly recanted the said heresies, condemned the memory of both Wiclif and Huss, and sworn to persevere in the Catholic doctrine, he returned in a few days like a dog to his vomit; and that in order to propagate the pernicious venom which he concealed in his heart, he demanded a public hearing; and that when he had obtained it, he declared in full council, that he was guilty of great iniquity and a very wicked lie, in consenting to the condemnation of Wiclif and John Huss, and that he for ever revoked the said recantation, though he had declared that he held the faith of the Catholic church as to the sacrament of the altar and transubstantiation. For these causes the sacred synod has resolved and commanded, that the said Jerom be cast out, as a rotten withered branch, and declares him a heretic, relapsed, excommunicated, accursed, and as such condemns him."

After this sentence had been unanimously approved by the council, Jerom was delivered over to the secular power, and at the same time the prelates recommended it to the judges and executioners of justice not to insult him, but to treat him with humanity!—What consummate hypocrites! Some authors have reported, that Gaspard Schlick, chancellor of the empire, protested in full council, in the name of Sigismund, against the condemnation and punishment of Jerom of Prague; and that not being able to get any satisfaction, he withdrew from the assembly in very great indignation.

The historians of that time agree, that a paper crown or mitre was given to Jerom, as well as to John Huss, which had the figures of devils on it, and that after having thrown his hat among the priests that surrounded him, he put the said mitre, with his own hands, upon his head, saying, that he was glad to wear it for the sake of him who was crowned with one of thorns. After this, the serjeants laid hold of him to carry him to execution; and as he went along, he sung the apostles' creed, and the hymns of the church, with a loud voice and a very cheerful countenance. When he came to the place where John Huss had been executed, he kneeled at the stake to which he was to be bound, and, with a low voice, made a very long prayer. Then the executioners stripped him of his garments, and cast a dirty linen cloth over his shoulders; after which, having bound him, they heaped wood and straw up to his neck. Mean time, Jerom raising his voice, sung the paschal hymn:

Salve festa dies toto venerabilis ævo,
Qua Deus infernum vicit & astra tenens.
Hail, happy day! and ever be ador'd!
When hell was conquered by heaven's great Lord.

When he had ended singing, he made a confession of the Catholic faith in verse, and addressing himself to the multitude about him, said, "Dear friends, know, that even as I have now sung, so do I believe, and not otherwise: therefore I am condemned to die, for no other reason but because I would not consent to the council (or *the counsel*) of the priests who condemned John Huss. For, not to mention the integrity of his life, and his amiable behaviour from the cradle, he was a true preacher of the law and of the gospel of Jesus Christ." Then the executioners, putting fire to the wood, threw his clothes upon it, while he sung aloud in Latin, *Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit.* Though he was almost smothered with the flame, nevertheless he cried out, in the Bohemian tongue, *O Lord God Almighty, have mercy on me, and pardon my transgressions; for thou knowest that I have sincerely loved thy truth.* And with these words he yielded his last breath. This was on Saturday, May 30, 1416. During this, his bedding was brought from the prison, together with what furniture he had there, (as his straw-bed, boots, and hood,) and thrown into the fire, and his ashes were cast into the Rhine. The author who gives this account, and who protests that he saw and heard every thing with his own eyes and ears, declares, that his suffering lasted a full quarter of an hour, whilst a man might have gone leisurely from St. Clement's church at Constance to the church of St. Mary. And the relation, given by this Hussite author, is rather to be credited, because it is confirmed by such writers, his contemporaries, who were stanch Catholics, and zealous sticklers against the Hussites. Of these Æneas Sylvius ought to be mentioned in the first place, who speaks of John Huss and Jerom of Prague in these terms: "John Huss was burnt first, and after him Jerom of Prague. They suffered death with very great constancy, and went to the fire as cheerfully as if it had been to a feast, without making any complaint. While the fire was kindling about them, they sang a hymn, which neither the flame, nor the crackling of the burning faggots, interrupted. We do not find that any of the philosophers ever suffered death with so much courage as they endured the fire." Theodoric de Niem, who was at Constance, expresses himself thus: "As they carried him to execution, he sung the Creed with a loud voice. He continued to speak, though very slow, even unto death, or as long as he could open his lips." The monk, Theodoric Urie, who also flourished at that time, gives the same testimony more at large: "Holding the crown, (says he) that was given him in his hand, a crown of dishonour, abomination, and turpitude, he uttered these words, 'The Lord Jesus Christ, my God, was crowned for my sake with a crown of thorns, and I

will gladly wear this crown for his glory.' After having pronounced this expression, he kneeled down for a few minutes, and then rising up, he sung the Creed from the beginning to the end. Thus did the wretched man excite the compassion of all that saw him go along in that miserable condition, without taking any compassion of himself. Then being led to the stake, he was stripped of his clothes, and bound to it: there, being all naked, in the midst of the scorching flames, he sung these words, 'O Lord, into thy hand I resign my spirit,' and just as he was saying, 'Thou hast redeemed us,' he was suffocated by the flame and the smoke."

By this it is plain, that all the authors of that time are unanimous in their testimonies of that heroic constancy with which Jerom of Prague suffered death. But there is not one that has done it more at large, and with more spirit and elegance, than Poggius the Florentine, in the following notable letter, which he wrote upon this head to Leonard Aretin, and not to Nicholas Nicoli, as was supposed by Æneas Sylvius. The suffrage of so illustrious a person as Poggius, who was himself a Catholic, cannot but be of very great weight. He was present at this act, and nobody could have room to suspect him. Æneas Sylvius speaks in commendation of this letter in his history of Bohemia; and all the fault he finds with it is, that Poggius, after his usual manner, raves a little too much against the behaviour of the clergy. We will insert it here at length, though it has been printed several times, either in Latin or in bad French; but Shepherd, in his life of Poggio, has given an excellent translation of it in English.

"Not many days after my return to Constance, they began to examine the affair of Jerom, who they proclaim to be a heretic. I have a mind to give you a relation of this matter, as well for the sake of the importance of it, as for this man's doctrine and eloquence. I confess that I never heard any person, in the defence of a criminal cause, who came nearer to that eloquence of the ancients which we admire every day. Nothing was more surprising than the delicacy of his discourse, the force of his arguments, the greatness of his courage, and the boldness and intrepidity of his mein and countenance, when he answered his adversaries. It were pity that so fine a genius should deviate from the faith, *supposing however what is said of him to be true.* For it is none of my business to judge of an affair of such high consequence, and I submit it to those who are reputed to know more of it than I do.

"When several articles were exhibited against him, by which it was proposed to convict him of heresy, and when he was in effect judged as a heretic, it was resolved to cite him, that they

might hear his answers. When he appeared, he was ordered to answer to the articles laid to his charge. This he refused a long time, saying, that he would plead his own cause before he answered the calumnies of his enemies. But as they would not give him leave, he spoke, in the midst of the assembly, as follows:—

"How unjust is this! You have confined me for three hundred and forty days in several prisons, where I have been cramped with irons, almost poisoned with nastiness and stench, and pinched with the want of all necessaries. During this, you always give my enemies a hearing, but refused to hear me for so much as one hour. I do not wonder that, after you indulged them with so long and so favourable a hearing, they had an opportunity to persuade you that I am a heretic, an enemy to the faith, a persecutor of the clergy, and a villain. With this prejudice you have judged me, without hearing me, and you still refuse to hear me: nevertheless, ye are not gods, but men; as such ye are fallible, ye may deceive yourselves, and suffer others to impose on you. They say, that all learning and all wisdom is collected in this council. You ought therefore to take great heed that you do nothing rashly, for fear of committing injustice. I am very sensible that the design is to inflict sentence of death on me; but when all is done, I am but a man of very little importance, who must die sooner or later: therefore what I say is more for your sakes than my own. It would be very unbecoming the wisdom of so many great men to pass any unjust decree against me, and thereby to give a precedent much more pernicious than my death can be."

"While he talked with so much force and grace, the people made so great a noise that he could not be heard any farther. It was therefore resolved, that he should answer to the articles exhibited against him, and then that he should have entire liberty of speech. All the articles were read to him, one after another; and being interrogated upon each of them, it is incredible with what dexterity and cunning he gave his answers; and how many arguments he brought to support his opinions. He never asserted the least thing unworthy of an honest man; so that if his sentiments, in matters of faith, had been agreeable to his words, there had not been the least colour for accusing him, much less for subjecting him to sentence of death. He openly averred, that all that had been alleged against him was false, and invented by his enemies. When they told him, 'That he reviled the apostolical see by his calumnies, that he had fallen upon the pope himself, that he was an enemy to the cardinals, a persecutor of the prelates, and an adversary of the whole order of the Christian clergy,' he stood up, and, with a

sorrowful tone and extended hands, cried out, 'Which way shall I turn, my fathers? whom shall I call upon for help, or to bear witness to my innocence? Shall I make my address to you? But my persecutors have entirely alienated your minds from me, by saying, that I am myself a persecutor of my judges. They verily concluded, that if their other accusations were not of force enough to condemn me, they should not fail of oppressing me, and of setting you against me, by misrepresenting me to be an enemy to you all. If therefore you give them credit, I have nothing to hope for.'

"He often stung them by his cutting raillery, and sometimes too he gave such a pleasant turn to their objections, as forced them to smile on so sad an occasion. When they asked him what was his opinion of the sacrament? 'Naturally (said he) it is bread; but during and after the consecration it is the true body of Christ.' He answered to the other articles after the same orthodox manner. Some having reproached him with having said, that, after the consecration the bread remained bread. 'Yea, (said he) 'that which remaineth at the baker's.' He said to a Dominican who raved against him, 'Hold thy peace, hypocrite:' and to another, who affirmed what he said of him upon oath, 'That (said he) is the best way to deceive.' There was one of his principal antagonists whom he never called by any other names than *dog* and *ass*. But it being impossible to bring the affair to an issue that day, because of the number and importance of the accusations, it was adjourned to another day. Upon that day, after the reading of the articles, and proving them by witness, Jerom prayed the assembly to grant him a hearing: which having obtained, though not without opposition, he began with invoking the grace of God so to govern his heart and his lips, that he might advance nothing but what should conduce to the salvation of his soul; and then spoke as follows: "I am not ignorant, ye learned tribe, that many excellent men have been borne down by false witnesses, and treated after a manner unworthy of their virtues, and condemned by very unjust decrees." He began with the instance of Socrates, who, after being unjustly condemned by his fellow-citizens, preferred death to a disengenuous recantation, though it was solely in his own power to have saved his life by this method. Then he instanced in the captivity of Plato, the sufferings of Anaxagoras and Zeno, the banishment of Rutilius, the execution of Boetius, and some others.

"From thence, proceeding to the Hebrews, he represented, that Moses had been often scandalized by the people, as if he had been an impostor; that Joseph's brethren, out of envy, sold him, and that he was afterwards put in prison upon false reports.

That Isaiah, Daniel, and almost all the prophets, were persecuted unjustly. He did not forget the story of Susanna. After these instances, taken from the Old Testament, he passed to those of the New. He put them in mind of the unjust execution of John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, and most of the apostles, put to death as ungodly seditious persons. 'It is a shameful thing (said he) for one priest to be condemned unjustly by another; but the height of iniquity is when this is done by a council, and a college of priests.'

"As the whole affair turned upon the witnesses, he asserted, that no credit ought to be given to their deposition, because they had advanced nothing but what was false, and that only through hatred and envy. He gave so probable an account of the reasons of that spite, that he had almost convinced them; and if this had not been an affair of religion, they were so touched with compassion, that he would have been sent away innocent. To raise the more pity, he added, that he came of his own accord to the council to justify himself, which a man, who was conscious of his guilt, would not have done. Moreover, it was very plain, from the account he gave of his life and studies, that he had spent his time in the exercise of virtue, and in works of use and piety. As to his sentiments, he shewed, that the most learned men, of all times, had different opinions concerning religion; that they disputed about it, not to combat the truth, but to clear it up: and that St. Austin and St. Jerom were not always of the same opinion, and yet were not therefore accused of heresy.

"It being expected that he should either justify himself, or retract, he declared that he would do neither the one nor the other; not the first, because he did not think himself guilty of any error; not the second, because it was not his business to retract the false accusations of his enemies. He launched out into the praise of John Huss, who had been already burnt, calling him a just and holy man, unworthy of such a death, and declared that he was ready to suffer all kinds of torture with constancy. That he had rather yield to the violence of his enemies, and to the impudence of his accusers, than to lie as they did, being moreover assured that they must one day give an account of it to him who cannot be mocked. The whole assembly was heartily grieved, and earnestly desired to save so excellent a man, if he had been but rightly disposed. But he was fixed in his resolution, and seemed to desire nothing so much as death. He again expatiated in the praise of John Huss, who as he expressed it, had not acted against the Church of God, by finding fault with the abuses of the clergy, and the

insolence, pride, and pomp of the prelates. 'As the revenues of the church are principally designed for the maintenance of the poor, for works of hospitality, for the building and repair of churches, this pious man (said he) could not bear to see them spent in debauchery with women, in feasts, hounds, horses, furniture, in gaudy apparel, and other expenses, unworthy of Christianity.'

"He had such a presence of mind, and was a man of such constancy, that though he was interrupted by a thousand clamours, and incessantly harassed, yet he was never at a loss for a reply, and put his aggressors either to silence or to shame. He had an admirable memory, which never betrayed him, though he had been three hundred and forty days at the bottom of a dungeon, without being able to read, or so much as to see the light; not to mention the uneasinesses and disturbances of mind, which would have destroyed the memory of any other person. Nevertheless, he quoted so many authorities from the doctors of the church, to support his opinions, that it is scarce to be imagined how he could muster them up in so short a space of time, supposing he had been perfectly at ease. He had a manly voice, which was agreeable, distinct, and sonorous. His behaviour naturally raised compassion, though he did not desire it. In a word, to see his intrepidity, you would have taken him for another Cato. O glorious man, truly worthy of immortal memory! If he entertained sentiments contrary to those of the church, I do not commend him for that, but I admire his prodigious knowledge and his eloquence. I fear that nature only made him those presents for his ruin.

"As he had two days' time allowed him for repentance, several persons, and among others the cardinal of Florence, went to see him, in hopes of reclaiming him. But he persevered in his errors, and therefore the council condemned him to the flames. He walked to execution with a gay countenance, and with more intrepidity than ever was shewed by any Stoick. When he came to the place of death, he put his own clothes off, and falling on his knees, kissed the stake to which he was to be bound. He was not only chained, but bound to it naked with moistened ropes, after which great sticks of wood were piled round him mixed with straw. As soon as the fire catched it, he fell to singing a hymn, which he did not leave off, notwithstanding all the flame and smoke. The executioner approaching to the pile behind his back, for fear he should see him, *Come forward*, (said he, with all the courage that could be,) *and put fire to it before my face; for had I been afraid, I should not have come hither, when I might have so easily avoided*

it. Thus died this man, whose merit cannot be sufficiently admired. I was a witness of his end, and have considered all the acts.—Whether he was guilty of insincerity or obstinacy, I know nothing of the matter; but never was there a death more philosophical.

"Thus have I given you a long narrative. I thought I could not employ my leisure time to better purpose, than to relate a history so much like to those of antiquity. Mutius Scævola did not express more constancy, when he saw but his arm burnt, than Jerom did at the sight of his whole body in the flames; nor did Socrates take off the poisonous draught with more alacrity. But this is sufficient. Pardon my being so tedious. Such a subject as this deserved to be treated still more at large."

SECTION IX.

Martyrdom of Several Noblemen.

IN 1375 some gentlemen zealously affected towards the pure gospel, applied to Charles, King of Bohemia, to call a council for an inquiry into the abuses which had crept into the church, and to make a thorough reformation. Charles, at a loss how to proceed, wrote to the pope for advice; the latter, incensed at the affair, only replied, "Punish severely those presumptuous and profane heretics." The king accordingly banished every one who had been concerned in the application; and to shew his zeal for the pope, laid many additional restraints upon the religious liberty of the country.

The martyrdom of John Huss and Jerom of Prague greatly increased the indignation which this had excited, and animated the friends of reform with renewed resolution to shake off the intolerable yoke. Fifty-eight of the principal Bohemian nobility interposed in their favour. Nevertheless they were burnt; and the pope in conjunction with the council of Constance, ordered the Romish clergy every where, to excommunicate all who adopted their opinions, or pitied their fate. In consequence of these orders, great contentions arose between the papists and reformed Bohemians, which produced a violent persecution against the latter. At Prague it was extremely severe, till, at length, the reformed, driven to desperation, armed themselves, attacked the senate-house, and cast twelve of its members, with the speaker, out of the windows. The pope, hearing of this, came to Florence, and publickly excommunicated the reformed Bohemians, exciting the emperor of Germany, and all other kings, princes, dukes, &c. to take up arms, in order to extirpate the whole race; promising, by way of encouragement, full remission of all sins to the most wicked person who should kill one Bohemian protestant. The result of this was a bloody war; for several popish princes undertook the extirpation, or at least expulsion, of the proscribed people; while the Bohemians, arming themselves, prepared to repel them in the most vigorous manner. The popish army prevailing against the protestant forces at the battle of Cuttenburgh, they conveyed their prisoners to three deep mines near that town, and threw several hundreds into each, where they perished in a miserable manner.

A bigotted popish magistrate, named Pichel, seized twenty-four protestants, among whom was his daughter's husband. On their all confessing themselves of the reformed religion, he sentenced them to be drowned in the river Abbis. On the day of

the execution a great concourse of people attended, among whom was Pichel's daughter. Seeing her husband prepared for death, she threw herself at her father's feet, bedewed them with tears, and implored him to commiserate her sorrow, and pardon her husband. The obdurate magistrate sternly replied, "Intercede not for him, child; he is a heretic, a vile heretic." To which she nobly answered, "Whatever his faults may be, or however his opinions may differ from your's, he is still my husband, a name which, at a time like this, should alone employ my whole consideration." Pichel flew into a violent passion, and said, "You are mad! cannot you after his death, have a much worthier husband?"—"No, sir," replied she, "my affections are fixed upon him, and death itself shall not dissolve my marriage vow." Pichel, however, continued inflexible, and ordered the prisoners to be tied with their hands and feet behind them, and in that manner thrown into the river. This being put into execution, the young lady watched her opportunity, leaped into the waves, and, embracing the body of her husband, both sunk together.

The emperor Ferdinand, whose hatred to the protestants was unlimited, not thinking he had sufficiently oppressed them, instituted a high court of reformers, upon the plan of the inquisition, with this difference, that the reformers were to remove from place to place, and always to be attended by a body of troops. The greater part of this court consisted of jesuits, from whose decisions there was no appeal. This bloody court, attended by a body of troops, made a tour of Bohemia, and seldom examined or saw a prisoner; but suffered the soldiers to murder the protestants as they pleased, and then to make report of the matter afterwards.

The first who fell a victim to their barbarity, was an aged minister, whom they killed as he lay sick in bed. Next day, they robbed and murdered another, and soon after shot a third, while preaching in his pulpit.

The soldiers ravished the daughter of a protestant before his face, and then tortured her father to death. They tied a minister and his wife back to back, and burnt them. Another minister they hung upon a cross beam, and making a fire under him, broiled him to death. A gentleman they hacked into small pieces; and they filled a young man's mouth with gunpowder, and setting fire to it, blew his head to pieces. But their principal rage being directed against the clergy, they seized a pious protestant minister, whom they tormented daily for a month, in the following manner: they placed him amidst them, and derided and mocked him; they spit in his face, and pinched him in most parts of his body; they hunted him like a wild beast,

till ready to expire with fatigue; they made him run the gauntlet, each striking with a twig, their fists, or with ropes; they scourged him with wires; they tied him up by the heels with his head downwards, till the blood started out of his nose, mouth, &c.; they hung him up by the arms till they were dislocated, and then had them set again; burning papers, dippped in oil, were placed between his fingers and toes; his flesh was torn with red-hot pincers, he was put to the rack; they pulled off the nails of his fingers and toes; he was bastinadoed on his feet; a slit was made in his ears and nose; they set him upon an ass, and whipped him through the town; the teeth of his jaws were pulled out; boiling lead was poured upon his fingers and toes; and, lastly, a knotted cord was twisted about his forehead in such a manner as to force out his eyes. In the midst of these enormities, particular care was taken lest his wounds should mortify, and his sufferings be shortened, till the last day, when the forcing out of his eyes proved his death.

The other acts of these monsters were various and diabolical. At length, the winter being far advanced, the high court of reformers, with their military ruffians, thought proper to return to Prague; but on their way, meeting with a protestant pastor, they could not resist the temptation of feasting their barbarous eyes with a new kind of cruelty. This was to strip him naked, and to cover him alternately with ice and burning coals. This novel mode of tormenting a fellow creature was immediately put in practice, and the unhappy victim expired beneath the torments, which seemed to delight his inhuman persecutors.

Some time after, a secret order was issued by the emperor, for apprehending all noblemen and gentlemen who had been principally concerned in supporting the protestant cause, and in nominating Frederic, elector palatine of the Rhine, to be king of Bohemia. Fifty of these were suddenly seized in one night, and brought to the castle of Prague; while the estates of those who where absent were confiscated, themselves made outlaws, and their names fixed upon a gallows as a mark of public ignominy.

Ferdinand expresses his astonishment at the number of the reformed, and his horror of the principal error, which they embraced, which was, that according to the express declarations of Holy Scripture, they were to submit to no human authority in matters of religion. He then adds, that his conscience compelled him to proscribe them, and accordingly he banished them from all his imperial dominions on pain of death. The Jesuits contrived to publish this edict just before harvest and vintage came on, that they might not carry away the produce of the present year. They allowed them only three weeks and three

days for their departure; it was death to be found even on the borders of the country beyond this time.

It was autumn, the prospect and pride of husbandmen. Heaven had smiled on their honest labours, their fields stood thick with corn, and the sun and the dew were improving every moment to give them their last polish. The yellow ears waved a homage to their owners, and the wind, whistling through the stems of the russet herbage, softly said, *Put in the sickle, the harvest is come.* Their luxuriant vine leaves too, hung aloft by tendrils mantling over the clustering grapes, like watchful parents over their tender offspring: but all were fenced by an imperial edict, and it was death to touch. Without leaving one murmur upon record, in solemn silent submission to the power that governs the universe, and causes all things to work together for good to them "that love him," they packed up and departed. In several hundreds of carriages they conveyed their sick, their innocent infants sucking at the breast of their mothers who had newly lain in, and their decriped parents, whose work was done, and whose silvery locks told every beholder that they wanted only the favour of a grave.

The high court of reformers afterwards proceeded to try those who had been apprehended, and two apostate protestants were appointed to examine them. Their examiners asked many unnecessary and impertinent questions, which so exasperated one of the noblemen, that he exclaimed, opening his breast at the same time, "Cut here, search my heart; you shall find nothing but the love of religion and liberty: those were the motives for which I am willing to die."

As none of the prisoners would renounce their faith, or acknowledged themselves in an error, they were all pronounced guilty; the sentence was, however, referred to the emperor. When that monarch had read their names, and the accusations against them, he passed judgment on all, but in a different manner; his sentences being of four kinds, viz. death, banishment, imprisonment for life, and imprisonment during pleasure. Twenty of them being ordered for execution, were informed they might send for jesuits, monks, or friars to prepare for their awful change, but that no communications with protestants would be permitted them. This proposal they rejected, and strove all they could to comfort and cheer each other upon the solemn occasion. The morning of execution being arrived, a cannon was fired as a signal to bring the prisoners from the castle to the principal market place, in which scaffolds were erected, and a body of troops drawn up to attend. The prisoners left the castle, and passed with dignity, composure, and cheerfulness, through soldiers, jesuits, priests, executioners, t-

tendants, and a prodigious concourse of people assembled to see the exit of these devoted martyrs. Gratitude to the noble defenders of the religious liberties of Bohemia, on whose estates in various parts of the kingdom, people of all denominations had resided in peace, requires a few words to be added concerning them.

Lord Schilik, a nobleman, about the age of fifty. He possessed great abilities, natural and acquired. On being told he was to be quartered, and his parts scattered in different places, he smiled in great serenity, and said, "The loss of a sepulchre is but a trifling consideration." A gentleman who stood by, crying, "Courage, my lord;" he replied, "I possess the favour of God, which is sufficient to inspire any one with courage: the fear of death does not trouble me. I have faced him in fields of battle to oppose antichrist." After repeating a short prayer, he told the executioner he was ready, who cut off his right hand and head, and then quartered him. His hand and head were placed upon the high tower of Prague, and his quarters distributed in different parts of the city.

Wenceslaus, lord Budowitz, was a nobleman of high rank, eminently learned, and had held several offices of great trust under the emperor Rodolph, who admitted him into his councils. He was of a mind so liberal that all his tenants and all of every denomination on his estates, enjoyed full religious liberty, and considered him as their father rather than their lord. He had always espoused the patriotic party, and when Frederick triumphed, he fled. Soon after, he returned and was arrested. He was seventy-four years of age. Being asked by an officer of the crown in the prison, why he had returned to the seat of danger, he replied, "My conscience obliged me. I hold it a part of my religion not to desert my country and the good cause. Who knows the secret purpose of God? Perhaps he intends I should seal my sentiments with my blood;" then rising from his seat, he exclaimed, "Here am I, my God, dispose of thy servant as it seems good in thy sight. I have had enough of life, take me away, and let me not live to see the evils which I know are coming upon my country." One day the same gentleman told him it was reported in the city that he had died of grief. "What I," exclaimed he, smiling, "I hardly ever enjoyed so much happiness in my life. See," added he, reaching out a bible, which he held open in his hand, "This is my paradise, it always afforded me pleasure, but never such rivers of delight as now. I live, and I shall live as long as ever God pleases, and the day, I hope, will never come, in which it may be said, Budowitz died of a broken heart." On every examination he acquitted himself nobly, and immediately after the judge

had passed sentence on him, he said, "You have long thirsted after my blood, now enjoy it: but recollect, the God for whose cause we suffer is a righteous avenger of innocent blood." Three days before his execution, he said to his servant, "Zidnowsky, I dreamt last night I was walking in a pleasant meadow, and anxiously thinking what I should do in my present condition, when a stranger came up to me and offered me a book. The book was elegant, and the leaves perfectly clean, but there was nothing written in it except these words, 'Commit thy way unto the Lord, trust also in him, and he shall bring it to pass.'" During his confinement, two capuchin friars visited him, and told him, they waited on him to exhibit mercy to him. He asked, "What mercy?" My lord, we come to shew you the way to heaven. "The way to heaven!" said he, "through the mercy of my God I know the way." Your lordship is opinionated. "Opinionated! no, my hope is not founded in my conjectures, but on the infallible word of God, for I know no other way than him who calls himself the way, and the truth, and the life." But my lord, there is no salvation out of the church, of which our holy father the pope is the head. Stung with indignation at such vain babbling, the noble prisoner stepped back and exclaimed, "Away with you and your pope: begone where your crimes deserve. I know he is antichrist, the vicar of Satan, the beast of the Apocalypse, red with the blood of the saints. Leave me, unless you choose I should spend a few minutes in teaching you the way of salvation." The friars crossed themselves and withdrew. He could not suffer any priest to approach him on the scaffold under pretence of assisting him in his devotions. They stood at a distance, looking like the devil when a penitent escapes him, and he has lost his prey. The noble sufferer, just before he kneeled to the block, stroking his head and his large white beard, said, "My gray hairs, who would ever have thought you were reserved for this honour!" Then kneeling down, and lifting his hands and eyes of heaven, he prayed most fervently for his country, the church, and his enemies, and then stooped down and received the stroke.

Caspar of Sulewitz, was a brave old Bohemian of eighty-six years of age, when he was arrested. He expressed his sentiments thus: "Through the mercy of my God, I have preserved fidelity and a good conscience towards God, my king, and my country. I have faithfully served four emperors. Death, it seems, is my reward: but I appeal to God, who knows all hearts. He knows I neither sought riches nor empty fame: but I durst not connive at the oppression of liberty and religion, and, though we saw we were circumvented, yet we chose rather to risk our lives, and hazard every thing than by an ignoble inac-

tivity to submit to tyranny and betray posterity. I bow, however, to the will of God, and I acknowledge his goodness for allowing us to render truth more illustrious by our constancy, and to adorn the cause of freedom and virtue with our blood." Speaking of religion, he said, "I have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. I can boldly say with David, though my flesh and my heart fail, yet God is the strength of my heart and my portion for ever." On the morning of his execution he chose to dress far more elegantly than usual, and ordered a long full garment of fine white satin to be prepared, which he put on, and over that a silken cloak. He called this his wedding suit. His attendant reminded him, that the righteousness of Christ was a splendid dress. "I know it," replied he, "but I choose to dress thus in honour of my heavenly bridegroom." It was with difficulty, being so far advanced in years, he got up the steps of the scaffold, and at the block he could not stoop so as to afford the executioner a fair opportunity to perform his office. His attendant said, "My noble lord, you have commended your soul to Christ, now offer your venerable head to God by raising it up a little." He did so, and, with great calmness, said, "Lord Jesus, into thy hand I commit my spirit." The executioner then performed his office.

Lady Catharine Ottia de Loss, was condemned to be banished for obstinately persevering to dissent from the Established Church, and continuing to profess the reformed religion. Her judges urged her to reform, or, said they, you must go into exile. "No," replied her ladyship, "I will do neither. I cannot live in exile, for I shall have nothing there to subsist on. I cannot conform to popery, for my conscience forbids me. If you can propose a middle way, I will comply: if not, I shall run all hazards, the will of the Lord be done." Whatever might be the cause, she was discharged, and continued to live on her own estate in the enjoyment of that middle way—toleration.

Lord Harant was a gentleman whose natural abilities were much refined and improved by travelling, having visited the principal places in Europe, Asia, and Africa. The accusations against him were, his being a protestant, and having taken an oath of allegiance to Frederick, the elector palatine of the Rhine, as king of Bohemia. When he ascended the scaffold, he said, "I have travelled through many countries, and traversed many barbarous nations, yet have I never found so much cruelty as at home. I have escaped innumerable perils both by sea and land, and have surmounted all to suffer innocently in my native place. My blood is likewise sought by those for whom I and my ancestors have hazarded our lives and fortunes; but, Almighty God! forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Then approaching the block, he kneeled down, and exclaimed, with great energy, "Into thy hands, O Lord! I commend my spirit; in thee have I always trusted; receive me, threfore, my blessed Redeemer." The fatal stroke was then given, which closed the evils of this world.

Lord Frederick de Bile, suffered as a protestant, and met his fate with firmness, and only said, he wished well to the friends whom he left behind, forgave his enemies, denied the authority of the emperor of that country, acknowledged Frederick to be the only true king of Bohemia, and trusted for salvation in the merits of his Redeemer.

Lord Henry Otto, on first coming upon the scaffold, seemed greatly agitated, and said, as if addressing himself to the emperor, "Thou tyrant, Ferdinand, thy throne is established in blood; but if you kill my body, and disperse my members, they shall still rise up in judgment against you." He was then silent; and having walked about awhile, recovered his fortitude, and growing calm, said to a gentleman, "A few minutes I was greatly discomposed, but now I feel my spirits revive; God be praised, death no longer appears as the king of terrors, but seems to invite me to participate of some unknown joys." Then kneeling before the block, he said, "Almighty God! to thee I commend my soul, receive it for the sake of Christ, and admit it to the glory of thy presence." The pains of his death must have been severe, the executioner making several strokes before his head was separated from his body.

The earl of Rugenia was distinguished for his great accomplishments and unaffected piety. On the scaffold he said, "We, who drew our swords, fought only to preserve the liberties of the people, and to keep our consciences sacred. As we were overcome, however, I am better pleased at the sentence than if the emperor had given me life; for I find that it pleases God to have his truth defended, not by our swords, but by our blood." He then went boldly to the block, saying, "I shall now soon be with Christ," and was instantly launched into the ocean of eternity and glory.

Sir Gasper Kaplitz—this nobleman was 86 years of age. On coming to the place of execution, he addressed the principal officer thus: "Behold a miserable ancient man, who hath often intreated God to take him out of this wicked world, but could not till now obtain his desire; for God reserved me till these years to be a spectacle to the world, and a sacrifice to himself; therefore God's will be done." An officer told him, that in consideration of his great age, if he would only ask pardon, he would immediately receive it. "Ask pardon!" exclaimed he; "I will ask pardon of God whom I have frequently offended,

but not of the emperor whom I never offended. Should I sue for pardon, it might be justly suspected I had committed some crime for which I deserved this fate. No, no; as I die innocent, and with a clear conscience, I would not be separated from these noble companions:" so saying, he cheerfully resigned his neck to the block.

Procopius Dorzecki said, on the scaffold, "We are now under the emperor's judgment; but in time he shall be judged, and we shall appear as witnesses against him." Then taking a gold medal from his neck, which was struck when the elector Frederick was crowned king, he presented it to one of the officers with these words, "As a dying man I request, that if ever king Frederick be restored to the throne of Bohemia, you will give him this medal. Tell him, for his sake I wore it till death, and that now I willingly lay down my life for God and my king." He then cheerfully submitted to the fatal blow.

Dionysius Zervius—this gentleman was 56 years of age, and had been educated as a Roman Catholic, but had embraced the reformed religion for some years. The moment before his death, the jesuits used their utmost endeavours to make him recant, and return to his former faith, but he gave not the least heed to their exhortations. Kneeling down, he said, "They may destroy my body, but cannot injure my soul; that I commend to my Redeemer."

Valentine Cockan was a gentleman of great fortune, and eminent for his piety and uprightness. His talents and acquirements were, however, of very inferior order; yet his imagination seemed to brighten, and his faculties to improve on death's approach; and just before he was beheaded, he expressed himself with such eloquence, energy, and precision, as amazed his hearers.

Tobias Steffick was remarkable for his affability, and upon the approach of death displayed the greatest serenity. A few minutes before he died, he said, "I have received, during the course of my life, many favours from God; ought not I therefore cheerfully to take one bitter cup, when he thinks proper to present it? or rather, ought not I to rejoice, that it is his will I should give up a corrupt life for that of immortality?"

Dr. Jessenius. This gentleman was a learned student of physic, and accused of having spoken disrespectful words of the emperor, of treason in swearing allegiance to the elector Frederick, and of heresy, being a protestant: for the first accusation he had his tongue cut out; for the second he was beheaded; and for the third, and last, he was quartered, and the respective parts exposed on poles.

Christopher Chober. No sooner had this gentleman stepped upon the scaffold, than he said, "I come, in the name of God,

to die for his glory; I have fought the good fight, and finished my course; so, executioner, do your office." On this he instantly received the crown of martyrdom.

John Shurtis was, by all who knew him, beloved in his life, and regretted at his death. The only words he spoke before his martyrdom were, "The righteous seem to die in the eyes of fools, but they only go to rest. Lord Jesus! thou hast promised that those who come to thee shall not be cast off. Behold, I am come; look on me, pity me, pardon my sins, and receive my soul."

Maximilian Hostialick was celebrated for his learning, piety, and humanity. When he first came on the scaffold, he seemed terrified at the approach of death. Soon after he said, "Christ will wash me from my crimes." He then told the officer he should repeat the song of Simeon; at the conclusion of which the executioner might do his duty. He accordingly said, "Lord! now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation:" at which words his head at one blow was severed from his body.

SECTION X.

The Inquisition in Spain, &c.

Inquisitors covered with human gore, equally deaf to the groans of widows and orphans without, and to all the dictates of humanity within, affecting at the same instant to be the express images and representatives of the mild and merciful Jesus, are such horrid figures, that it is painful to repeat their names. Three shall suffice. Dominick, the son of Felix and Joanna, the disgrace of the illustrious family of Guzman, was born at the village of Cabaroga in the year eleven hundred and seventy. He was educated a priest, and grew up the most fiery and the most bloody of mortals. To him the inquisition owed its first form. Before his time, every bishop was a sort of inquisitor in his own diocese: but it was his invention to incorporate a body of men, independent on every human being except the pope, for the express purpose of ensnaring and destroying christians. Dominick knew full well that although the priests declaimed ever so much on the crime of heresy, the lords of the soil would not suffer them to butcher their tenants under any such vain pretences; and much less would they go in procession to the shambles themselves. In Biscay, priesthood was very low in the middle of the eleventh century, and the clergy complained to Don Garcia Sanchez IV. king of Navarre, that the Biscayan nobility and gentry treated them very little better than slaves, and employed them chiefly only to breed up, and feed their dogs. Near a hundred years after, in a neighbouring state, when that unworthy monk, Saint Bernard, began in a sermon to a crowded auditory to inveigh against heresy, the nobility and gentry all rose up and left the church, and the people followed them. Bernard came down, and went to the market place to hold forth on the same subject; but the populace, wiser than the preacher, refused to hear him, and set up such a shouting, that he was forced to desist. Only one expedient remained. Bernard recollected, that Jesus had ordered his apostles to shake off the dust of their feet in certain cases. As if he had been an apostle, and had received the same command, he affected to imitate them. He left the city, he shook his feet, and cursed the people, by exclaiming, God Almighty punish the city with a drought! Thus far went the rage of orthodoxy at the beginning of the twelfth century, and here its proud waves were stayed: but at the beginning of the thirteenth, about the year 1215, Dominick broke down the dam, and covered Toulouse with a tide of despotism stained with human blood. Posterity will

hardly believe that this enemy of mankind, after he had formed a race like himself, called first preaching, and then dominican friars, died in his bed, was canonized for a saint, was worshipped as a god, and proposed as a model of piety and virtue to succeeding generations among the papists.

Raymund of Pennafort, a Catalonian of the family of the ancient counts of Barcelona, was born five years after the birth of Dominick. He was educated in the same manner as Dominick, and became one of his first disciples, a preaching friar and an inquisitor. This man was preferred to the office of confessor to James, king of Arragon, and him he persuaded to address the pope for a commission of inquisition in his dominions. This was readily granted, and in the year 1232, the inquisition was introduced into Arragon and Castille. Pennafort drew up a form of proceeding against heretics, which was so proper in the opinion of the pope, that he ordered it in all points to be punctually observed. This very curious composition was adopted for ecclesiastical law in 1243 by the council of Tarragona. It consists chiefly of definitions of crimes, and forms of procedure.

One of each will be sufficient to convey an idea of the whole. The definition of heresy and a heretic is this. "Heretics are such as persist in their error, as the Inzabbatati, who affirm, it is not lawful in any case to swear, and that ecclesiastical or secular powers are not to be obeyed, and that no corporal punishment ought to be inflicted on any one for a difference of religious opinions, and such like. The believers of the said heresies are to be accounted heretics. Persons suspected of heresy are such as hear the preaching or the reading of the Inzabbatati, or such as kneel down while they pray, or give them a kiss, or think them good men, or any thing of this kind that may excite a probable suspicion of heresy." The oath by which a person suspected of heresy was to clear himself was this, to be taken in public. "I, Sancho, swear, by Almighty God, and by these holy gospels of God, which I hold in my hand, before you lord Garcia, archbishop, and before others your assistants, that I am not, nor ever have been, an Inzabbatate Waldense, or poor person of Lyons, or an heretic of any sect of heresy condemned by the church; nor do I believe, nor have I ever believed, their errors, nor will I believe them in any future time of my life: moreover, I profess and protest that I do believe, and that I will always hereafter believe, the catholic faith, which the holy apostolical church of Rome publickly holds, teaches and preaches, and you, my lord archbishop, and other prelates of the catholic church publickly hold, preach, and teach." Dominick was a novice compared with Raymund Pennafort, and of such a man it is hardly necessary to inform the reader, either that after his

death, a council petitioned pope Nicholas to canonize him, that they might number him with the saints, erect altars to his honour, and perform an annual service in praise of his singular merit; or that the petition was granted, as soon as the necessary sums were advanced, by pope Clement VIII. He was not the author, but the promoter of the famous treatise, called the Dagger of Faith.

The man who put the finishing hand to the inquisitorial system of jurisdiction in Spain, and brought it to its present form, was a monk of good family, called from the place of his birth, Thomas of Torquemada, or Torquemata, or Turrecremata; for so hath the confusion of languages in Spain metamorphosed the original name of Porta Augusta. His first preferment was to the priorship of the monastery of St. Cross at Segovia. Next he became confessor, or, as the catholics call him, spiritual father to their majesties. Then he was made inquisitor general of all Spain. He was the chief instrument of the expulsion of the Jews and Moors. By an edict of Ferdinand the Catholic, issued in March 1494, they were ordered to quit the kingdom within four months from the date of the edict, or to embrace christianity. Torquemada advised the king to allow them only one month, and took pains to give his advice effect; but probably his scheme was counteracted by the famous rabbi Isaac Abarbanel, who was in high favour at court. This excellent man, celebrated for his learning, his riches, his employments in the courts of Portugal, Castille, and Naples, for his learned works, and his frequent disgraces on account of his religion, was just and mild, and lived in habits of friendship with christians. He was obliged to yield to this cruel edict, and died fourteen years after at Venice, and was buried at Padua. They say his books are full of invectives against the clergy and the pope; but this ought not to be thought strange from a man, who saw himself, along with a hundred and twenty thousand families of his countrymen, sacrificed to the avarice and cruelty of a set of men, for no other reason except that of worshipping one God, according to the harmless rites of Moses. It would afford no pleasure to the reader to go through the history of Torquemada; it is really the life of a bloody pirate; and perhaps it would create disgust to understand that, instead of loving God with all his heart, and his neighbour as himself, he dressed without a shirt, and slept without sheets, breakfasted, dined, and supped without meat, lived after the rule of Saint Dominick, and with the money taken from heretics erected a monastery, with this singular statute, confirmed by pope Alexander VI, that no descendant of either Jews or Mohammedans should ever be admitted into it, lest, recollecting the foundation, they should discover their

hatred of him by setting fire to the abbey, and burning it down to the ground.

It is not imaginable that a wise and brave people, lodged in intrenchments of ancient and approved laws, and jealous in a high degree of their liberties, could all on a sudden suffer themselves to be juggled out of their birth-rights, and driven quiet as lambs into dungeons and torture-rooms by an army of mendicant enthusiasts, without shirts or shoes, and with no other weapons than crosses and relics, and old romances at which wise men laughed, along with commissions from a foreign pontiff, when it was one fundamental law of the kingdom, that no grant was good if it violated the law of nature; another, that no cause should be decided out of the kingdom; a third, that no king of their own should presume to make a law without the advice of parliament; a fourth, that the chief justice of Arragon should be accessible to all, and right every man's wrongs; with a thousand precedents of impartial and universal justice to grace and embellish these laws. It took, therefore, more than three hundred years to establish the inquisition. All orders of men, even some of the inquisitors resisted it.

The last period of the History of Spain, from the conquest of the Moors to the present time, exhibits a series of events as interesting as any that ever appeared in the annals of mankind. In a political view glorious but ineffectual struggles for constitutional freedom. Charles V. gave civil liberty its death wound, and that unfeeling tyrant Philip II. by a thousand acts of treachery and cruelty, put a period to its existence. Two accurate and elegant historians have placed this fatal catastrophe in the most instructive point of light. Religious liberty had received and survived many a stab, but the maxim of guarding the honey with the sting, produced the inquisition, which, like a savage beast, with unrelenting barbarity, and without shedding one tear, tore out the vitals of it. This bloody triumph of catholicism was the ruin of literature and trade: it stagnated the genius, and changed the character of the whole nation. The following account is so just, and the reflections so natural, that it cannot but edify the reader.

The court of inquisition, which, although it was not the parent, has been the nurse and guardian of ignorance and superstition, in every kingdom into which it has been admitted, was introduced into Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella, and was principally intended to prevent the relapse of the Jews and Moors, who had been converted, or pretended to be converted to the faith of the church of Rome. Its jurisdiction was not confined to the Jews and Moors, but extended to all those who, in their practice or opinions, differed from the established church,

In the united kingdoms of Castille and Arragon, there were eighteen different inquisitorial courts; having each of them its counsellors, termed apostolical inquisitors; its secretaries, serjeants, and other officers; and besides these, there were twenty thousand familiars dispersed throughout the kingdom, who acted as spies and informers, and were employed to apprehend all suspected persons, and to commit them for their trial, to the prisons which belonged to the inquisition. By these familiars, persons were seized on bare suspicion; and, in contradiction to the common rules of law, they were put to the torture, tried and condemned by the inquisitors, without being confronted either with their accusers, or with the witnesses on whose evidence they were condemned. The punishments inflicted were more or less dreadful, according to the caprice and humour of the judges. The unhappy victims were either strangled, or committed to the flames, or loaded with chains and shut up in dungeons during life. Their effects were confiscated, and their families stigmatized with infamy.

This instituion was, no doubt, well calculated to produce an uniformity of religious profession; but it had a tendency likewise to destroy the sweets of social life; to banish all freedom of thought and speech; to disturb men's minds with the most disquieting apprehensions, and to produce the most intolerable slavery, by reducing persons of all ranks in life to a state of abject dependence upon priests; whose integrity, were it even greater than that of other men, as in every false religion it is less, must have been corrupted by the uncontrolled authority which they were allowed to exercise.

Such nearly were the sentiments which even the Spaniards entertained of this iniquitous tribunal at the time when it was erected. But not having had experience then of its pernicious effects, and considering it as intended for the chastisement of jews and infidels, they only murmured and complained; till the yoke being wreathed about their necks, the most secret murmurings became dangerous, and often fatal to those who uttered them.

By this tribunal a visible change was wrought in the temper of the people: and reserve, distrust, and jealousy, became the distinguishing character of a Spaniard. It perpetuated and confirmed the reign of ignorance and superstition. It inflamed the rage of religious bigotry, and by the cruel spectacles to which, in the execution of its decrees, it familiarized the people, it nourished in them that ferocious spirit, which, in the Netherlands and America, they manifested by deeds that have fixed an everlasting reproach on the Spanish name.

Upon all occasions the inquisitors carry on their processes

with the utmost severity. A Protestant is seldom shewn any mercy; and a Jew, who turns Christian, is far from being secure; for if he is known to keep company with another new-converted Jew, a suspicion arises that they privately practise together some Jewish ceremonies; if he keep company with a person who was lately a protestant, but now professes popery, they are accused of plotting together; but if he associate with a Roman catholic, an accusation is often laid against him for only pretending to be a papist, and the consequence, is a confiscation of his effects, and the loss of his life: if he complains of ill usage. A defence is of little use to the prisoner: for a suspicion only is deemed sufficient cause of condemnation, and the greater his wealth, the greater his danger. Most of the inquisitors' cruelties are owing to their rapacity: they destroy life to possess the property; and, under pretence of zeal, plunder individuals of their rights. A prisoner of the inquisitors is never allowed to see the face of his accuser, or of the witnesses against him, but every method is taken by threats and tortures to oblige him to accuse himself. If the jurisdiction of the inquisition be not fully allowed, vengeance is denounced against such as call it in question; or if any of its officers are opposed, those who oppose them are almost certain to be sufferers for their temerity; the maxim of the inquisition being to strike, by terror, and awe those who are the objects of its power, into obedience. High birth, distinguished rank, great dignity, or eminent employments, are no protection from its severities; and the lowest officers of the inquisition can make the highest characters tremble at their authority. These are the circumstances which subject a person to the rage of the inquisition; and the modes of beginning the process are, 1. to proceed by imputation, or prosecute on common report; 2. to proceed by the information of any indifferent person who chooses to impeach another; 3. to prosecute on the information of spies who are retained by the inquisition; and, 4. to prosecute on the confession of the prisoner himself. The inquisitors never forget or forgive; length of time cannot efface their resentments; nor can the humblest concessions, or most liberal presents, obtain a pardon: they carry the desire of revenge to the grave, and wish to have both the property and lives of those who have offended them. Hence when a person once accused to the inquisition, after escaping, is retaken, he ought seriously to prepare himself for death, for pardon is next to an impossibility. If a positive accusation be given, the inquisitors direct an order to the executioner, who takes a certain number of familiars with him to assist in the execution. Father, son, brother, sister, husband, or wife, must quietly submit; none dare resist or even speak; as either would

subject them to the punishment of the devoted victim. No respite is allowed, but the prisoner is instantaneously hurried away.

This dreadful engine of arbitrary tyranny may, at any time, be introduced into a country where the catholics have the upper hand; and hence how careful ought we to be, who are not cursed with such an arbitrary court, to prevent its introduction!

When the inquisitors have taken umbrage against an innocent person, all expedients are used to facilitate condemnation; false oaths and testimonies are employed to find the accused guilty; and all laws and institutions are sacrificed to the bigoted revenge of papacy. If a person accused be taken and imprisoned, his treatment is deplorable. The jailers first begin by searching him for books and papers which might tend to his conviction, or for instruments which might be employed in self-murder or escape, and on this pretext they even rob him of his wearing apparel. When the prisoner has been searched and robbed, he is committed to prison. Innocence, on such an occasion, is a weak reed; nothing being easier than to ruin an innocent person. The mildest sentence is imprisonment for life; yet the inquisitors proceed by degrees, at once subtle, slow, and cruel. The jailer first of all insinuates himself into the prisoner's favour, by pretending to wish him well, and advise him well; and among other hints, falsely kind, tells him to petition for an audit. When he is brought before the consistory, the first demand is, "What is your request?" To this the prisoner very naturally answers, that he would have a hearing. Hereupon one of the inquisitors replies, "Your hearing is this; confess the truth, conceal nothing, and rely on our mercy." Now, if the prisoner make a confession of any trifling affair, they immediately found an indictment on it against him; if he is mute, they shut him up without light, or any food but a scanty allowance of bread and water till he overcome his obstinacy, as they call it; and if he declare he is innocent, they torment him till he either dies with the pain, or confesses himself guilty.

Authors of undoubted credit affirm, and without the least exaggeration, that millions of persons have been ruined by this horrible court. It was the chief instrument by which Ferdinand Charles and Philip subverted the constitutional civil liberty of Spain. Moors were banished, a million at a time. Six or eight hundred thousand Jews were driven away at once, and their immense riches seized by their accusers, and dissipated among their persecutors; while thousands dissembled, and professed themselves Christians, only to be harassed in future. Heretics of all ranks and of various denominations were imprisoned, and burnt, or fled into other countries. The gloom of

despotism overshadowed all Spain, and at first the people reasoned, and rebelled, and murdered the inquisitors. Then the aged murmured and died. The next generation fluttered and complained, but their successors were completely tamed by education, and Spaniards were trained up by the priests to shudder at the thought of thinking for themselves. That honour to his country, and to human nature, the good Mr. Howard, says, when he saw the inquisition at Valladolid, "I could not but observe, that even the sight of it struck terror into the common people as they passed. It is stiled, added he, by a monstrous abuse of words, the HOLY and APOSTOLIC court of inquisition."

A bare narration of the exploits of the inquisition hath shocked the world, and the cruelty of it hath become proverbial. So it hath affected even superficial observers; but such as trace effects to their causes, make four reflections that merit attention. One on synods; a second on establishments; a third on papal religion; and a fourth on the inseparable connection between a free government and temporal prosperity. Each is brief, because each is self-evident, and needs no proof.

Synods of three or four poor bishops, framing creeds and canons for conscience, and attaching to a breach of them ideas of guilt, differ from the inquisition only as a spark of fire differs from a city in a blaze. There were many such synods in the early and middle ages of Spanish ecclesiastical history. Having then, as clergy, no secular power, they only distinguished the pretended offenders by sentimental characters, and denounced harmless anathemas against them: but when their successors obtained secular dominion, and the inquisition came, it was nothing in the world but an answer to their prayers, the actual accomplishment of their devout wishes. The language used to be, when they could do no better: "If any person, king, nobleman, prelate, priest, monk, or any of inferior rank, native or foreigner, shall at any time deny this creed, or disobey these canons, may he be numbered with Judas, Dathan, and Abiram; may all his limbs be broken; may his eyes be plucked out; may his entrails be torn out of him; may he be smitten with the leprosy, and other diseases from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot; and may he suffer the pain of eternal damnation with the devil and his angels!" When the inquisitors of the holy office condemned the memory of Arnald, viscount of Castelbo, and ordered his bones to be dug up; when they passed the same sentence on his daughter Ermesenda, viscountess of Castelbo; when they imprisoned almost seven years Caranza, archbishop of Toledo, for publishing an heretical catechism; when they burnt thirty, sixty, ninety, heretics at a time; when they hung their tribunals with scarlet, stained the

walls of their torture-rooms with human blood, adorned their parlours with pictures of executions, of ninety-seven persons consuming to ashes in the flames; when they made heresy a capital crime, and conceived a court of only three or four persons for the trial of the criminal, the inquisitor, one or two secretaries, and the prisoner; when they conducted all this infernal polity in the name of Jesus, and under the banner of the cross, while they clothed the wretched sufferers with habits and caps on which were represented devils and flames: what did they more than finish and colour a picture of which the most ancient and sanctimonious synods had given them a sketch; a picture when finished so dreadful, that even the artists shuddered at the sight of their own work! An inquisitor calls it, HORRENDUM ET TREMENDUM SPECTACULUM: but liberal men have hardly words to express their abhorrence of it. "The dreadful ceremony," says an excellent writer, "is more repugnant to humanity, as well as to the spirit of the christian religion, than the most abominable sacrifices recorded in the annals of the pagan world." These abominable sacrifices, these horrible spectacles, these diabolical cruelties, all originated in the affixing of ideas of guilt to mere mental errors, or, in other words, in making faith and not virtue the mark of a good man. There was a poor fellow at Seville, who had the misfortune to marry a girl of remarkable beauty. A priest decoyed her from her husband, and kept her for his mistress. One day the husband fell in with some company of his own rank, who were talking of purgatory: "I am in it," exclaimed he jocularly. "and shall continue there as long as that scurvy knave keeps my wife." The sacred gallant heard of this, and lodged an information in the holy office against the poor man for holding erroneous opinions concerning purgatory. In fine, the priest sung mass and kept the lady, the man was imprisoned for many years, and probably lay there for life, and the holy office confiscated his little property. This is not the only court, which winks at vice for the sake of orthodoxy.

It was the alliance between the catholic party and the state, in which the establishment of each by the other was the chief, if not the only condition, that wrought the ruin of Spain. The first anathemas were denounced by such a wrong-headed man as Gregory the wonder-worker, or by a few such bishops as wise and as wonderful as he: but they wrought no more civil inconvenience than the cursing and swearing of six pawnbrokers over their prey and their cups in a night cellar. When a few enthusiasts, brethren and sisters, got together in a meadow, and held a council abroad, (which was not uncommon in early times) and when they agreed neither to pray for a heretic, nor

to eat or drink with him, nor even to speak to or kiss him; it was all very well: the brethren had a right to dispose of their prayers, and the fair sex of their favours as they thought proper. The holy kiss was in fashion then in Spain. It was the establishment of this party that produced the evil. If it be said, a standing army forced the inquisition on the Spaniards; it ought also to be observed that there was a time when the Moorish kings of Spain had two hundred thousand soldiers in actual pay, and a stock of a hundred thousand horses for their own use, and for mounting their cavalry in time of war, and yet they never employed this power to support an inquisition, because they had no church established by law. Happy would it have been for Spain, if Ferdinand, Charles and Philip, if they must have been absolute, had adopted the Mohammedan polity.

The inquisition hath fully displayed in the eyes of the whole world the temper and spirit of the papal religion. Tertullian somewhere says, Christians were often called not Christiani, but Chrestiani, from the sweetness of their tempers. There is in corporate bodies, as well as in individuals, a general temper and disposition. Jesus was mild. His apostles were GENTLE, as nurses that nourish children. All churches imitating these examples are peaceable. The church of Rome is so constituted as to produce bad dispositions, and, by an astonishing address, to convert such dispositions into virtues, and to elevate the men who display the most and worst into the highest rank of temporal and eternal glory. By the exercise of the whole circle of human crimes, the chief of which was the introduction of the inquisition, did Ferdinand II. obtain of the pope, for himself and his successors, kings and queens of Spain, the title of CATHOLIC. By a series of such actions as all free states execrate, did friar Francis Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, whom Ferdinand at his death appointed regent of Castile, obtain the rank of a cardinal, and the reputation of the first statesman in Europe, along with that of a saint and a worker of miracles: by extending the prerogative; by depressing the nobles; by forming a body of troops depending on the crown; by inspiring queen Isabella with the design of the cruel expulsion of the Jews; by depraving and hardening the youthful heart of Charles V. when it relented and pitied the miserable sufferers, with the wicked maxims of the inquisition; and by doing every thing that a man of his rank could do toward enslaving his country, by making the people vassals to the king, and putting the king into the keeping of that fox, the pope. When his panegyrists set forth his sanctity, by telling, that he wore the frock of a friar under his archiepiscopal robes; that in the height of his preferment he lived upon alms; that he walked on foot, and slept on the ground, and never

quitted the rules of his order: if they mean to give these either as the virtues of a statesman, or as apologies for his treasonable practices against the free constitution of his country, they add insult to oppression, and provoke the indignation of mankind.

In all countries, where popery hath been established, the most execrable citizens have been canonized for its saints, and had Philip and Mary succeeded to re-establish it in this country, the nation, no doubt, before this time, would have worshipped saint Stephen of Winchester, and saint Edmund of London, whose surname was Bonner.

The effects, the fatal and invariable effects of despotism on temporal prosperity, are no where more conspicuous than in Spain. What an ancient prophet said of an eastern army of banditti, may, with great truth, be applied to the ecclesiastics of the catholic church: "Before them the land is as the garden of Eden, and behind them a desolate wilderness." In the times of the Moors, the city of Grenada and its environs unfurled the beauties of an earthly paradise. The city, thronged like a hive, was a store-house of plenty. There the wealthy Jews distributed raw silk to the manufacturers, who returned it wrought, and received and enjoyed the fruit of their labour. There the farms, and villages, and hamlets, of twenty miles round, met with a ready sale for corn, and figs, and raisins, and every species of fruits fresh or preserved. Thither the miners conveyed silver and gold, the precious produce of the mountains, and there specie was in greater plenty than in any country of Europe. Every street had its fountain, and every house its pipe of water. Here huge warehouses richly stored, or royal arsenals lifted their heads, and there the magnificent houses of merchants, magistrates, officers of the army, and manufacturers, filled the eye with objects of art, opulence, and ease. Eighty thousand families inhabited the city, and they frequently sent out armies of thirty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. The country round was divided into little freeholds, all clad with verdure and vegetable productions, or into gardens and vineyards in the highest cultivation; or into large farms, where flocks, and herds, and herbage, and corn, rewarded the industrious husbandman: or into country seats, in the adjacencies of which were villages and towns. Within the city stood mosques, and churches, and schools; and within sight of the walls were reckoned fifty colleges and places of worship, and above three hundred water-mills. Over all, the royal palace of the Alhambra, built with red bricks, on a high hill stood the silver towers glittering like stars among the trees. Then there were no heretics at Grenada. In the same street a man might see, without wondering at the sight, the snug monk trudging along with his crown shaven, and in the habit of his order: the mussulman sailing in his striped robes of

Persian silk or cotton: the rabbi plodding in the display of his silver beard; the nun tripping in her weeds and her vail; and the honest manichean carrying home his work to Aaron the Jew. "Alas!" exclaims a modern traveller, "the glories of Grenada have passed away with its old inhabitants; its streets are choked with filth; its aqueducts crumbled to dust; its woods destroyed; its territory depopulated; its trade lost; in a word, every thing, except the church and the law, in a most deplorable situation." Bleak and blasted hills, covered with ruins, every where excite the curiosity and the pity of the observer. The clergy comfort themselves under the loss of all, by boasting that Grenada hath the dignity of being an archiepiscopal see, that mosques are converted into churches, and that the want of popular affluence is amply supplied by the number and the sanctity of the priests. It is a very ancient maxim with the monks, that plunder, taken from infidels, may conscientiously be applied to the use of the church; that to endow the church is to enrich God; that all prohibitions of robbery are to be explained of the goods of the saints, and not of those of the wicked, who know not the use of property: and, agreeably to these principles, many donors expressly declare, in deeds of endowment, that the donations were taken from the Moors. It was for this, that the monks, a sort of spiritual sutlers, followed the armies, supplied the camp with omens and divinations, and obtained in return a part of the plunder, or, as the deeds express it, a present to God and his mother.

Ferdinand, Charles V, and Philip II, were great acquisitions to the Catholic church. Ferdinand settled the inquisition in Spain. Charles encouraged it during his life, and at his death, both by his will, and by a codicil annexed to it, recommended it warmly to Philip. Many execrable monsters have disgraced the human species by wanton acts of cruelty, but history cannot exhibit a more finished character of this kind than the dark and barbarous Philip. Not shocked at the rivers of human blood, with which his insatiable butchers had flooded the Low Countries and South America, he took pleasure in sitting coolly to behold the horrid spectacle of a whole cluster of his fellow creatures of both sexes committed alive to the flames, for no other crime than that of choosing their own religion. There, in a public square at Valladolid, in all the pomp of images, and banners, and crosses, on a theatre he sat, attended by his sister Joanna, his son Don Carlos, the prelates and the officers of his court, and when one of the victims, a nobleman, Don Carlos di Sessa, as he was led past him by the executioners, reproved him for his cruelty, the tiger exclaimed, "I myself would carry wood to burn my own son, if he were such a wretch as you." His viceroys at

Mexico acted the same infernal part. Posterity will suspect, that these histories savour of romance, particularly when they are informed of the inconsistency of these people. When the princess Elizabeth of Wolfembuttel, who had been brought up a protestant, publickly renounced protestantism, and embraced the catholic faith, in order to become queen of Spain, she made, on her knees in public, in the same breath, in a form drawn up by the prelates, a most solemn oath to Almighty God that she acted freely, and without any constraint, and that she would use all the power of the crown to compel her subjects to act as she did. Will it not be supposed, either that the catholic kings and queens of Spain had never heard of Jesus Christ, or that catholicism was a farce acted on a theatre to display a total subversion of that golden rule, which Jesus said was the substance of the law and the prophets: "whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

The conditions of mankind have a wonderful influence over their understandings. How far the merit or demerit of their actions is connected with their conditions, God only knows. There were in Spain, as in Germany, and every where else, different classes of good men in different stages of religious improvement. There was a class of prelates and noblemen, who like the Lutherans, did wish to reform the church, but not to alter the constitution of it. At the head of these was the lord primate, doctor Bartholomew Carranza, archbishop of Toledo. He published a catechism, in which the inquisitors pretended to find heresy. He was a man of an amiable character, a zealous but prudent churchman, in high favour with Philip, whom he had attended into England, as he had also the emperor Charles in his dying illness: but neither his dignity nor his merit could save him: perhaps they accelerated his ruin. He was committed to prison, his revenues were sequestered, and he continued in confinement six years and seven months. In the end, the pope called the cause before himself, the archbishop was carried to Rome. Doctor Anthony Marigno Pazos attended on the part of the inquisitors, and though the archbishop was discharged, yet in consequence of his long imprisonment he died about six months after. The same sentiments, which the archbishop had adopted, had been embraced by several dignitaries of the church, and by many of the nobility, as well as by monks and nuns: the nuns quitted their habits and married, the monks applied themselves to study and piety in the monastery of St. Isidore. The inquisition made havock with these good people, and burnt both natives and foreigners, clergy and laity, noblemen, citizens, and mechanics, in one common flame. They boasted of a sort of prescriptive right to destroy, by proving, that a hundred years before, when Peter Diaz Costana and Francis Sancho a Fonte

were judges of the court, they had, in the space of two years, committed fifty-two heretics to the flames, condemned a hundred and twenty who had escaped, and brought a hundred and eighty-three to repentance.

There was a second class, of the Calvinist kind, who went further than the first, and held separate meetings. Of these, doctor Augustine Cazalla, canon of the church of Salamanca, and chaplain to Charles V. was the principal. The inquisitors say, he was an eloquent preacher, but so weak-sighted that he could not bear the bright light of the catholic religion. He censured penance, and other rights of the church, and turned his own house into a conventicle, where many assembled in the night. He was joined by his own family, a nobleman named Don Carlos Cæsar, or Sassi, mentioned before, and a doctor Perez, along with great numbers of inferior rank. Many nuns associated with this assembly, and the followers of Cazalla became so numerous in several places, that they threatened the ruin of all religion in Spain. The same sort of congregations were formed at Seville by doctor Constantine and others. The holy office, as usual, lent their friendly aid to stop this torrent of heresy. Cazalla, his mother, five brothers, and many of his followers, were imprisoned. They say he repented; however, they burnt him and thirteen other persons at Valladolid, in the year 1559. Eighteen more, along with the bones of some who died in prison, were burnt at Seville the year after.

The last, but (if the virtue of the common people be of consequence to the happiness of society) not the least respectable class is that, which the inquisitor says consisted of the dregs of the people, tinkers, cobblers, dyers, butchers, and women, who, in defiance of a long list of synodical canons, none of which they could read, mounted the pulpit and preached. The surly judges of the inquisition, forgetting they were men, burnt some of these female orators at Valladolid; they had been nuns, and were committed to the flames in all the bloom of youth and beauty, while orthodox hags of the court sat in splendour by the side of the king, to behold the infernal sacrifice. Catholic historians, not well versed in the distinguishing characters of different sects of protestants, confound all these sufferers in one common mass called heretics: but the reformed know that this class was composed of such as are now called either Independents, Methodists, Baptists, or Quakers, for these are the only christians that suffer illiterate machanics to teach; and the two latter were the only sorts, who at the reformation allowed of the public preaching of women.

No, neither the inquisition with all its solemn horrors, nor any other conceiveable punishment, can change the nature of

man, and compel him not to think for himself. Many years after all these severities had been practised, there lived near the palace of the king, an old man named Michael Piedrola, who had for a long time called himself, in the language of the old testament prophets, a seer, and who had long uttered his opinions to others. Him at length the inquisition found out, and they committed him to prison for life. They deprived him of the Scriptures, denied him pen and ink and religious correspondence, and forbad him to hold any dispute concerning the Scriptures. In another populous city, there rose up a congregation, who called themselves illuminated, and it is very credible that though some fled and found refuge in foreign countries, yet in remote parts of the kingdom many continued and escaped all the vigilance of the inquisitors, especially in the crowded trading ports; for a fact it is that in places extremely populous and full of the bustle of trade, little societies for devotion pass unobserved. The religion of such people is not like that of catholics and Jews; it doth not lay in the practice of ceremonies of public show; it consists in a simple course of virtue in common life, and a social adoration of Almighty God in any convenient place. They always recollect that the whole earth is a temple consecrated to the service of God; that the promise is made to every two or three gathered together in the name of Christ; and that the first christian church was formed of a few obscure men and women assembled together in an upper room.

Two remarks of a different kind shall conclude this account of Spain: the one on the inquisition; the other on the national character of the Spaniards.

Exclusive of the cruel punishments inflicted by the holy office, as it is called, it may be truly affirmed that the inquisition is a school of vice. There the artful judge, grown old in habits of subtlety, along with the sly secretary, practises his cunning in interrogating a prisoner to fix a charge of heresy. Now he fawns, and then he frowns: now soothes and then looks dark and angry; sometimes affects to pity and to pray, at other times insults and bullies, and talks of racks and dungeons, flames and the damnation of hell; one while lays his hand on his heart and sheds tears, and promises and protests he desires not the death of a sinner, but would rather he would turn and live, and all that he can do he will do for the discharge, ay for the preferment of his imprisoned brother; another while he discovers himself deaf as a rock, false as the wind, and cruel as the poison of asps. Heretics, objects of pity assuredly, learn in the school of this tutor to prevaricate, and commence masters of various arts. An open-featured harmless creature converts his honest face into a dark mask, behind which he meditates equivocation and

practises duplicity. The prevarication of heretics is an old complaint of inquisitors; they do not observe, that to hold a rod over conscience is to call the crime into existence. Happy anabaptist families, (if the inquisitor will give an honour to them which is due to thousands beside) happy families, and thrice happy churches, where diversity of sentiment is no blemish, for there prevarication is unnecessary, and collusion unknown.

Cruelty was not anciently the disposition of Spain: it came in along with Ferdinand, and Charles, and Ximenes, and the inquisition, and Philip II. These were the real springs of action, and troops civil, and sacred, did nothing but what they were ordered to do. It is truly observed by Mr. V. that "Philip's character was the cause of all the great events of the age in which he lived." And what was that character? Let facts determine. He was the most zealous catholic in the world, and a man of the most calm and deliberate cruelty: but he had no personal bravery. He was between two franciscan friars in a chapel when the battle of St. Quintin was fought. He frequently embraced a crucifix while he was giving orders for a murder. The prince of Orange declared that he was a married man, when he espoused his first wife: that he murdered his own son, and poisoned his third wife: that he obliged the prince of Ascoli to marry a woman with child by himself. He debauched the wife of his favourite Ruy Gomez. He ordered Perez to assassinate Escovedo, and after his cruel order was obeyed, he persecuted and tortured Perez, and delivered him up to the inquisition for an heretic. Dr. Geddes has related the affair at large, and such another scene of complex crimes in this one affair as Philip was guilty of, is not to be paralleled in history. Not content with the cruelties of the inquisition in Spain and America, he instituted an office of the same kind in the navy, and appointed priests to make catholics of schismatical marines of all countries. "This was the man," adds Mr. V. "who talked of nothing but his zeal for religion, and who sacrificed every thing to his zeal." He might have added, this was the man, who was so exactly turned to the wishes of the popish prelates, that they had the face to propose his hideous character as a pattern of christian zeal and love for the faith to posterity. No, let not the generous Spanish nation bear the shame: it was the church that inspired the throne with cruelty, under the name of zeal; and it was the throne that communicated it to the army and the populace of that generation, under the name of loyalty. The barbarous treatment of the protestants in the Low Countries under the duke of Alva, the inhuman and indiscriminate slaughter of the unhappy Indians in America, the invincible armada prepared to avenge the blood of Mary queen of Scots, merely be-

cause she was of the church, and to re-establish the catholic faith in England, ought to be attributed to that horrible spirit which was inculcated for religion, and which led those, who murdered above twelve hundred thousand harmless Indians in Cuba, Jamaica, St. Domingo, and other islands, to hang them up by thirteens on gibbets in honour of the thirteen apostles. If such butcheries had been practised by soldiers alone, the army should bear the blame: but there were popish chaplains and bishops in the midst of the carnage, and after the country was subdued, thither went inquisitors by order of a cardinal bishop, Don Didaco de Spinosa, in cool blood, to torture the rest into the catholic faith. Every body knows the answer of the Indian, named Haticu, to a franciscan friar. The Indian was condemned to be burnt for not having brought in a sufficient quantity of gold. The friar went to prepare him for his fate, and required of the Indian faith in the Spanish creed as a condition, and offered heaven as a reward. Haticu asked, "Do Spaniards go to heaven?" "Certainly:" said the friar. "Oh, then," replied he, "do not let me go there."

The officers, or as they rather choose to be styled, the ministers of the inquisition, are as follows, viz. an inquisitor general, one whom the king proposes to the pope for supreme inquisitor of all his dominions, and whom the pope confirms in his office. This supreme, invested with full power in all cases relating to heresy, appoints vicars general, or particular subordinate inquisitors, in every place where there is a tribunal of the inquisition; who nevertheless, cannot act unless approved by the king, to send visitors to the provinces of the inquisition, to grant dispensations to penitents and their children, and deliberate concerning other weighty affairs.

In the royal city, the king appoints the supreme council of the inquisition, over which the supreme inquisitor of the kingdom presides. He hath joined with them five counsellors, who have the title of apostolic inquisitors, who are chosen by the inquisitor general, upon the king's nomination. One of these must always be a Dominican, according to the constitution of Philip III. dated Dec. 16, 1618. Besides these, there is an advocate fiscal, two secretaries, and one of the king's, one receiver, two relaters, several qualificators or assessors, and counsellors. There are also officials deputed by the president, with the king's advice. The supreme authority is in this council of the inquisition.

The *familiars* are of the same degree in this court, and no better than what we call a *bailiff's follower*, which, though a vile office in all other criminal courts, is by the pope's liberal grants or indulgences, and the royal privileges bestowed on this class of men, esteemed so honourable in the court of inquisition,

that there is not a nobleman in Spain or Portugal that is not in it. Their duty is to accompany the inquisitors, and, if need be, to defend them from the insults of heretics; and to follow and assist the officials in apprehending criminals; and to execute any other service to which they are warranted by the judges of the tribunal.

The next thing to be related, is the method of apprehending and imprisoning criminals.

The inquisitors have a power to apprehend and imprison any person, a native of their province; or a foreigner under their jurisdiction, that has once been a papist, and left their communion, upon the evidence of one witness only. So that when an information is lodged against any person, and it is the opinion of the board that the accused is guilty, the fiscal formally demands of the inquisitors power to apprehend him; and the warrant is signed by the inquisitors, and directed to the proper officer.

But all criminals have not alike places of confinement: yet, though some cells are lighter than others, they are all very horrible and nasty; though it is dignified with the amiable title of *Santa Casa*, i. e. *The Holy House*. The manner in which these cells are built is calculated to hold a great number of miserable creatures. The prison consists of several porticoes, each of which is divided into a number of small square cells ten feet high, all vaulted, and built over each other in two rows; the uppermost cells receive a weak glimmering of day, through narrow openings, guarded with iron grates above the reach of a tall man; those below are not only quite dark, but narrower than the others. The walls are five feet thick. Each cell is fastened with two doors; the inner one thick, covered with iron; and in the lowest part of it there is an iron gate; in the upper part there is a small window, that shuts with two iron bolts, through which the prisoner receives such necessaries as are thought proper to give him. The outer door is entire, without any opening at all; and this is generally left open every morning from six to eleven, to air the prison.

When the prisoners were safely lodged in these cells, whether they are men or women, their heads are shaved on the first or second day of their confinement, without any regard to birth or quality. Those who are confined in the lower cells, generally sit in darkness, and are sometimes kept there for several years, without any one's being suffered to go to or speak to them, except their keepers; and they only at certain hours, when they give them their provision. They are not allowed any books of devotion, but are shut up in darkness and solitude, that they may be broke by the horrors of so dreadful a confinement, and by the miseries of it forced to confess things, which oftentimes

they have never done. And as to their provisions, they are to submit to the discretion of the lords the inquisitors, and of their harpies their officers, who never fail of taking a tenth part of every thing that goes through their hands.

No one in the prison must so much as mutter, or make any noise. If any one bemoans himself, or prays to God with an audible voice, or sings a psalm or sacred hymn, the keepers, who continually watch in the porches, and can hear even the least sound, immediately come to him, and admonish him that silence must be observed in this house. If the prisoner does not obey, the keepers admonish him again. If after this the prisoner persists, the keeper severely beats him with a stick; not only to chastise him, but to deter others, who, because the cells are contiguous, and deep silence is kept, can very easily hear the outcries and sound of the blows.

In the mean time, various cruel means are used to extort confessions from those whom the inquisitors have a desire to ruin, or to make evidences against others. And to convince us of their implacable hatred against protestants, and that they have more mercy on a Turk or a Jew than on a Christian that opposes the gospel to the doctrines of popery, they except nobody accused of such heresy from the torture; though clergymen, monks, religious of all sorts, doctors, soldiers, officers, noblemen, and their children, are exempt from it in all other causes and crimes.

The place of torture in the Spanish inquisition is generally an under-ground and very dark room, to which one enters through several doors. There is a tribunal erected in it, in which the inquisitor, inspector, and secretary sit. When the candles are lighted, and the person to be tortured brought in, the executioner makes an astonishing and dreadful appearance, covered all over with a black linen garment down to his feet, and tied close to his body. His head and face are all tied with a long black cowl, only two little holes being left in it for him to see through. All this is intended to strike the miserable wretch with great terror in mind and body, when he sees himself going to be tortured by the hands of one who thus looks like the very devil.

While the torture is preparing, some of the gravest persons present take the prisoner apart, and endeavour to persuade him to confess things he is accused of, or the things he is called upon to witness, with promise of pardon: though it is very certain that no pardon can be expected; nor is it ever granted to one that has relapsed, i.e. who has once been found guilty, after he had confessed and abjured, and received the mercy of this court.

As to the manner of torturing: 1, They strip their prisoners,

without any regard to sex. It is true, they give young women a pair of linen drawers, but they first strip them publickly stark naked. 2, They torture them either with cords, or on the rack, or by some other cruel invention, as may be collected from the punishments different prisoners have undergone at divers times and places; and which will be better described by a few historical accounts; and therefore I shall begin with the usuage of the innocent noble lady Joan Bohorquia, wife of the eminent Francis Varquius, lord of Higuera. Her sister, Mary Bohorquia, a young lady of great piety, who was afterwards burnt for her profession of the protestant faith, having upon the torture declared she had several times conversed with her sister Joan, concerning the doctrine for which she now suffered; the inquisition took her up, being then about six month gone with child. She on this account was not so straitly confined, nor so cruelly dealt with, in regard of the infant she carried. But eight days after her delivery they took the child from her, and on the fifteenth shut her up close, and made her undergo the fate of the other prisoners, and began to manage her cause with their usual arts and rigour. In so dreadful a calamity, she had only this comfort, that a certain pious young woman (who was afterwards burnt for her religion by the inquisitors) was allowed her for her companion.—This young creature was, on a certain day, carried out to her torture, and returned from it so shaken, and all her limbs so miserably disjointed, that when she lay upon her bed of rushes, it rather increased her misery than gave her rest, so that she could not turn herself without the most excessive pain. In this condition Bohorquia endeavoured to comfort her mind with great tenderness. The girl had scarce begun to recover from her torture, when Bohorquia was carried out and tortured with such diabolical cruelty upon the rack, that the rope pierced and cut into the very bones of her arms, thighs, and legs; and in this manner she was brought back to prison, ready to expire, the blood running out of her mouth in great plenty. Undoubtedly they had burst her bowels, inasmuch, that the eighth day after, she died. And when after all, they could not procure sufficient evidence to condemn her, though sought after by all their inquisitorial arts, yet, as the accused person was born in that place, where they were obliged to give some account of the affair to the people, in the first act of triumph appointed after death, they commanded her sentence to be pronounced in these words:—"Because this lady died in prison, and was found to be innocent upon inspecting and diligently examining her cause; therefore the holy tribunal pronounced her free from any farther process, doth restore her both as to her innocence and reputation, and commands all her effects, which had been con-

fiscated, to be restored to those to whom they of right belonged, &c." And thus after they had murdered her by savage cruelty, they pronounced her innocent.

When a criminal upon the torture confesses and asketh pardon of the church, he is condemned as guilty of heresy by his own confession, but treated as a penitent. But let him be ever so innocent, and persist in his innocence, he is condemned, and delivered up to the secular arm to be punished.

When any person is unhappily fallen under the censure of this court, let him be ever so eminent in his profession, beloved of his acquaintance, and amiable in the eyes of the world, he in that moment is as a man not only dead, but forgotten; his friends are so far from attempting any thing in his favour, that they dare not be known to pity him, lest they should be rendered suspected of favouring or abetting heretics; which would certainly bring them into the same condemnation, instead of relieving their friend.

If any one is so fortunate as to escape, by shewing tokens of repentance, and by confession avoids the dismal consequence of being delivered up to the secular arm; he is not permitted to go scot free; he is sure of such punishment as the heinousness of his crime will authorise the inquisitors to inflict upon him.

This abjuration, which also includes a promise of submission to all penances the inquisition shall lay upon them, is followed by various sorts of punishments. Some are confined during life in a dark, dismal prison, and allowed nothing better than bread and water, debarred from the intercourse or correspondence of every one, and treated with all sorts of cruelty. Others are stripped of all their fortune, and committed slaves to the gallies for life, or a term of years; and then banished, under pain of death should they again visit their native soil; or whipped, &c. And the common punishment of all heretics is, the confiscation of all their effects, which confiscation is made with such rigour, that the inquisition orders the exchequer to seize on all effects intrusted to, or negociated by, the prisoner, as well as those which are his own property.

When a criminal has constancy enough to resist all the inquistorial arts, and is determined to die rather than accuse himself of what has been unjustly laid to his charge; or is obstinate and persevering in Judaism, &c. he is guilty of death. But if he has never been under the like condemnation, nor undergone any of the penitential punishments by order of the inquisition, the *holy office* values itself much upon shewing mercy to the condemned person, if he can be wrought upon, even after sentence has passed, to confess. This was the particular case of that rich merchant, Lewis Pezoa, native of Genoa, who, with his whole family, had been accused of secret Judaism, by some of his ene-

mies, and who with his wife, two sons, and one daughter, and some other relations that lived with him, were all thrown into the prison of the inquisition. He denied the crime, and well refuted it, and demanded that the witnesses might be discovered to him, that he might convict them of falsehood: but he could obtain nothing, and was condemned to be delivered over to the arm of the secular court; which sentence was made known to him fifteen days before it was pronounced.

The duke of Cardaval, an intimate friend of the duke d'Aveira, inquisitor general, had made strict inquiry how this affair was like to turn; and understanding that unless he confessed before his going out of prison, he could not escape the fire, because he had been legally convicted, the duke continued to entreat the inquisitor general till he had obtained a promise, that if Pezoa would confess, even after sentence was pronounced, and his procession in the *act of faith*, he should not die, though it was contrary to the laws and customs of an *act of faith*. Upon that solemn day, therefore, he went with some of his own friends, and some that were Pezoa's, to prevail with him, if possible, to confess. He came out in the procession, wearing the infamous samarre, and on his head the saroch, or infamous mitre; his friends, with many tears, besought him, in the name of the duke de Cardaval, and by all that was dear to him, that he would preserve his life; and intimated, that if he would confess and repent, the said duke had obtained his life, and would give him more than he had lost: but in vain, Pezoa continually protesting himself innocent.

When the procession was ended, and the *act of faith* almost finished, the sentences of those condemned to certain penances having been read, and the sentences of those who were to be delivered over to the secular court being begun to be read, his friends repeated their entreaties, by which at last they overcame his constancy: so that desiring an audience, and rising up that he might be heard, he said, *Come then, let us go and confess the crimes I am* falsely *accused of, and thereby gratify the desire of my friends.* And having confessed his crime, he was remanded to prison. Two years after he was sent to Eoora, and in the *act of faith* walked in the procession, wearing the samarre, on which was painted the fire inverted: and after five years more that he was detained in the prison of the inquisition, he was condemned to the gallies for five more.

But this mercy, how cruel soever, is never to be expected by a relapsed penitent. Such a one hath nothing more to do than to prepare for death: yet, though this is the invariable practice of the inquisition, the inquisitors general add to such sentences, by which a relapsed heretic, or any other, is delivered to the

secular arm, *Nevertheless, we effectually beseech the secular arm; that he will moderate his sentence concerning you, so as to prevent the effusion of blood, and the danger of death.* The only favour a relapsed penitent can hope for, is the privilege of being strangled before the fire is lighted; whereas the obstinate and impenitent are burnt alive.

The impenitent criminal is immediately loaded with chains, and so closely confined that none but the most trusty officers of the prison can see him. The inquisitors try all methods to draw him to confession; and when they find nothing available to shake his constancy, they do not deliver him up to the secular arm immediately, but try how far they may be able to overcome his resolution, by keeping him half a year, a whole year, and sometimes longer, loaded with heavy chains, in the misery and distress of a hard, close, and nauseous prison. In the mean time he is often reminded of the death that he is sentenced unto. If they find all these hardships are not able to bring him to their will, he is removed into a better prison, used more gently, and promised mercy upon his token of repentance. And if this does not succeed, his wife and children, relations, and dearest friends, are invited and directed to visit him, and use their best endeavours to break his resolution and constancy. But if they cannot persuade him to repent and abjure, he is pronounced an obstinate heretic, and delivered over to the secular court.

If the person under the prosecution of the inquisition is falsely accused of heresy, &c. or denies the fact laid to his charge, though he be found in heresy, &c. by evidences, he is declared a *negative* heretic, and is kept closely confined in irons and a loathsome prison, with continual threatenings of the danger he by his denial incurs of being burnt alive. And if the witnesses persist, and the accused person also persists in the *negative*, having been kept in prison a competent time, viz. a year, he is at last, by the sentence of the bishop and the inquisitor, cast out of the ecclesiastical court as obstinate and impenitent, and delivered over to the secular arm. So that should it happen that he is accused by false witnesses, the miserable wretch, though falsely condemned, is delivered to be burnt alive; nor is it lawful for him, without the commission of mortal sin, as the Romish doctors think, to save his life by falsely confessing a crime he hath not committed. And therefore, though it may seem very hard to such a *negative* to die, when he is innocent, and may possibly believe it lawful for him to confess the crimes objected to him to save his life, this is not to be suffered by any means; and it is the duty of the divines and confessors, who comfort such a *negative*, and attend him to his punishment, to persuade him to discover the truth; but to caution him by all means not

to acknowledge a crime he hath not committed, to avoid temporal death, and to remind him, that if he patiently endures this injury he will be crowned as a martyr.

If the accused person has the good fortune to escape the officers before they find opportunity to apprehend him, they call him a *fugitive heretic;* and after citation fixed upon some public place for his appearance within such a term of time, if he does not appear, they proceed against him as an obstinate heretic, hear witnesses, and if he be found guilty upon evidence, (which is always certain) he is condemned, and delivered up to the secular arm.

The day on which the *act of faith* is to be solemnized, at sunrising the great bell of the cathedral tolls, to give notice to all persons to gather together to this miserable sight. The most reputable and principal men of the city meet at the house of the Inquisition, and offer their service to walk by the side of every criminal, to be, as it were, their sureties in the procession; which post is esteemed to be honourable. Matters being thus prepared, the inquisitor places himself near the gate of the *holy office*, attended by a proper notary; where, beginning with those whose offences are least, he reads over the names of all the criminals, who, as he calls them, march out in order bare-footed; and at the same time the notary reads the name of each criminal's surety. The Dominican friars, carrying the banner of the Inquisition, lead the way. When all those whose crimes are too slight to be punished with death are passed, then comes the crucifix, which is followed by those that are led out to the punishment of death. And the crucifix thus placed in the midst of the criminals, has its face turned to those that walk before, to denote, as they say, the mercy of the holy office to those who are saved from the death they deserve, and its back to the others, to denote that they have no grace or mercy to expect. They also carry out the images or pictures of those that are *fugitives*, and the bones of such as are dug out of their graves, shut up in a black coffin, upon which devils and flames are painted, to be burnt to ashes. The other attendants are priests, religious officers, &c. who on such occasions exert their zeal against these miserable objects of compassion. And they all march through the principal streets for public view to the scaffold or church, where the sermon concerning the faith is to be preached. When the sermon is over, two readers, one after another, mount the same pulpit, and with a loud voice read the sentences of all the criminals, the crimes said to be proved against them, and the punishments to which they have been condemned; he whose sentence is thus reading, standing all the time before a crucifix fixed on a table in the middle of the front

of the scaffold, and holding an extinguished taper in his hand. They that are sentenced to death, being told that the Inquisition can shew no favour, one of their officers gives each of them a blow on the breast, to signify that the *holy office* has done with them; and the officer of secular justice comes up and claims them immediately.

The prisoners are no sooner in the hands of the king's officers, than they are loaded with chains. They conduct them first to gaol, and, about two hours after, to the lord chief justice, who, without knowing or inquiring any thing of their particular crimes, or of the evidence that has been brought against them, asks them one by one, *In what religion they intend to die?* If they answer, that they will die in the communion of the church of Rome, he orders them to be carried immediately to the place of execution, and there to be first strangled, and afterwards burnt to ashes. But if they say, they will die in the Protestant faith, or in any other communion than that of Rome, they are ordered by him to be carried forthwith to the place of execution, and there to be burnt alive.

At the place of execution there are as many stakes erected as there are prisoners to be burnt, with a quantity of dry furze about each of them. The stakes of the *professed*, as the inquisitors call them, are about twelve feet high, with a small board for the prisoner to sit on, within half a yard of the top. They pay the compliment to the *negative* and *relapsed* first; and after they are strangled and burnt, the *professed* are conducted up a ladder between two Jesuits, as high as the seat, where turning about to the spectators, the Jesuits having spent about a quarter of an hour in exhorting them to reconcile themselves to the church of Rome, leave them, and give place to the executioner; who ascends, turns the *professed* off the ladder upon the seat, chains their bodies close to the stake, and then withdraws, for the Jesuits to come and renew their exhortations; who, if they find them inflexible, take their leave, telling them, *That they leave them to the devil, who is standing at their elbows to receive their souls, and to carry them with him into the flames of hell-fire, so soon as they are out of their bodies.* This horrid declaration is followed immediately with a great shout; and as soon as the Jesuits are clear of the ladder and the combustibles, the deceived populace cry out with the greatest eagerness, *Let the dogs' beards be made! Let the dogs' beards be made!* Which is done by thrusting flaming furzes against their faces; which inhumanity is commonly continued till their faces are burnt to a coal; and is always accompanied with such loud acclamations of joy, as are not to be heard upon any other occasion. The *professed* being thus *trimmed*, as they call it, or barbarously tormented to

please the mob, fire is set to the furze at the bottom of the stake; but the criminal is seated so high, that the flame seldom reaches higher than the seat, and should there happen to be little wind, it seldom reaches so high as their knees: so that though, if there be a calm, they are commonly dead in half an hour: yet, if the wind is brisk, it is frequently known that they do not expire in less than two hours; which may not so properly be called *burning*, as *roasting* these deplorable wretches to death. A most shocking spectacle! and yet as long as the sufferers are able to speak, crying out, *Misericordia por amor de Deos*, i. e. Mercy for the love of God. This spectacle, than which there cannot be a more deplorable one out of hell, is beheld by people of both sexes, and of all ages, with such transports of joy and satisfaction, as are not on any other occasion to be met with among that people. And that the reader may not think that this inhuman joy is the effect of a natural cruelty, and not the diabolical effects of their religion, which to support itself, divests them of all the sentiments of humanity and compassion, and hardens them against all the sufferings of their fellow-creatures; I, who resided many years at Lisbon, can assure you, that all public malefactors, are no where more tenderly lamented at the place of execution, than here, by this very people; and even when there appears nothing inhuman in the manner of their deaths.

Whatever I have advanced of this cruel tribunal in regard to the *Auto de Fè* at Lisbon, it is upon my own knowledge, having been present at several: and as for the other particulars, I am obliged to the account published by Mr. Limborch, of whose veracity we have the testimony of Dr. Geddes; and the following letter of the Right Rev. Dr. Wilcox, lord bishop of Rochester, then chaplain to the English factory at Lisbon, sent to Dr. Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, dated January 15, 1706, N. S. and has since been published by his lordship's allowance and approbation; which abundantly confirms the foregoing narrative:

"My Lord,

"In obedience to your lordship's commands of the 10th ult. I have here sent all that was printed concerning the last *Auto de Fè*. I saw the whole process, which is agreeable to what is published by Limborch, and others, upon that subject. Of the five persons condemned, there were but four burnt: Antonio Javanes, by an unusual reprieve, being saved after the procession. Heytor Dias and Maria Pineyra, were burnt alive, and the other two first strangled. The execution was very cruel. The woman was alive in the flames half an hour, and the man above an hour. The present king and his brothers were seated

at a window so near, as to be addressed for a considerable time in very moving terms by the man as he was burning. But though the favour he begged was only a few more faggots, yet he was not able to obtain it. The wind being a little fresh, the man's hinder parts were perfectly wasted: and as he turned himself, his ribs opened before he left speaking, the fire being recruited as it wasted to keep him just in the same degree of heat. But all his entreaties could not procure him a larger allowance of wood to shorten his misery, and to despatch him."

We shall here give a description of the severe torments occasioned by the Torture inflicted by the Inquisition, from the account of one who suffered it three times, but happily survived the cruelties he underwent.

First, on refusing to comply with the iniquitous demands of the inquisitors, by confessing all the crimes they thought proper to charge him with, he was immediately conveyed to the torture room, where no light appeared but what two candles gave. That the cries of the sufferers might not be heard by the other prisoners, this room is lined with a kind of quilting, which covers all the crevices, and deadens the sound.

Great was the prisoner's horror on entering this infernal place, when suddenly he was surrounded by six wretches, who, after preparing the tortures, stripped him naked to his drawers. He was then laid upon his back on a kind of stand, elevated a few feet from the floor.

They began the operation by putting an iron collar round his neck, and a ring to each foot, which fastened him to the stand. His limbs being thus stretched out, they wound two ropes round each arm, and two round each thigh; which ropes being passed under the scaffold, through holes made for the purpose, were all drawn tight at the same instant of time by four of the men, on a given signal.

It is easy to conceive, that the pains which immediately succeeded were intolerable; the ropes, which were of a small size, cut through the prisoner's flesh to the bone, making the blood gush out at eight different places, thus bound, at a time. As the prisoner persisted in not making any confession of what the inquisitors required, the ropes were drawn in this manner four times successively.

It is to be observed, that a physician and surgeon attended, and often felt his temples, in order to judge of the danger he might be in; by which means his tortures were for a small space suspended, that he might have sufficient opportunity of recovering his spirits, to sustain each ensuing torture.

In all this extremity of anguish, while the tender frame is

tearing as it were in pieces, while at every pore it feels the sharpest pangs of death, and the agonizing soul is just ready to burst forth, and quit its wretched mansion, the ministers of the Inquisition have the obduracy of heart to look on without emotion, and calmly to advise the poor distracted creature to confess his imputed guilt, in doing which they tell him he may obtain a free pardon, and receive absolution. All this, however, was ineffectual with the prisoner, whose mind was strengthened by a sweet consciousness of innocence, and the divine consolation of religion.

While he was thus suffering, the physician and surgeon were so barbarously unjust as to declare, that if he died under the torture he would be guilty, by his obstinacy, of self-murder. In short, at the last time of the ropes being drawn tight, he grew so exceedingly weak, by the circulation of his blood being stopped, and the pains he endured, that he fainted away. Upon which he was unloosed, and carried back to his dungeon.

2. The barbarous savages of the Inquisition, finding that all torture inflicted, as above-described, instead of extorting a discovery from the prisoner, only served the more fervently to excite his supplications to Heaven for patience and power to persevere in truth and integrity, were so inhuman, six weeks after, as to expose him to another kind of torture, more severe, if possible, than the former: the manner of inflicting which was as follows:—They forced his arms backwards, so that the palms of his hands were turned outward behind him; when, by means of a rope that fastened them together at the wrists, and which was turned by an engine, they drew them by degrees nearer each other, in such a manner, that the back of each hand touched and stood exactly parallel to the other. In consequence of this violent contortion, both his shoulders became dislocated, and a considerable quantity of blood issued from his mouth. This torture was repeated thrice; after which he was again taken to the dungeon, and put into the hands of the physician and surgeon; who, in setting the dislocated bones, put him to the most exquisite pain.

3. Two months after the second torture, the prisoner, being a little recovered, was again ordered to the torture-room; and there, for the last time, made to undergo another kind of punishment, which was inflicted twice without the least intermission. The executioners fastened a thick iron chain twice round his body, which crossing upon his stomach, terminated at the wrists. They then placed him with his back against a thick board, at each extremity whereof was a pulley, through which there ran a rope that catched the ends of the chain at his wrists.

The executioners then stretching the end of this rope, by

means of a roller placed at a distance behind him, pressed or bruised his stomach in proportion as the ends of the chain were drawn tighter. They tortured him in this manner to such a degree, that his wrists as well as his shoulders were quite dislocated. They were, however, soon set by the surgeons; but the barbarians, not yet satisfied with this series of cruelty, made him immediately undergo the like torture a second time; which he sustained (though, if possible, attended with keener pains) with equal constancy and resolution.

After this, he was again remanded to his dungeon, attended by the surgeon, to dress his bruises, and adjust the parts dislocated; and here he continued till their *Auto de Fè*, or jail delivery, where he was happily discharged.

From the before-mentioned relation, it may easily be judged what dreadful agony the sufferer must have laboured under, at being so frequently put to the torture. Most of his limbs were disjointed; and so much was he bruised and exhausted, as to be unable for some weeks to lift his hand to his mouth; and his body became greatly swelled from the inflammation caused by such frequent dislocation. After his discharge he felt the effects of this cruelty for the remainder of his life, being frequently seized with thrilling and excruciating pains, to which he had never been subject, till after he had the misfortune to fall under the merciless and bloody lords of the Inquisition.

On the re-examination of such as confess their error, they usually say, "You have not been sincere, you tell not all; you keep many things concealed, and therefore must be remanded to your dungeon." When those who have stood mute are called for re-examination, if they continue silent, such tortures are ordered as will either make them speak, or kill them; and when those who proclaim their innocence are re-examined, a crucifix is held before them, and they are solemnly exhorted to take an oath of their confession of faith. This brings them to the test; they must either swear they are Roman Catholics, or acknowledge they are not. If they acknowledge they are not, they are proceeded against as heretics. If they acknowledge they are Roman Catholics, a string of accusations is brought against them, to which they are obliged to answer extempore; no time being given even to arrange their answers. On having verbally answered, pen, ink, and paper, are given them, in order to produce a written answer, which must in every degree coincide with the verbal answer. If the verbal and written answers differ, the prisoners are charged with prevarication; if one contain more than the other, they are accused of wishing to conceal certain circumstances; if they both agree, they are charged with premeditated artifice.

After a person impeached is condemned, he is either severely whipped, violently tortured, sent to the gallies, or sentenced to death; and in either case, the effects are confiscated. After judgment, a procession is performed to the place of execution, which ceremony is called an *Auto de Fè*, or Act of Faith.

The following is an exact account of an *Auto de Fè*, performed at Madrid, in the year 1682. The officers of the inquisition, preceded by trumpets, kettle-drums, and their banner, marched on the 30th of May, in cavalcade, to the palace of the great square, where they declared by proclamation, that on the 30th of June the sentence of the prisoners would be put in execution. There had not been a spectacle of this kind at Madrid for several years before, for which reason it was expected by the inhabitants with as much impatience as a day of the greatest festivity and triumph. When the day appointed arrived, a prodigious number of people appeared dressed as splendid as their respective circumstances would admit. In the great square was raised a high scaffold; and thither, from seven in the morning till the evening, were brought criminals of both sexes; all the inquisitions in the kingdom sending their prisoners to Madrid. Twenty men and women of these prisoners, with one renegado Mahometan, were ordered to be burned; fifty Jews and Jewesses, having never before been imprisoned, and, repenting of their crimes, were sentenced to a long confinement, and to wear a yellow cap; and ten others, indicted for bigamy, witchcraft, and other crimes, were sentenced to be whipped, and then sent to the gallies: these last wore large pasteboard caps, with inscriptions on them, having a halter about their necks, and torches in their hands. On this solemn occasion the whole court of Spain was present. The grand inquisitor's chair was placed in a sort of tribunal far above that of the king. The nobles here acted the part of the sheriff's officers in England, leading such criminals as were to be burned, and holding them when fast bound with thick cords; the rest of the criminals were conducted by the familiars of the inquisition. There was among those who were to suffer, a young Jewess of exquisite beauty, and but seventeen years of age. Being on the same side of the scaffold where the queen was seated, she addressed her, in hopes of obtaining a pardon, in the following pathetic speech: "Great queen! will not your royal presence be of some service to me in my miserable condition? Have regard to my youth; and, oh! consider that I am about to die for professing a religion imbibed from my earliest infancy!" Her majesty seemed greatly to pity her distress, but turned away her eyes, as she did not dare to speak a word in behalf of a person who had been declared an heretic by the inquisition. Mass now began, in the midst of which the

priest came from the altar, placed near the scaffold, and seated himself in a chair prepared for that purpose. Then the chief inquisitor descended from the amphitheatre, dressed in his cope, and having a mitre on his head. After bowing to the altar, he advanced towards the king's balcony, and went up to it, attended by some of his officers, carrying a cross and the gospels, with a book containing the oath by which the kings of Spain oblige themselves to protect the catholic faith, to extirpate heretics, and support, with all their power, the prosecutions and decrees of the inquisition. On the approach of the inquisitor, and on his presenting this book to the king, his majesty rose up, bare-headed, and swore to maintain the oath, which was read to him by one of his counsellors: after which the king continued standing till the inquisitor had returned to his place; when the secretary of the holy office mounted a sort of pulpit, and administered a like oath to the counsellors and the whole assembly. The mass was begun about twelve at noon, and did not end till nine in the evening, being protracted by a proclamation of the sentences of the several criminals, which were all separately rehearsed aloud one after the other. Next followed the burning of the twenty-one men and women, whose intrepidity in suffering that horrid death was truly astonishing: some thrust their hands and feet into the flames with the most dauntless fortitude; and all of them yielded to their fate with such resolution, that many of the amazed spectators lamented that such heroic souls *had not been more enlightened!* The situation of the king was so near to the criminals, that their dying groans were very audible to him: he could not, however, be absent from this dreadful scene, as it is esteemed a religious one; and his coronation oath obliges him to give a sanction by his presence to all the acts of the tribunal.

The inquisition belonging to Portugal is exactly upon a similar plan to that of Spain, having been instituted much about the same time, and put under the same regulations, and the proceedings nearly resemble each other. The house, or rather palace of the inquisition, is a noble edifice. It contains four courts, each about forty feet square, round which are about 300 dungeons or cells. The dungeons on the ground floor are for the lowest class of prisoners, and those on the second story for persons of superior rank. The galleries are built of free-stone, and hid from view, both within and without, by a double wall of about fifty feet high. So extensive is the whole prison, which contains so many turnings and windings, that none but those well acquainted with it can find the way through its various avenues. The apartments of the chief inquisitor are spacious and elegant; the entrance is through a large gate, which leads into a

court-yard, round which are several chambers, and some large saloons for the king, royal family, and the rest of the court to stand and observe the executions during an Auto de Fè.

A testoon, which is seven-pence halfpenny English money, is allowed every prisoner daily; and the principal jailer, accompanied by two other officers, monthly visits every prisoner, to inquire how he would have his allowance laid out. This visit, however, is only a matter of form, for the jailer usually lays out the money as he pleases, and commonly allows the prisoner daily a porringer of broth, half a pound of beef, a small piece of bread, and a trifling portion of cheese.

Centinels walk about continually to listen; if the least noise is heard, they call to, and threaten the prisoner; if the noise is repeated, a severe beating ensues. The following is said to be a fact: a prisoner having a violent cough, one of the guards came and ordered him not to make a noise; to which he replied, that from the violence of his cold, it was not in his power to forbear. The cough increasing, the guard went into the cell, stripped the poor creature naked, and beat him so unmercifully, that he soon died.

Sometimes a prisoner passes months without knowing of what he is accused, or having the least idea of when he is to be tried. The jailer at length informs him, that he must petition for a trial. This ceremony being gone through, he is taken bare-headed for examination. When they come to the door of the tribunal, the jailer knocks three times, to give the judges notice of their approach. A bell is rung by one of the judges, when an attendant opens the door, admits the prisoner, and accommodates him with a stool. The prisoner is then ordered by the president to kneel down, and lay his right hand upon a book, which is presented to him close shut. This being complied with, the following question is put to him: "Will you promise to conceal the secrets of the holy office, and to speak the truth?" Should he answer in the negative, he is remanded to his cell, and cruelly treated. If he answer in the affirmative, he is ordered to be again seated, and the examination proceeds; when the president asks a variety of questions, and the clerk minutes both them and the answers. When the examination is closed, the bell is again rung, the jailer appears, and the prisoner is ordered to withdraw with this exhortation: "Tax your memory, recollect all the sins you have ever committed, and when you are again brought here, communicate them to the holy office." The jailers and attendants, when apprised that the prisoner hath made an ingenuous confession, and readily answered every question, make him a low bow, and treat him with an affected kindness, as a reward for his candour. He is brought in a few

days to a second examination, with the same formalities as before. The inquisitors often deceive prisoners by promising the greatest lenity, and even to restore their liberty, if they will accuse themselves: the unhappy persons, who are in their power, frequently fall into this snare, and are sacrificed to their own simplicity. Instances have occurred of some who, relying on the faith of the judges, have accused themselves of what they were totally innocent, in expectation of obtaining their liberty; and thus they became martyrs to their own folly.

There is another artifice made use of by the inquisitors: if a prisoner has too much resolution to accuse himself, and too much sense to be ensnared by their sophistry, they proceed thus: a copy of an indictment against the prisoner is given him, in which, among many trivial accusations, he is charged with the most enormous crimes, of which human nature is capable. This rouzes his temper, and he exclaims against such falsities. He is then asked which of the crimes he can deny. He naturally mentions the most atrocious, and begins to express his abhorrence of them; when the indictment, being snatched out of his hand, the president says, "By your denying only those crimes which you mention, you implicitly confess the rest, and we shall therefore proceed accordingly." Sometimes they make a ridiculous affectation of equity, by pretending that the prisoner may be indulged with a counsellor, if he chooses to demand one. Such a request is sometimes made, and a counsellor appointed; but upon these occasions, as the trial itself is a mockery of justice, so the counsellor is a mere cypher: for he is not permitted to say any thing that might offend the inquisitor, or to advance a syllable that might benefit the prisoner.

Though the inquisitors allow the torture to be used only three times, yet at those three it is so severely inflicted, that the prisoner either dies under it, or continues always after a cripple.

The unhappy females who fall into the hands of the inquisitors, have not the least favour shewn them on account of the softness of their sex, but are tortured with as much severity as the male prisoners, with the additional mortification of having the most shocking indecencies added to the most savage barbarities.

Should the above-mentioned modes of torturing force a confession from the prisoner, he is remanded to his horrid dungeon, and left a prey to the melancholy of his situation, to the anguish arising from what he has suffered, and to the dreadful ideas of future barbarities. Should he refuse to confess, he is, in the same manner, remanded to his dungeon; but a stratagem is used to draw from him what the torture fails to do. A companion is allowed to attend him, under the pretence of waiting upon, and comforting his mind till the wounds are healed: this person,

who is always selected for his cunning, insinuates himself into the good graces of the prisoner, laments the anguish he feels, sympathises with him, and, taking an advantage of the hasty expressions forced from him by pain, does all he can to dive into his secrets. This companion sometimes pretends to be a prisoner like himself, and imprisoned for similar charges. This is to draw the unhappy person into amutual confidence, and persuade him, in unbosoming his grief, to betray his private sentiments.

Frequently these snares succeed, as they are the more alluring by being gloossed over with the appearance of friendship, sympathy, pity, and every tender passion. In fine, if the prisoner cannot be found guilty, he is either tortured or harrased to death, though a few have sometimes had the good fortune to be discharged, but not without having, first of all, suffered the most dreadful cruelties. If he is found guilty, all his effects are confiscated, and he is condemned to be whipped, imprisoned for life, sent to the gallies, or put to death. These sentences are put in execution at an Auto de Fè, or jail delivery, which is not held annually, or at any stated periods, but sometimes once in two, three, or even four years. Having now mentioned the barbarities with which the prisoners are treated by the inquisitors, we shall proceed to recount the severity of their proceedings against publications.

When a book is published, it is carefully read by some of the familiars belonging to the inquisition. These wretched critics are too ignorant and bigotted to search for truth, and too malicious to relish beauties. They scrutinize, not for the merits, but for the defects of an author, and pursue the slips of his pen with unremitting diligence. Hence they read with prejudice, judge with partiality, pursue errors with avidity, and strain that which is innocent into an offensive meaning. They misapply, confound, and pervert the sense; and when they have gratified the malignity of their disposition, charge their blunders upon the author, that a prosecution may be founded upon their false conceptions, and designed misinterpretations.

Any trivial charge causes the censure of a book; but it is to be observed, that the censure is of a three-fold nature, viz.

1. When the book is wholly condemned.

2. When the book is partly condemned; that is, when certain passages are pointed out as exceptionable, and ordered to be expunged.

3. When the book is deemed incorrect; the meaning of which is, that a few words or expressions displease the inquisitors. These, therefore, are ordered to be altered, and such alterations go under the name of corrections.

There is a catalogue of condemned books annually published under the three different heads of censures, already mentioned, and being printed on a very large sheet of paper, is hung up in the most public and conspicuous places. After which, people are obliged to destroy all such books as come under the first censure, and to keep none belonging to the other two censures, unless the exceptionable passages have been expunged, and the corrections made, as in either case disobedience would be of the most fatal consequence: for the possessing or reading the proscribed books are deemed very atrocious crimes. Every publisher of such books is usually ruined in his circumstances, and sometimes obliged to pass the remainder of his life in the inquisition.

Account of Barbarities exercised by the Inquisitions of Spain and Portugal, upon several occasions.

1. Francis Romanes, a native of Spain, was employed by the merchants of Antwerp, to transact some business for them at Breme. He had been educated in the Romish persuasion, but going one day into a protestant church, he was struck with the truths which he heard, and beginning to see the errors of popery, he determined to search farther into the matter. Perusing the Sacred Scriptures, and the writings of some protestant divines, he perceived how erroneous the principles were he had formerly embraced; and renounced the impositions of popery for the doctrines of the reformed church, in which religion appeared in all its genuine purity. Resolving to think only of his eternal salvation, he studied religious truths more than trade, and purchased books rather than merchandise, convinced that the riches of the body are trifling to those of the soul. He therefore resigned his agency to the merchants of Antwerp, giving them an account at the same time of his conversion; and then resolving, if possible, to convert his parents, he went to Spain for that purpose. But the Antwerp merchants writing to the inquisitors, he was seized upon, imprisoned for some time, and then condemned to be burnt as an heretic. He was led to the place of execution in a garment painted over with devils, and had a paper mitre put upon his head by way of derision. As he passed by a wooden cross, one of the priests bade him kneel to it; but he absolutely refused so to do, saying, "It is not for christians to worship wood." Having been placed upon a pile of wood, the fire quickly reached him, whereupon he lifted up his head suddenly; the priest thinking he meant to recant, ordered him to be taken down. Finding, however, that they were mistaken, and that he still retained his constancy, he was placed again upon the pile, where, as long as he had life and voice remaining, he kept repeating the seventh psalm.

II. At St. Lucar, in Spain, resided a carver named Rochus, whose principal business was to make images of saints and other popish idols. Becoming, however, convinced of the errors of the Romish persuasion, he embraced the protestant faith, left off carving images, and for subsistence followed the business of a seal engraver only. He had, however, retained one image of the Virgin Mary for a sign; when an inquisitor passing by, asked if he would sell it. Rochus mentioned a price; the inquisitor objected to it, and offered half the money. Rochus replied, "I would rather break it to pieces than take such a trifle."—"Break it to pieces!" said the inquisitior; "break it to pieces if you dare!" Rochus, being provoked at this expression, snatched up a chissel, and cut off the nose of the image. This was sufficient; the inquisitor went away in a rage, and soon after sent to have him apprehended. In vain did he plead that what he defaced was his own property: and that if it was not proper to do as he would with his own goods, it was not proper for the inquisitor to bargain for the image in the way of trade. Nothing, however, availed him; his fate was decided: he was condemned to be burnt, and the sentence was executed accordingly.

III. A doctor Cacalla, his brother Francis, and his sister Blanche, were burnt at Valladolid, for having spoken against the inquisitors.

IV. A gentlewoman with her two daughters and her niece, were apprehended at Seville on account of their professing the protestant religion. They were all put to the torture: and when that was over, one of the inquisitors sent for the youngest daughter, pretended to sympathize with her, and pity her sufferings; then binding himself with a solemn oath not to betray her, he said, "If you will disclose all to me, I promise you I will procure the discharge of your mother, sister, cousin, and yourself." Made confident by this oath, and entrapped by promises, she revealed the whole of the tenets they professed; when the perjured wretch, instead of acting as he had sworn, immediately ordered her to be put to the rack, saying, "Now you have revealed so much, I will make you reveal more." Refusing, however, to say any thing farther, they were all ordered to be burnt, which sentence was executed at the next Auto de Fè.

V. The keeper of the castle of Triano, belonging to the inquisitors of Seville, happened to be of a disposition more mild and humane than is usual with persons in his situation. He gave all the indulgence he could to the prisoners, and shewed them every favour in his power with as much secrecy as possible. At length, however, the inquisitors became acquainted with his kindness, and determined to punish him severely for it, that the

jailers might be deterred from shewing the least traces of that compassion which ought to glow in the breast of every human being. With this view they superseded, threw him into a dismal dungeon, and used him with such dreadful barbarity, that he lost his senses. His deplorable situation, however, procured him no favour; for, frantic as he was, they brought him from prison at an Auto de Fè to the usual place of punishment, with a sambineto (or garment worn by criminals) on, and a rope about his neck. His sentence was then read, and ran thus: that he should be placed upon an ass, led through the city, receive 200 stripes, and then be condemned six years to the gallies. This unhappy frantic wretch, just as they were about to begin his punishment, suddenly sprung from the back of the ass, broke the cords that bound him, snatched a sword from one of the guards, and dangerously wounded an officer of the inquisition. Being overpowered by multitudes, he was prevented from doing further mischief, seized, bound more securely to the ass, and punished according to his sentence. But so inexorable were the inquisitors, that for the rash effects of his madness, an additional four years were added to his slavery in the gallies.

VI. A maid servant to another jailer belonging to the inquisition was accused of humanity, and detected in bidding the prisoners keep up their spirits. For these heinous crimes, as they were called, she was publickly whipped, banished her native place for ten years, and had her forehead branded, by means of red-hot irons, with these words, "A favourer and aider of heretics."

VII. John Pontic, a Spanish gentleman and protestant, was, principally on account of his great estate, apprehended by the inquisitors, and charged with heresy. On this charge all his effects were confiscated to the inquisitors, and his body was burnt to ashes.

VIII. John Gonsalvo, originally a priest, but who now embraced the reformed religion, was, with his mother, brother, and two sisters, seized upon by the inquisitors. Being condemned, they were led to execution, singing part of the 106th Psalm. They were ordered at the place of execution to say the creed, which they immediately complied with, but coming to these words, "the holy catholic church," they were commanded to add the monosyllables of "Rome," which absolutely refusing, one of the inquisitors said, "Put an end to their lives directly;" when the executioners obeyed, and strangled them.

IX. Four protestant women were seized upon at Seville, tortured, and afterwards ordered for execution. On the way they began to sing psalms; but the officers thinking that the words of the psalms reflected on themselves, put gags into all their

mouths to make them silent. They were then burnt, and the houses where they resided ordered to be demolished.

X. A protestant schoolmaster of the name of Ferdinando, was apprehended by order of the inquisition, for instructing his pupils in the principles of protestantism; and, after being severely tortured, committed to the flames.

XI. A monk, who had abjured the errors of popery, was imprisoned at the same time as Ferdinando; but through the fear of death, he said he was willing to embrace his former communion. Ferdinando hearing of this, got an opportunity to speak to him, reproached him with his weakness, and threatened him with eternal perdition; when the monk, sensible of his crime, returned to, promised to continue in the protestant faith, and declared to the inquisitors that he solemnly renounced his intended recantation. Sentence of death was therefore passed upon him, and he was burned at the same time as Ferdinando.

XII. A Spanish Roman Catholic, named Juliano, on travelling into Germany, became a convert to the protestant religion; and undertook to convey from Germany into his own country a great number of bibles, concealed in casks, and packed up like Rhenish wine. This important commission he succeeded in, so far as to distribute the books. A pretended protestant, however, who had purchased one of the bibles, betrayed him, and laid an account of the affair before the inquisition. Juliano was then seized upon, and all means being used to find out the respective purchasers of these bibles, 800 persons were apprehended. They were all indiscriminately tortured, and then most of them were sentenced to various punishments. Juliano was burnt, twenty were roasted upon spits, several imprisoned for life, some were publickly whipped, many sent to the gallies, and very few indeed were acquitted.

XIII. A protestant tailor, of Spain, named John Leon, travelled to Germany, and from thence to Geneva, where, hearing that a great number of English protestants were returning to their native country, he, and some more Spaniards, determined to go with them. The Spanish inquisitors being apprised of their intentions, sent a number of familiars in pursuit of them, who overtook them at a sea-port in Zealand. The prisoners were heavily fettered, handcuffed, gagged, had their heads and necks covered with a kind of iron net-work, and, in this miserable condition, they were conveyed to Spain, thrown into a dungeon, almost famished, barbarously tortured, and then burnt.

XIV. A young lady having been put into a convent, absolutely refused to take the veil; and, on leaving the cloister, she embraced the protestant faith, on which she was apprehended and condemned to the flames.

XV. An eminent physician and philosopher of the name of Christopher Losada, became extremely obnoxious to the inquisitors, on account of exposing the errors of popery, and professing the tenets of protestantism. He was apprehended, imprisoned, and racked; but those severities not making him confess the Roman Catholic Church to be the only true one, he was sentenced to the fire; which he bore with exemplary patience, and resigned his soul to his Creator.

XVI. Arias, a monk of St. Isidore's monastry at Seville, was a man of great abilities, but of a vicious disposition. He sometimes pretended to forsake the errors of the church of Rome, and become a protestant, and soon after turned a Roman Catholic. Thus he continued a long time wavering between both persuasions, till God thought proper to touch his heart. He now became a true protestant; and the sincerity of his conversion being known, he was seized by the officers of the inquisition, severely tortured, and afterwards burnt at an Auto de Fé.

XVII. A young lady named Maria de Coccicao, who resided with her brother at Lisbon, was taken up by the inquisitors, and ordered to be put to the rack. The torments she felt made her confess the charges against her. The cords were then slackened, and she was re-conducted to her cell, where she remained till she had recovered the use of her limbs; she was then brought again before her tribunal, and ordered to ratify her confession. This she absolutely refused to do, telling them, that what she had said was forced from her, by the excessive pain she underwent. The inquisitors, incensed at this reply, ordered her again to be put to the rack, when the weakness of nature once more prevailed, and she repeated her former confession. She was immediately remanded to her cell; and, being a third time brought before the inquisitors, they ordered her to sign her first and second confessions. She answered as before, but added, "I have twice given away to the frailty of the flesh, and perhaps may, while on the rack, be weak enough to do so again: but depend upon it, if you torture me a hundred times, as soon as I am released from the rack, I shall deny what was extorted from me by pain." The inquisitors then ordered her to be racked a third time; and, during this last trial, she bore the torments with the utmost fortitude, and could not be persuaded to answer any of the questions put to her. As her courage and constancy increased, the inquisitors, instead of putting her to death, condemned her to a severe whipping through the public streets, and banishment for ten years.

XVIII. Isaac Orobio, a learned physician, having beaten a Moorish servant for stealing, was accused by him of professing Judaism, and the inquisitors seized the master upon the charge. He

was kept three years in prison before he had the least intimation of what he was to undergo, and then suffered the following six modes of torture: 1, A coarse linen coat was put upon him, and then drawn so tight that the circulation of the blood was nearly stopped, and the breath almost pressed out of his body. After the strings were suddenly loosened, when the air forcing its way hastily into his stomach, and the blood rushing into its channels, he suffered the most incredible pain. 2, His thumbs were tied with small cords so hard that the blood guished from under the nails. 3, He was seated on a bench with his back against a wall, wherein small iron pullies were fixed. Ropes being fastened to several parts of his body and limbs, were passed through the pullies, and being suddenly drawn with great violence, his whole frame was forced into a distorted mass. 4, After having suffered for a considerable time the pains of the last-mentioned position, the seat was snatched away, and he was left suspended against the wall. 5, A little instrument with five knobs, and which went with springs, being placed near the face, he suddenly received five blows on the cheek, that put him to such pain as caused him to faint away. 6, The executioners fastened ropes round his wrists, and then drew them about his body. Placing him on his back with his feet against the wall, they pulled with the utmost violence, till the cord had penetrated to the bone. He suffered the last torture three times, and then lay seventy days before his wounds were healed. He was afterwards banished, and in his exile wrote the account of the sufferings, from which the foregoing particulars are chiefly extracted.

XIX. A famous writer of Toledo, and a protestant, was fond of producing fine specimens of writings, and having them framed to adorn the different apartments of his house. Among other curious examples of penmanship, was a large piece containing the Lord's prayer, creed, and ten commandments in verse. This piece, which hung in a conspicuous part of the house, was one day seen by a person belonging to the inquisition, who observed that the versification of the commandments was not according to the church of Rome, but according to the protestant church: for the protestants retain the whole of the commandments as they are found in the bible, but the papists omit that part of the second commandment which forbids the worship of images. The inquisition soon had information of the circumstance, and this gentleman was seized, prosecuted, and burnt, only for ornamenting his house with a specimen of his skill.

In the year 1714, about Lent, Mr. Martin arrived at Malaga, with his wife and four children. On the examination of his baggage, his Bible, and some other books, were seized. He was accused in about three months time of being a Jew, for

these curious reasons, that his own name was Isaac, and one of his sons was named Abraham. The accusation was laid in the bishop's court, and he informed the English consul of it, who said it was nothing but the malice of some of the Irish papists, whom he advised him always to shun. The clergy sent to Mr. Martin's neighbours to know their opinion concerning him: the result of which inquiry was this, "We believe him not to be a Jew, but an heretic." After this, being continually pestered by priests, particularly those of the Irish nation, in order to change his religion, he determined to dispose of what he had, and retire from Malaga. But when his resolution became known, at about nine o'clock at night he heard a knocking at his door. He demanded who was there. The persons without, said they wanted to enter. He desired they would come again the next morning; but they replied, if he would not open the door they would break it open; and they were as good as their word. Then about fifteen persons entered, consisting of a commissioner, with several priests and familars belonging to the inquisition. Mr. Martin would fain have gone to the English consul; hut they told him the consul had nothing to do in the matter, and then said, "Where are your beads and fire-arms?" To which he answered, "I am an English protestant, and as such carry no private arms, nor make use of beads." They took away his watch, money, and other things, carried him to the bishop's prison, and put on him a pair of heavy fetters. His distressed family was, at the same time, turned out of doors till the house was stripped; and when they had taken every thing away, they returned the key to his wife.

About four days after his commitment, Mr. Martin was told he must be sent to Grenada to be tried: he earnestly begged to see his wife and children before he went, but this humble request was denied. Being doubly fettered, he was mounted on a mule, and set out towards Grenada. By the way, the mule threw him upon a rocky part of the road, and almost broke his back. He was three days on the journey, which was 72 miles.

On his arrival at Grenada, he was detained at an inn till it was dark, for they never put any one into the inquisition during day-light. At night he was taken to the inquisition, and led along a range of galleries till he arrived at a dungeon, with the things brought from Malaga by the carrier, which consisted of an old bed, a few clothes, and a box of books. The jailer nailed up the latter, and said, they must remain in that state till the lords of the inquisition chose to inspect them, for prisoners were not allowed to read books. He also took an inventory of every thing which Mr. Martin had about him, even to his very buttons; and having asked him a great number

of frivolous questions, he, at length gave him these orders: "You must observe as great silence here, as if you were dead; you must not speak, nor whistle, nor sing, nor make any noise that can be heard; and if you hear any body cry, or make a noise, you must be still, and say nothing, upon pain of 200 lashes." Mr. Martin asked if he might have liberty to walk about the room; the jailer replied he might, but it must be very softly. After giving him some wine, bread, and half a dozen of walnuts, the jailer left him till the morning.—It was frosty weather, and the walls of the dungeon were between two and three feet thick, the floor was bricked, and a great deal of wind came through a hole of about a foot in length, and five inches in breadth, which served as a window. The next morning the jailer came to light his lamp, and bade him light a fire in order to dress his dinner. He then took him to a turn, or such a wheel as is found at the doors of convents, where a person on the other side, whom one cannot see, turns one's provisions round. He had then given him half a pound of mutton, two pounds of bread, some kidney beans, a bunch of raisins, and a pint of wine, which was the allowance for three days. He had likewise delivered two pounds of charcoal, an earthen stove, and a few other articles.

In about a week Mr. Martin was ordered to an audience; he followed the jailer, and coming to a large room, found a man sitting between two crucifixes; and another with a pen in his hand, who was, as he afterwards learned, the secretary. The chief lord inquisitor was the person between the two crucifixes; he seemed about sixty years of age, and was very lean. He ordered Mr. M. to sit down upon a little stool, that fronted him. A frivolous examination then took place: the questions related to his family, their religion, &c. and his own tenets of faith. The prisoner admitted that he was a protestant, told the inquisition that Christ admitted of no persecution, and concluded with saying that he hoped to remain in the religion he had been brought up. He underwent five examinations, without any thing serious being alleged against him.

In a few days after, Mr. Martin was called to his sixth audience, when, after a few immaterial interrogatories, the inquisitor told him the charges against him should be read, and that he must give an immediate and prompt answer to each respective question.

The first accusation.—That soon after your coming to Malaga, you went and abused the schoolmaster for teaching your children the christian doctrine; telling him, that you would teach them your own religion, and that you sent them to school to learn them to read and write, and not to learn religion.

The answer.—My lord, I did go to the schoolmaster, and told him, that I sent my children to read and write, and not to learn prayers; that I would have them brought up in my own religion, and would teach them how to pray; but I did not abuse him. I believe, my lord, I have the liberty to bring up my children in my own faith without being called to an account for it.

The inquisitor seemed displeased at this reply, and bid the secretary write him down guilty of the first accusation.

The second accusation.—That at divers times it was remarked, that you did not pull off your hat, nor pay homage to images, but turned your back on them.

The answer.—My lord, in my religion we pay no respect to graven images. I profess myself to be a protestant, it is against my conscience to bow to any, and I am not obliged by the articles of peace so to do.

The inquisitor told him, that as he lived in a country where it was done, he ought to comply with the custom of the place in which he resided. The secretary was then ordered to record the answer.

The third accusation.—You once said, walking in your own apartment with an English captain, an heretic like yourself, that purgatory was but an invention of the church of Rome to get money. There was one present who could speak your language, and heard you say so.

The answer.—My lord, I cannot remember every thing that I have said during four years time. It may be, that I have said such a thing; but if I did, it was not to a Roman catholic. If there was one in the room that heard me say so, he must be an Irishman, who was not very welcome there, for he came more as a spy than any thing else.

The inquisitor asking if he thought he knew him, Mr. Martin named the person on whom his suspicion fell. The inquisitor then having blamed him for giving his tongue such liberties in Roman catholic countries, demanded if he was sorry for having said so; he replied, "My lord, if I have said amiss, I beg your lordship's pardon." When the inquisitor, turning to the secretary, said, "Write down that the heretic begs pardon for the third accusation."

The fourth accusation.—That you were once walking with another person, who pulled off his hat to the crucifix. You asked him why he pulled off his hat? He replied to the crucifix; when you said, "We have no such things in our country," and passed by without pulling off your hat.

The answer.—My lord, I remember the time very well; it is

very true, I never pulled off my hat to a crucifix, unless it was carried in procession; and then I used to pull off my hat to it, not in respect to the image, but to cause no scandal.

Guilty of this accusation by his own confession.

The fifth accusation.—That you have several times spoken in religious disputes against our faith; and though you have been frequently admonished to embrace the Roman catholic persuasion, without which no man can be saved, you would never listen to such salutary advice.

The answer.—My lord, at my first arrival in the inquisition you allowed that a man might defend his religion: it is what I have done. As for being admonished to change it, that has happened very often; but I have no inclination to change.

Then the inquisitor asked him if he could not defend his own religion without speaking against the church of Rome. To which Mr. Martin made answer, that he really could not: "For," says he, in disputing with others, when they spoke against my religion, I naturally spoke against theirs; and I brought proof of Scripture for what I said." He was recorded as guilty of this charge by his own confession.

The sixth accusation.—Being on board an English ship, with your wife and others, a female admonished your wife to change her religion, when you bade her be quiet and mind her own religion. This was on a Friday, and you ate meat without regarding the day.

The answer.—My lord, we were very merry, drinking Florence wine and punch, and that woman was always talking of religion to my wife, though she hardly knew what she said, and at best knew but little of the matter. She, continuing to talk on in the same manner, made us very uneasy, so that I bade her hold her tongue, and had a trifling quarrel with her. As for eating meat on a Friday, I generally do, and so did she, though she is a Roman catholic.

The seventh accusation.—That being in company with some English heretic captains at church, there were several people kneeling and praying to the image of the Virgin Mary. The captains asked if they prayed to the image. You answered, "Yes; they know no better, for they are brought up in ignorance."

The answer.—My lord, I have been divers times walking with captains. I do not remember this particular time: it may be that some person heard me say so.

The eighth accusation.—That being walking with several merchants, the host passed by, when they took off their hats, and some kneeled; but you did not so much as take off your hat,

which occasioned such great scandal, that some of the people were going to stab you.

The answer.—My lord, it is false; I have lived several years in Roman catholic countries, and know, that by the articles of peace, I am obliged to have my hat off on all occasions. As for people stabbing me, I have run those hazards many times on account of my religion.

The ninth accusation.—You have been threatened divers times with the pope's authority in those countries, and you have said that you did not value him, and that he had no authority over you.

The answer.—My lord, it is true I have said so.

This answer occasioned the following curious altercation:

Q. How came you to say so? Don't you value the holy father, who is God on earth?

A. My lord, talking with some people who were very troublesome about religion, they threatened me with the authority of the pope; and being an English protestant, I thought they had nothing to do with me.

Q. What! then you value nobody?

A. I beg your lordship's pardon; I value all mankind as being fellow-creatures; I value the pope as bishop of Rome, but not for any authority he has over me, for I believe he has not any.

Q. You are mistaken; Who is the head of the church?

A. My lord, I see to my sorrow, that I was mistaken. Jesus Christ is the head of the church.

Q. What; then you allow no head upon earth?

A. No, my lord.

Q. Hold your tongue; you are an unbeliever; he is God upon earth.

The secretary was ordered to record Mr. Martin's several replies.

The tenth accusation.—That walking with some captains of ships, there was a procession passing, when you bade them retire, and not mind it, though it was their design to see it; but you hindered them, out of disrespect to the procession.

The answer.—My lord, processions are very frequent in Malaga. I have oftentimes been in company with captains who were never in Roman catholic countries before; and they, not knowing that people went in procession for devotion, would laugh, and not take their hats off: so that I desired them to retire to avoid confusion.

The eleventh accusation.—That the procession (mentioned in accusation the tenth) went by, and the people kneeled down

and worshipped; but you stood with your hat on, and took no notice of it.

The answer.—My lord, I remember nothing of the accusation, but believe it is false; or if I did not take off my hat, it was because the host were not there. But with respect to kneeling or bowing, I told your lordship I never do.

The twelfth accusation.—That being in your own house, an English captain asked you if you was a Jew; when you burst into a fit of laughter, and answered, you did not value what scandalous people said, for you was ready to give an account of your religion.

The answer.—It is true, my lord, I little valued what such scandalous people said, and was always ready to give an account of my faith. Nor did I think of being sent here, that it might be examined whether I was a Jew or not, when the clergy are so numerous at Malaga.

The thirteenth accusation.—That you refused to give any thing to such as begged alms for the souls that are in purgatory, and violently huffed them from your door.

The answer.—My lord, it is true; but do they mention the reason why I did so?

The inquisitor did not satisfy him, but bade him relate the reason, which he did, by informing them, that one person in particular, who went about begging alms for the souls in purgatory, did all he could to torment him, and the more Mr. Martin declared he would not disburse money for any such purpose, the more importunate the other became, calling him heretic dog, and telling him that he would be damned, which at length overcame his temper, and made him, in some measure, return the fellow's scurrility.

The fourteenth accusation.—That you have been heard to say you feared no ecclesiastical court of justice, nor even the inquisition itself, which you affirmed had nothing to do with you as an English protestant.

The answer.—My lord, I have oftentimes said so.

The fifteenth accusation.—That you have had Jews in your house, without giving notice to the commissioners of the inquisition, that they might be taken up and prosecuted according to the laws of the country. How durst you do such things? Do you remember these circumstances?

The answer.—Yes, my lord, I do very well.

The sixteenth accusation.—That it is confirmed by several people, that the said heretic, Isaac Martin, has, at divers times, shewn himself very disaffected against the holy faith of the church of Rome, and has hindered some people from embra-

cing it; so that had it not been for the sake of his family, he would have been murdered long ago.

The answer.—My lord, I suppose those are very good christians that give me this character; God knows best what to do with them. I hope God will enable me to go through these afflictions. I am very well assured that your lordship knows that I am no Jew. I have answered the truth to your examination to the best of my remembrance; and I believe your lordship knows it to be so, and know the people that informed against me are but people of a very indifferent character, who have always envied me ever since I lived at Malaga.

The seventeenth accusation.—That you hindered your family from being brought up in the christian faith, and if it were not for you, they would be all Romans, and it is against the laws of the country to hinder them.

The answer.—My lord, it is false that my family had any inclination to be Romans; neither can any law oblige them to be so, or hinder me from bringing them up in my religion.

The eighteenth accusation.—You used to shut your window-shutters when the processions went by, to hinder your children from kneeling down, and would beat them if they showed any inclination to be Roman catholics.

The answer.—My lord, it is true that I have shut my shutters several times; for sometimes I have had captains of ships in my house, that would not pull their hats off when they saw them. As for my children, they went to the window generally to laugh; and I oftentimes bade them not shew themselves till the procession went by, that no scandal might be given.

The nineteenth accusation.—That your daughter, being of age, hath often said in the neighbourhood, that she would be a Roman catholic, but was afraid you would beat her; and that you had sometimes beat her upon that account.

The answer.—My lord, I have nothing to answer to such lies; it is as false as the devil is false.

The twentieth accusation.—That in Lent, and other fast-days, you caused your family to eat meat, and forbade them to keep any fast-days that were appointed by the church of Rome, and beat them if they did.

The answer.—My lord, these are poor accusations, and they are all false. I thank God my table afforded flesh and fish all the year round; I never troubled my head to see what the servants used to eat; and as for myself, wife, and children, we eat meat all the year, without any scruple of conscience. Your lordship knows that.

You English mind nothing but eating and drinking, and living at your ease, without doing any penance.

My lord, I beg your pardon, we have souls to be saved as well as other nations. We are born in a plentiful country, and I believe we live as well as the people of any nation, and serve God as well.

Your country was a good country formerly; it produced a great many saints, but now it produces no such thing.

My lord, I believe there are no saints now, but I am persuaded it produces as many good men as ever it did.

Hold your tongue, you are all lost men; you are fallen from the holy church, and there is no salvation for you if you do not return.

The twenty-first accusation.—That your children had often been at mass and at prayers in the neighbourhood, and would have done it every day if you would have let them; but you beat them, and hindered them being christians, and thereby endangered their souls.

The answer.—My lord, I never knew my children go to mass or prayers in the neighbourhood, or beat them upon that account; I hope God will save their souls in the religion to which they are brought up, though the church of Rome condemns them. The accusation is false.

The twenty-second accusation.—That living at Lisbon you had several disputes about religion, and that you hid yourself for fear of being taken up as a Jew.

The answer.—My lord, God knows that I am no Jew, and your lordship knows it very well. The devil has invented this to frighten me; but God, that knows every thing, will revenge my cause.

The twenty-third accusation.—That you bred schisms among the people, persuading them to turn heretics, and to leave the church of Rome, out of which no man can be saved.

The answer.—I wish your lordship, or any body else, would tell me whom I persuaded to change their religion. You may accuse me of any thing; hell cannot invent greater lies. I cannot think, my lord, who could have sent such accusations against me.

The twenty-fourth accusation. That your name being Isaac, and your son's name Abraham, you must be a Jew, or related to Jews.

The answer.—My lord, I have sufficiently answered upon this matter; the Roman catholics that are in Holland and Flanders, do not much mind whether their children have names out of the Old or New Testament; and I knew a man at Malaga, who is a Flanderkin, and a Roman catholic, whose name is Jacob. As for my parents, I never knew that any of them were Jews.

The twenty-fifth accusation.—That you offered to dispose of

your house, and to retire for fear of being taken up by the inquisition.

The answer.—My lord, it is true that I offered to dispose of my house, but not for fear of the inquisition, for I never thought it had any thing to do with English protestants. If I had been afraid of it, I would never have come to live in the country: I had opportunities enough to go on board of English ships, and to retire if I had been afraid.

Q. What! then you thought the inquisition had nothing to do with the English protestants? You are mistaken.

A. My lord, I see I am, to my sorrow.

The twenty-sixth accusation.—That you took all opportunities of making game of the religion of the church of Rome.

The answer.—My lord, I do not deny that; being in company with some Roman catholics, as they have made game of my religion, I have made game of their's; but it was in joke, and not in a profane way.

Mr. Martin being remanded to his dungeon, was shaved on Whitsun-eve (shaving is only allowed three times in a year); and the next day, one of the jailers gave him some frankincense to be put into the fire, as he was to receive a visit from the lords of the inquisition. Two of them accordingly came, asked many trivial questions, concluding them, as usual, with, "We will do you all the service we can." Mr. Martin complained greatly of their having promised him a lawyer to plead his cause; "when, instead of a proper person," says he, "there was a man you called a lawyer, but he never spoke to me, nor I to him: if all your lawyers are so quiet in this country, they are the quietest in the world, for he hardly said any thing but yes and no, to what your lordship said." To which one of the inquisitors gravely replied, "Lawyers are not allowed to speak here." At this the jailer and secretary went out of the dungeon to laugh, and Mr. Martin could scarce refrain from smiling in their faces, to think that his cause was to be defended by a man who scarce dared to open his lips. Some time after, Mr. Martin was ordered to dress himself very clean; as soon as he was ready, one of the jailers came and told him, that he must go with him: but that first he must have a handkerchief tied about his eyes. This terribly frightened Mr. Martin, who now thought of nothing but the torture. The jailer then led him for some time, till he heard a voice say, "Stop, and pull off your clothes." He was then examined to know if he had been circumcised, and consequently was a Jew. Finding that he had not been circumcised, he was remanded to his dungeon.

In about a month after, he was brought to a room filled with a great number of persons, had a rope put round his neck, and

was led by it to the altar of the great church. Here his sentence was pronounced, which was, that for the crimes of which he stood convicted, the lords of the holy office had ordered him to be banished out of the dominions of Spain, upon the penalty of 200 lashes, and being sent five years to the gallies; and that he should at present receive 200 lashes through the common streets of the city of Grenada.

Mr. Martin was sent again to his dungeon that night, and the next morning the executioner came, stripped him, tied his hands together, put a rope about his neck, and led him out of the inquisition. He was then mounted on an ass, and received his 200 lashes, amidst the shouts and peltings of the people. He remained a fortnight after this in jail, and at length he was sent to Malaga. Here he was put in jail for some days, till he could be sent on board an English ship: which had no sooner happened, than news was brought of a rupture between England and Spain, and that ship, with many others, was stopped. Mr. Martin, not being considered as a prisoner of war, was put on board of a Hamburgh trader, and his wife and children soon came to him; but he was obliged to put up with the loss of his effects, which had been embezzled by the inquisition.

The case of Mr. Martin was published by the desire of, and authenticated by, Mr. secretary Craggs, the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Norwich, Sarum, Chichester, St. Asaph, Lincoln, Bristol, Peterborough, Bangor, &c.

A Singular Discovery of some Enormities of the Inquisition.

In the beginning of the last century, when the crown of Spain was contested for by two princes, who equally pretended to the sovereignty, France espoused the cause of one competitor, and England of the other. The duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II. who abdicated England, commanded the Spanish and French forces, and defeated the English at the celebrated battle of Almanza. The army was then divided into two parts; the one consisting of Spaniards and French, headed by the duke of Berwick, advanced towards Catalonia; the other body, consisting of French troops only, commanded by the duke of Orleans, proceeded to the conquest of Arragon. On the troops approaching the city of Arragon, the magistrates came to offer the keys to the duke of Orleans; but he told them haughtily, they were rebels, and that he would not accept the keys, for he had orders to enter the city through a breach. Accordingly, he made a breach in the walls with his cannon, and then entered the city

through it, together with his whole army. When he had made regulations here, he departed to subdue other places, leaving a strong garrison under the command of his lieutenant-general M. de Legal. This gentleman, though brought up a Roman Catholic, was totally free from superstition: he united great talents with great bravery; and was, at once, the accomplished gentleman and skilful officer. Before his departure, the duke had ordered that heavy contributions should be levied upon the city.

The money levied upon the magistrates and principal inhabitants, and upon every house, was paid as soon as demanded; but when the persons applied to the heads of the convents and monasteries, they found that the ecclesiastics were not so willing as other people to part from their cash.

Of the donatives to be raised by the clergy:

The college of Jesuits was to pay 2000 pistoles.
Carmelites - - 1000
Augustins - - 1000
Dominicans - - 1000

M. de Legal sent to the Jesuits a peremptory order to pay the money immediately. The superior of the Jesuits returned for answer, that for the clergy to pay money to the army was against all ecclesiastical immunities; and that he knew of no argument that could authorise such a procedure. M. de Legal then sent for companies of dragoons to quarter themselves in the college, with this sarcastic message: "To convince you of the necessity of paying the money, I have sent four substantial arguments to your college, drawn from the system of military logic; and, therefore, hope you will not need any farther admonition to direct your conduct."

The Jesuits, greatly perplexed at these proceedings, despatched an express to court to the king's confessor, who was of their order; but the dragoons were much more expeditious in plundering and doing mischief, than the courier in his journey: so that the Jesuits, seeing every thing going to ruin, thought proper to adjust the matter, and paid the money before the return of the messenger. The Augustians and Carmelites taking warning by what had happened to the Jesuites, prudently went and paid the money, and by that means escaped the study of military arguments, and of being taught logic by the dragoons.

On the other hand, the Dominicans, who are all familiars of or agents dependant on the inquisition, imagined, that that very circumstance would be their protection; but they were mistaken, for M. de Legal neither feared nor respected the inquisition. The chief of the Dominicans sent word to the military commander, that his order was poor, and had not any money whatever to pay the donative; "for," says he, "the whole wealth of

the Dominicans consist only in their silver images of the apostles and saints, as large as life, which are placed in our church, and which to remove would be accounted sacrilege."

This insinuation was meant to terrify the French commander, whom the inquisitors imagined would not dare to be so profane as to wish for the possession of the precious idols. He, however, sent word that the silver images would make admirable substitutes for money, and would be more in character in his possession than in that of the Dominicans themselves; "for," says he, "while you possess them, in the manner you do at present, they stand up in niches, useless and motionless, without being the least benefit to mankind; but when they come into my possession, they shall be useful, I will put them in motion; for I intend to have them coined, when they may travel like the apostles."

The inquisitors were astonished at this treatment, which they never expected to receive, even from crowned heads; they therefore determined to deliver their precious images in a solemn procession, that they might excite the people to an insurrection. The Dominician friars were accordingly ordered to march to De Legal's house, with the silver apostles and saints, in a mournful manner, having lighted tapers with them, and bitterly crying all the way, "Heresy! heresy!"

When M. de Legal heard of these proceedings, he ordered four companies of grenadiers to line the streets which led to his house; each grenadier was ordered to have his loaded fuzee in one hand, and a lighted taper in the other: so that the troops might either repel force with force, or do honour to the farcical ceremony. The friars did all they could to raise a tumult, but the common people were too much afraid of the troops under arms; the silver images were, therefore, delivered up to M. de Legal, who sent them to the mint to be coined.

The inquisitors, however, determined to excommunicate M. de Legal, unless he would release their precious saints from imprisonment in the mint, before they were melted down. The French commander absolutely refused to release the images, upon which the inquisitoas drew up the form of excommunicaion, and ordered their secretary to go and read it to M. de Legal.

This commission the secretary punctually performed, and read the excommunication deliberately and distinctly. The French commander heard it with great patience, and politely told the secretary he would answer it next day. As soon as the secretary of inquisition was gone, M. de Legal ordered his own secretary to prepare a form of excommunication exactly like that sent by the inquisition: but instead of his name, to put in those of the inquisitors.

The next morning he ordered four regiments under arms, and commanded them to accompany his secretary, and act according to his direction. The secretary went to the inquisition, and insisted on admittance: which, after a great deal of altercation, was granted. As soon as he entered, he read, in an audible voice, the excommunication sent by M. de Legal against the inquisitors. The inquisitors were all present, and heard it with astonishment. They cried out against de Legal, as an heretic; and said this was a most daring insult against the catholic faith. But, to surprise them still more, the French secretary told them, they must remove from their present lodgings; for the French commander wanted to quarter the troops in the inquisition, as it was the most commodious place in the whole city. On this the inquisitors exclaimed loudly, when the secretary put them under a strong guard, and sent them to a place appointed by M. de Legal to receive them. The inquisitors, finding how things went, begged that they might be permitted to take their private property, which was granted, and they immediately set out for Madrid, where they made the most bitter complaints to the king; but the monarch told them, that he could not grant them any redress, as the injuries they had received were from his grandfather, the king of France's troops, by whose assistance alone he could be firmly established in his kingdom.

In the mean time, M. de Legal set open all the doors of the inquisition, *and released the prisoners, who amounted in the whole to* 400; *and among these were sixty beautiful young women, who appeared to form a seraglio for the three principal inquisitors.*

This discovery, which laid the enormity of the inquisitors so open, greatly alarmed the archbishop, who desired M. de Legal to send the women to his palace, and he would take proper care of them; and at the same time he published an ecclesiastical censure against all such as should ridicule or blame the holy office of the inquisition. But the French commander sent word to the archbishop, that the prisoners had either ran away, or were securely concealed by their friends, or even by his own officers, that it was impossible for him to send them back again; and, therefore, the inquisition having committed such atrocious actions, must now put up with their exposure and shame.

One of the ladies thus delivered from captivity, was afterwards married to the very French officer who opened the door of her dungeon, and released her. She related the following circumstance to her husband, and to M. Gavin, author of the Master-Key to Popery.

As the book of M. Gavin is extremely scarce, we shall quote a few interesting passages from it relative to the usage experienced by the lady above alluded to.

"I went one day," says the lady, "with my mother, to visit the countess of Attarass, and I met there Don Francisco Tirregon, her confessor, and second inquisitor of the holy office.

"After we had drunk chocolate, he asked me my age, my confessor's name, and many intricate questions about religion. The severity of his countenance frightened me, which he perceiving, told the countess to inform me, that he was not so severe as he looked for. He then caressed me in the most obliging manner, presented his hand, which I kissed with great reverence and modesty; and, as he went away, he made use of this remarkable expression, "My dear child, I shall remember you till the next time." I did not, at the time, mark the sense of the words: for I was inexperienced in matters of gallantry, being, at that time, but 15 years old. Indeed, he unfortunately did remember me, for the very same night, when our whole family were in bed, we heard a great knocking at the door.

"The maid, who slept in the same room with me, went to the window, and inquired who was there.—The answer was, 'The holy inquisition.' On hearing this I screamed out, 'Father! father! dear father, I am ruined for ever!' My father got up, and came to me to know the occasion of my crying out; I told him the inquisition were at the door. On hearing this, instead of protecting me, he hurried me down stairs as fast as possible; and, lest the maid should be too slow, opened the street door himself: under such abject and slavish fears are bigoted minds! as soon as he knew they came for me, he fetched me with great solemnity, and delivered me to the officers with much submission.

"I was hurried into a coach, with no other clothing than a petticoat and a mantle, for they would not let me stay to take any thing else. My fright was so great, I expected to die that very night; but judge my surprise, when I was ushered into an apartment decorated with all the elegance that taste, united with opulence, could bestow.

"Soon after the officers left me, a maid servant appeared with a silver salver, on which were sweetmeats and cinnamon water. She desired me to take some refreshments before I went to bed; I told her I could not, but should be glad if she could inform me whether I was to be put to death that night or not. 'To be put to death!' exclaimed she; 'you do not come here to be put to death, but to live like a princess, and you shall want for nothing, but the liberty of going out; so pray do not be afraid, but go to bed and sleep easy, for to-morrow you shall see wonders within this house; and, as I am chosen to be your waiting maid, I hope you will be very kind to me.'

"I was going to ask some questions, but she told me she must

not answer any thing more till the next day, but assured me that nobody would come to disturb me. 'I am going,' said she, 'about a little business, but I will come back presently, for my bed is in the closet next your's;' so she left me for about a quarter of an hour, and then returned. She then said, 'Madam, pray let me know when you will be pleased to have your chocolate ready in the morning?'

"This greatly surprised me; so that, without replying to her question, I asked her name. She said, 'My name is Mary.' —'Mary, then,' said I, 'for heaven's sake, tell me whether I am brought here to die or not?'—'I have told you already,' replied she, 'that you come here to be one of the happiest ladies in the world.'

"Now we went to bed, but the fear of death prevented me from sleeping the whole night. Mary waked: she was surprised to find me up, but soon rose; and after leaving me for about half an hour, she brought in two cups of chocolate, and some biscuits on a silver plate.

"I drank one cup of chocolate, and desired her to drink the other, which she did; when we had done, I said, 'Well, Mary, can you give me any account of the reasons for my being brought here?' To which she answered, 'Not yet, madam, you must have patience,' and immediately slipped out of the room.

"In about half an hour after, she brought a great quantity of elegant clothes suitable to a lady of the highest rank, and told me, I must dress myself. Among several trinkets which accompanied the clothes, I observed, with surprise, a snuff box, in the lid of which was a picture of Don Francisco Tirregon. This unravelled to me the mystery of my confinement, and at the same time rouzed my imagination to contrive how to evade receiving the present. If I absolutely refused it, I thought immediate death must ensue; and to accept it, was giving him too much encouragement against my honour. At length I hit upon a medium, and said to Mary, 'Pray present my respects to Don Francisco Tirregon, and tell him, that, as I could not bring my clothes along with me last night, modesty permits me to accept of these garments, which are requisite to keep me decent; but since I do not take snuff, I hope his lordship will excuse me in not accepting his box.

"Mary went with my answer, and soon returned with Don Francisco's picture elegantly set in gold, and richly embellished with diamonds. This message accompanied it, that his lordship had made a mistake: his intent not being to send me a snuff box, but his picture. I was at a great loss what to do; when Mary said, 'Pray, madam, take my poor advice; accept of the picture, and every thing else his lordship sends you; for if you do not,

he can compel you to what he pleases, and put you to death when he thinks proper, without any body being able to defend you. But if you are obliging to him,' continued she, 'he will be very kind, and you will be as happy as a queen; you will have elegant apartments to live in, beautiful gardens to range in, and agreeable ladies to visit you: therefore, I advise you to send a civil answer, or even not to deny a visit of his lordship, or perhaps you may repent of your disrespect.'

"'O, my God!' exclaimed I, 'must I sacrifice my honour to my fears, and give up my virtue to his despotic power? Alas! what can I do? To resist is vain. If I oppose his desires, force will obtain what chastity refuses.' I now fell into the greatest agonies, and told Mary to return what answer she thought proper.

"She said, she was glad of my humble submission, and ran to acquaint Don Francisco with it. In a few minutes she returned, with joy in her countenance, telling me his lordship would honour me with his company to supper. 'And now give me leave, madam, says she, 'to call you mistress, for I am to wait upon you. I have been in the holy office fourteen years, and know all the customs perfectly well; but as silence is imposed upon me, under pain of death, I can only answer such questions as immediately relate to your own person. But I would advise you never to oppose the holy father's will; or if you see any young ladies about, never ask them any questions. You may divert yourself sometimes among them, but must never tell them any thing: three days hence you will dine with them; and at all times you may have music, and other recreations. In fine, you will be so happy, that you will not wish to go abroad; and when your time is expired, the holy fathers will send you out of this country, and marry you to some nobleman.' After saying these words she left me, overwhelmed with astonishment, and scarce knowing what to think. As soon as I recovered myself, I began to look about, and finding a closet, I opened it, and perceived that it was filled with books: they were chiefly upon historical and profane subjects, but not on any religious matters. I chose out a book of history, and so passed the interval with some degree of satisfaction, till dinner time.

"Dinner was served up with the greatest elegance, and consisted of all that could gratify the most luxurious appetite. When dinner was over, Mary left me, and told me, if I wanted any thing, I might ring a bell, which she pointed out to me.

"I read a book to amuse myself during the afternoon, and at seven in the evening Don Francisco came to visit me in his night gown and cap, not with the gravity of an inquisitor, but with the gaiety of a gallant.

" He saluted me with great respect, and told me, that he came to see me in order to shew the great respect he had for my family, and to inform me, that it was my lovers who had procured my confinement, having accused me in matters of religion; and that the informations were taken, and the sentence pronouced against me, to be burnt alive in a dry pan, with a gradual fire; but that he, out of pity and love to my family, had stopped the execution of it.

" These words were like daggers; I dropped at his feet, and said, 'Ah, my lord! have you stopped the execution for ever?' He replied, 'That belongs to yourself only,' and abruptly wished me good night.

" When he was gone I burst into tears, when Mary came and asked what could make me cry so bitterly. To which I answered, 'Oh, Mary! what is the meaning of the dry pan and gradual fire, for I am to die by them?'

" Alas, madam!' said she, 'never fear; you shall see, ere long, the dry pan and gradual fire: but they are made for those who oppose the holy father's will, not for you who are so good as to obey it.'—'But pray,' said she, 'was Don Francisco very obliging?'—'I don't know,' said I, 'for he frightened me out of my wits by his discourse: he saluted me with civility, but left me in an abrupt manner.'

"'Well,' said Mary, 'you do not yet know his temper: he is extremely obliging to them that are kind to him; but if they are disobedient, he is as unmerciful as Nero, so, for your own sake, take care to oblige him in all respects: and now, dear madam, pray go to supper and be easy.' I went to supper, indeed, and afterwards to bed: but I could neither eat not sleep, for the thoughts of the dry pan and gradual fire deprived me of appetite, and banished drowsiness.

" The next morning early, Mary said, that as nobody was stirring, if I would promise her secrecy, she would shew me the dry pan and gradual fire; so taking me down stairs, she brought me to a large room, with a thick iron door, which she opened. Within it was an oven, with fire in it at the time, and a large brass pan upon it, with a cover of the same, and a lock to it. In the next room there was a great wheel, covered on both sides with thick board; opening a little window in the centre, Mary desired me to look in with a candle; there I saw all the circumference of the wheel set with sharp razors, which made me shudder.

" Mary then took me to a pit, which was full of venomous animals. On my expressing great horror at the sight, she said, 'Now my good mistress, I'll tell you the use of these things. The dry pan is for heretics, and those who oppose the holy

father's will and pleasure: they are put alive into this pan, being first stripped naked; and the cover being locked down, the executioner begins to put a small fire into the oven, and by degrees he augments it, till the body is reduced to ashes. The wheel is designed for those who speak against the pope, or the holy fathers of the inquisition; for they are put into that machine through the little door, which is locked after them, and then the wheel is turned swiftly, till they are all cut to pieces. The pit is for those who contemn the images, and refuse to give proper respect to ecclesiastical persons; for they are thrown into the pit, and so become the food of poisonous animals.

"We went back again to my chamber, and Mary said, that another day she would shew me the torments designed for other transgressors; but I was in such agonies at what I had seen, that I begged not to be terrified with any more such sights. She soon left me, but not without enjoining my strict obedience to Don Francisco; 'for if you do not comply with his will,' says she, 'the dry pan and gradual fire will be your fate.'

"The horrors which the sight of these things, and Mary's expressions, impressed on my mind, almost bereaved me of my senses, and left me in such a state of stupefaction, that I seemed to have no manner of will of my own.

"The next morning, Mary said, 'Now let me dress you as nice as possible, for you must go and wish Don Francisco good-morrow, and breakfast with him.' When I was dressed, she conveyed me through a gallery into his apartment, where I found that he was in bed. He ordered Mary to withdraw, and to serve up breakfast in about two hours time. When Mary was gone, he commanded me to undress myself, and come to bed to him. The manner in which he spoke, and the dreadful ideas with which my mind was filled, so terribly frightened me, that I pulled off my clothes, without knowing what I did, and stepped into bed, insensible of the indecency I was transacting: so totally had the care of self-preservation absorbed all my other thoughts, and so entirely were the ideas of delicacy obliterated by the force of terror.

"Thus, to avoid the dry pan, did I entail upon myself perpetual infamy; and to escape the so much dreaded gradual fire, give myself up to the flames of lust. Wretched alternative, where the only choice is an excruciating death, or everlasting pollution!

"Mary came at the expiration of two hours, and served us with chocolate in the most submissive manner; for she kneeled down by the bed side to present it. When I was dressed, Mary took me into a very delightful apartment, which I had never yet seen. It was furnished with the most costly elegance; but what

gave me the greatest astonishment was, the prospect from its windows, of a beautiful garden, and a fine meandering river. Mary told me that the young ladies she had mentioned would come to pay their compliments to me before dinner, and begged me to remember her advice, in keeping a prudent guard over my tongue.

"In a few minutes a great number of very beautiful young ladies, richly dressed, entered the room, and successively embracing me, wished me joy. I was so surprised, that I was unable to answer their compliments; which one of the ladies perceiving, said, 'Madam, the solitude of this place will affect you in the beginning, but when you begin to feel the pleasures and amusements you may enjoy, you will quit those pensive thoughts. We at present, beg the honour of you to dine with us to-day, and, henceforward, three days in a week.' I returned them suitable thanks in general terms, and so went to dinner, in which the most exquisite and savoury dishes, of various kinds, were served up, with the most delicate and pleasant fruits and sweatmeats. The room was long, with two tables on each side, and a third in the front. I reckoned fifty-two young ladies, the eldest not exceeding twenty-four years of age. There were five maid-servants, besides Mary, to wait upon us; but Mary confined her attention to me alone; after dinner we retired to a capacious gallery, where some played on musical instruments, a few diverted themselves with cards, and the rest amused themselves with walking about. Mary, at length, entered the gallery, and said, 'Ladies, this is a day of recreation, and so you may go into whatever rooms you please, till eight o'clock in the evening.'

"They unanimously agreed to adjourn to my apartment. Here we found a most elegant cold collation, of which all the ladies partook, and passed the time in innocent conversation, and harmless mirth: but none mentioned a word concerning the inquisition or the holy fathers, or gave the least distant hint concerning the cause of their confinement.

"At eight o'clock Mary rang a bell, which was a signal for all to retire to their respective apartments, and I was conducted to the chamber of Don Francisco, where I slept.

"The next morning Mary brought me a richer dress than any I yet had: and as soon as I retired to my apartment, all the ladies came to wish me good morning, dressed much richer than the preceding day. We passed the time till eight o'clock in the evening, in much the same manner as we had done the day before. At that time the bell rung, the separation took place, and I was conducted to Don Francisco's chamber. The next morning I had a garment richer than the last, and they accosted me in apparel still more sumptuous than before. The

transactions of the two former days were repeated on the third, and the evening concluded in a similar manner.

"On the fourth morning Mary came into Don Francisco's chamber, and told me I must immediately rise, for a lady wanted me in her own chamber. She spoke with a kind of authority which surprised me; but as Don Francisco did not speak a syllable, I got up and obeyed. Mary then conveyed me to a dismal dungeon, not eight feet in length; and said, sternly to me, 'This is your room, and this lady your bed-fellow and companion.' At which word she bounced out of the room, and left me in the utmost consternation.

"After remaining a considerable time in the most dreadful agonies, tears came to my relief, and I exclaimed, 'What is this place, dear lady? Is it a scene of enchantment, or is it a hell upon earth? Alas! I have lost my honour and my soul for ever!'

"The lady took me by the hand, and said, in a sympathizing tone of voice, 'Dear sister, (for this is the name I shall henceforth give you,) forbear to cry and grieve, for you can do nothing by such an extravagant behaviour, but draw upon yourself a cruel death. Your misfortunes and those of all the ladies you have seen, are exactly of a piece: you suffer nothing but what we have suffered before you: but we dare not shew our grief, for fear of greater evils. Pray take courage, and hope in God, for he will surely deliver us from this hellish place; but be sure you discover no uneasiness before Mary, who is the only instrument either of our torments or comfort. Have patience until we go to bed, and then I will venture to tell you more of the matter.

"My perplexity and vexation were inexpressible; but my new companion, whose name was Leonora, prevailed on me to disguise my uneasiness from Mary. I dissembled tolerably well when she came to bring our dinners; but I could not help remarking, in my own mind, the difference between this repast, and those I had before partook of. This consisted only of plain, common food, and of that a scanty allowance, with only one plate, and one knife and fork for us both, which she took away as soon as we had dined.

"When we were in bed, Leonora was as good as her word; and upon my solemn promise of secresy, thus began to open her mind to me: 'My dear sister, you think your case very hard, but, I assure you, all the ladies in the house have gone through the same. In time you will know all their stories, as they hope to know your's. I suppose that Mary has been the chief instrument of your fright, as she has been of our's; and I warrant she has shewn you some horrible places, though not all: and that,

at the very thought of them, you were so terrified, that you chose the same way we have done, to redeem yourself from death. By what hath happened to us, we know that Don Francisco hath been your Nero, your tyrant; for the three colours of clothes are distinguishing tokens of the three holy fathers. The red silk belongs to Don Francisco, the blue to Don Guerrero, and the green to Don Aliapa; and they always give those colours (after the farce of changing garments, and the short-lived recreations are over) to those ladies whom they bring here for their respective uses. We are strictly commanded to express all the demonstrations of joy, and to be very merry for three days, when a young lady first comes amongst us, as we did with you, and as you must now do with others. But afterwards we lived like the most wretched prisoners, without seeing any body but Mary, and the other maid-servants, over whom Mary hath a kind of superiority, for she acts as house-keeper. We all dine in the great hall three days in a week; and when any one of the inquisitors hath a mind for one of his slaves, Mary comes about nine o'clock, and leads her to his apartment. Some nights Mary leaves the doors of our chambers open, and that is a token that one of the inquisitors hath a mind to come that night; but he comes so silent, that we are ignorant whether he is our patron or not. If one of us happens to be with child, she is removed into a better chamber till she is delivered; but during the whole of her pregnancy, she never sees any body but the person appointed to attend her. As soon as the child is born it is taken away, and carried we know not whither; for we never hear a syllable mentioned about it afterwards. I have been in this house six years, was not fourteen when the officers took me from my father's house, and have had one child. There are at this present time, fifty-two young ladies in the house; but we annually lose six or eight, though we know not what becomes of them, or whither they are sent. This, however, does not diminish our number, for new ones are always brought in to supply the place of those who are removed from hence; and I remember, at one time, to have seen seventy-three ladies here together. Our continual torment is to reflect that when they are tired of any of the ladies, they certainly put to death those they pretend to send away; for it is natural to think, that they have too much policy to suffer these atrocious and infernal villanies to be discovered by enlarging them. Hence our situation is miserable indeed, and we have only to pray that the Almighty will pardon those crimes which we are compelled to commit. Therefore, my dear sister, arm yourself with patience, for that is the only palliative to give you comfort, and put a firm confidence in the providence of Almighty God.'

"This discourse of Leonora greatly affected me; but I found every thing to be as she told me in the course of time, and I took care to appear as cheerful as possible before Mary. In this manner I continued eighteen months, during which time eleven ladies were taken from the house; but in lieu of them we got nineteen new ones, which made our number just sixty, at the time we were so happily relieved by the French officers, and providentially restored to the joys of society, and to the arms of our parents and friends.

"On that happy day, the door of my dungeon was opened by the gentleman who is now my husband, who, with the utmost expedition, sent both Leonora and me to his father's: and (soon after the campaign was over) when he returned home, he thought proper to make me his wife, in which situation I enjoy a recompense for all the miseries I before suffered."

It is wonderful that superstition has, with respect to the inquisition in this case, always overcome common sense, and custom operated against reason. One prince, indeed, Don Carlos, the amiable son of Philip the second, king of Spain, and grandson of the celebrated emperor Charles V. intended to abolish the inquisition, but he lost his life before he became king.

Don Carlos possessed all the good qualities of his grandfather, without any of the bad ones of his father. He had sense enough to see into the errors of popery, and abhorred the very name of the inquisition. He inveighed publickly against the institution, ridiculed the affected piety of the inquisitors, and declared, that if he ever came to the crown, he would abolish the inquisition, and extirminate all the agents thereof. This irritated the inquisitors against the prince; and they, accordingly, determined on his destruction. They therefore employed all their agents and emissaries to spread the most artful insinuations against the prince; and, at length, raised such a spirit of discontent among the people, that the king was under the necessity of removing Don Carlos from court. They even pursued his friends, obliged the king to banish Don John, duke of Austria, his own brother, and uncle to the prince; together with the prince of Parma, nephew of the king, and cousin of the prince, because both the duke of Austria, and the prince of Parma, had a most sincere attachment to Don Carlos.

Shortly after, the prince having shewn great lenity and favour to the protestants in the Netherlands, the inquisition loudly exclaimed against him, declaring, that as the persons in question were heretics, the prince himself must be one, since he gave them countenance. Thus they gained so great an ascendancy over the mind of the king, who was absolutty a slave to superstition, that he sacrificed the feelings of naure to the force of

bigotry, and for fear of incurring the anger of the inquisition, passed the sentence of death on his only son.

The prince had what they termed an indulgence; that is, he was permitted to choose the manner of his death. He chose bleeding, and the hot-bath; when, the veins of his arms and legs being opened, he expired gradually, falling a martyr to the malice of the inquisitors, and the corrupted bigotry of his father.

Dr. Ægidio was educated at the university of Alcala, and applied himself to the study of the sacred Scriptures. The professor of theology dying, he was elected into his place, and acted so much to the satisfaction of every one, that his reputation for learning and piety was throughout Europe declared. The doctor's enemies, however, laid a complaint against him to the inquisitors, who sent him a citation, and when he appeared to it, cast him into a dungeon.

As the greater part of those who belonged to the cathedral church at Seville, and many persons belonging to the bishopric of Dortois, approved of the doctrines of Ægidio, which they thought perfectly consonant with true religion, they petitioned the emperor in his behalf. Though the monarch had been educated a Roman catholic, he was not a bigot; and therefore sent an immediate order for his liberation. Soon after, he visited the church of Valladolid, did every thing he could to promote the cause of religion, and, returning home, he fell sick, and died in an extreme old age.

The inquisitors having been disappointed of gratifying their malice against him while living, determined (as the emperor's whole thoughts were engrossed by a military expedition) to wreak their vengeance on him when dead. They therefore, soon after he was buried, ordered his remains to be dug up; and a legal process being carried on, they were condemned to be burnt, which was accordingly done.

Account of the Persecution of Dr. Constantine, and others.

Dr. Constantine, an intimate acquaintance of Dr. Ægidio, was a man of uncommon natural abilities and profound learning. His eloquence rendered him a pleasing, and the soundness of his doctrines, a profitable preacher; and he was so popular, that he never preached but to a crowded audience.

When fully confirmed in Protestantism by Dr. Ægidio, he preached boldly such doctrines only as were agreeable to gospel purity, and uncontaminated by the errors which had at various times crept into the Romish Church. For these reasons he had many enemies among the Roman Catholics, and some of them

were determined on his utter ruin. One Scobarta, a worthy gentleman, having erected a school for divinity lectures, appointed Dr. Constantine to be reader therein. He immediately undertook the task, and read lectures, by portions, on the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles; but while beginning to expound the book of Job, the inquisitors seized him. When brought to examination, he answered with such precaution that they could not find any explicit charge against him, but remained doubtful, in what manner to proceed, when the following circumstance occurred:

The doctor had deposited with a woman, named Martin, several books, which to him were very valuable, but which he knew were exceptionable in the eyes of the inquisition. This woman was apprehended, and after a small process, her goods were ordered to be confiscated. Previous, however, to the officers coming to her house, the woman's son had removed away several chests full of the most valuable articles, and among these were the books of Dr. Constantine; but a treacherous servant having given intelligence of this to the inquisitors, an officer was despatched to the son to demand the chests. The son, supposing the officer only came for Constantine's books, said, 'I know what you come for, and I will fetch them to you immediately." He then fetched Dr. Constantine's books and papers, when the officer was greatly surprised to find what he did not look for.

The inquisitors, who were thus possessed of Constantine's books and writings, soon found matter to form charges against him. When he was brought to re-examination, they presented one of his papers, and asked him if he knew the hand writing. Perceiving it was his own, he guessed the whole matter, confessed the writing, and justified the doctrine it contained, saying, "In that and all my other writings, I have never departed from the truth of the gospel, but have always kept in view the pure precepts of Christ, as he delivered them to mankind." Having been detained upwards of two years in prison, he was at last seized with a bloody flux, which put an end to his miseries. The process, however, was carried on against his body, which was publickly burnt at the ensuing Auto de Fè.

Mr. Burton was a merchant of London, who traded into Spain. Being at Cadiz, a familiar of the inquisition called upon him one day at his lodgings, pretending that he wanted to send a quantity of merchandise to London. Having asked as many questions as he thought proper, he departed, and the next day one of the inquisitorial officers took Mr. Burton into custody. The president, on his examination, demanded if he had said or insinuated any thing disrespectful to the Roman catholic per-

suasion. Mr. Burton replied in the negative, saying, that he was sensible, in whatever country we were, respect ought to be paid to its established religion. This defence, however, availed him nothing: they proceeded to torture him, in order to gain information. Failing in this, they condemned him for invincible obstinacy, and at the next Auto de Fè he was burnt. When the flames first touched him, he bore the torments with such exemplary patience, and appeared with so smiling a countenance, that one of the priests, enraged at his serenity, said with great malice and absurdity, "The reason why he does not seem to feel, is to me very evident; the devil has already got his soul, and his body is of course deprived of the usual sensations." Several others of the English in Spain were, about the time of Mr. Burton's martyrdom, put to death by the inquisitors; particularly John Baker, William Burgate, and William Burgess, were burnt, and William Hooker was stoned to death.

William Gardener was born at Bristol, received a tolerable education, and was, at a proper age, placed under the care of one Paget, an eminent merchant. When twenty-six years of age, he was sent to Lisbon as factor. Here he applied himself to the study of the Portuguese language, conversed privately with a few, whom he knew to be zealous protestants; and, at the same time, cautiously avoided giving the least offence to any who were Roman catholics: but hitherto he had not gone into any of the popish churches.

There being a marriage concluded between the king of Portugal's son and the infanta of Spain, upon the wedding-day the bridegroom, bride, and the whole court went to the cathedral church, attended by multitudes of all ranks of people, and among the rest William Gardener, who stayed during the whole ceremony, and was greatly shocked at the superstitions he beheld. He, therefore, formed the inconsiderate design of making a reform in Portugal, or perishing in the attempt; and determined to sacrifice his prudence to his zeal, though upon the occasion he became a martyr. For this purpose he settled all his worldly affairs, paid his debts, closed his books, and consigned over his merchandize. On the ensuing Sunday he went again to the cathedral church, and placed himself near the altar, with a New Testament in his hand. In a short time the king and court appeared, and a cardinal began mass: at that part of the ceremony in which the people adore the wafer, Gardener, springing towards the cardinal, snatched the host from him, and trampled it under his feet. The whole congregation were thunderstruck, and one person, drawing a dagger, wounded Gardener in the shoulder, and would, by repeating the blow, have finished him, had not the king called him to forbear. Thinking

that he had been stimulated by some other person to act as he had done, the king demanded who was his abettor, to which he replied, "My own conscience alone. I would not hazard what I have done for any man living; but I owe that and all other services to my Creator." Hereupon he was sent to prison, and a general order issued to apprehend all Englishmen in Lisbon. This order was in a great measure put in execution (some few escaping,) and many innocent persons were tortured to make them confess if they knew any thing of the matter; in particular, a person who resided in the same house with Gardener, was treated with unparalleled barbarity, to make him confess something which might throw a light upon the business. Then Gardener himself was tormented in the most excruciating manner: but in the midst of all his torments he gloried in the deed. Being ordered for death, a large fire was kindled near a gibbet; Gardener was drawn up to the gibbet by pullies, and then let down near the fire, but not so close as to touch it; for they burnt or rather roasted him by slow degrees. Some of the sparks were blown from the fire which consumed Gardener, towards the haven, burnt one of the king's ships of war, and did other considerable damage. The Englishmen who were taken up on this occasion were, soon after Gardener's death, all discharged, except the person that resided in the same house with him, who was detained two years before he could procure his freedom.

William Lithgow was descended from a good family, and having a natural propensity to travelling, he rambled, when very young, over the Northern and Western islands; after which he visited France, Germany, Switzerland, and Spain. He set out on his travels in the month of March 1609, and the first place he went to was Paris, where he stayed for some time. He then prosecuted his travels through Germany and other parts, and at length arrived at Malaga in Spain, the seat of all his embarrassments. While he resided here, he contracted with the master of a French ship for his passage to Alexandria, but was prevented from going, by the following circumstances; in the evening of the 17th of October 1620, the English fleet, at that time on a cruise against the Algerine rovers, came to anchor before Malaga, which threw the people of the town into the greatest consternation, as they imagined them to be Turks. The morning, however, discovered the mistake; and the governor of Malaga, perceiving the cross of England in their colours, went on board Sir R. Mansell's ship, who commanded on that expedition, and after staying some time returned, and silenced all the people's fears.

Many persons from on board the fleet came ashore the next day. Among these were several well known by Mr. Lithgow,

who invited him on board. When Mr. Lithgow got on shore he proceeded towards his lodgings by a private way (being to embark the same night for Alexandria,) when, in passing through a narrow uninhabited street, he found himself suddenly surrounded by nine serjeants, or officers, who threw a black cloak over him, and forcibly conducted him to the governor's house. After some little time the governor appeared, when Mr. Lithgow earnestly begged he might be informed of the cause of such violent treatment. The governor only answered by shaking his head, and gave orders that the prisoner should be strictly watched till he (the governor) returned from his devotions; directing, at the same time, that the captain of the town, the alcaid major, and the town notary, should be summoned to appear at his examination, and that all this should be done with the greatest secrecy, to prevent the knowledge thereof reaching the ears of the English merchants who resided in the town at that time. All these orders were strictly discharged; and on the governor's return, he, with the officers, having seated themselves, Mr. Lithgow was brought before them for examination. The governor began by asking several questions; finding himself, however, unable to extort any thing from the prisoner, he left him. Then the governor proceeded to inquire the quality of the English commander, and the prisoner's opinion what were the motives that prevented his accepting an invitation from him to come on shore. He demanded, likewise, the names of the English captains in the squadron, and what knowledge he had of the embarkation, or preparation for it before its departure from England. The answers given to the several questions asked, were set down in writing by the notary; but the junto seemed surprised at his denying any knowledge of the fitting out of the fleet, particularly the governor, who said he lied, that he was a traitor and spy, and came directly from England to favour and assist in the designs that were projected against Spain; and that he had been for that purpose nine months in Seville, in order to procure intelligence of the time the Spanish navy was expected from the Indies. They exclaimed against his familiarity with the officers of the fleet, and many other English gentlemen, between whom, they said, unusual civilities had passed, but all these transactions had been noticed with peculiar attention. In short, they said, he came from a council of war held that morning on board the admiral's ship, in order to put in execution the orders assigned him. They upbraided him with being accessary to the burning of the island of St. Thomas, in the West Indies; "wherefore," said they, "these Lutherans, and sons of the devil, ought to have no credit given to what they say or swear."

Mr. Lithgow in vain endeavoured to obviate every accusation laid against him, and to obtain belief from his prejudiced judges. A consultation was held to fix the place where the prisoner should be confined. The alcade, or chief judge, was for putting him in the town prison; but this was objected to, particularly by the corrigidore, who said, in Spanish, "In order to prevent the knowledge of his confinement from reaching his countrymen, I I will take the matter on myself, and be answerable for the consequences;" upon which it was agreed, that he should be confined in the governor's house, and the greatest secrecy observed. At midnight the serjeant and two Turkish slaves released Mr. Lithgow from his confinement, but it was to introduce him to one much more horrible. They conducted him through several passages to a chamber in a remote part of the palace, towards the garden, where they loaded him with irons, and extended his legs by means of an iron bar above a yard long, the weight of which was so great that he could neither stand nor sit, but was obliged to lie continually on his back. They left him in this condition for some time, when they returned with a refreshment of food, consisting of a pound of boiled mutton and a loaf, with a small quantity of wine.

He received a visit from the governor the next day, who promised him his liberty, with many other advantages, if he would confess being a spy; but on his protesting that he was entirely innocent, the governor left him in a rage, saying, he should see him no more till further torments constrained him to confess; commanding the keeper, to whose care he was committed, that his sustenance should not exceed three ounces of musty bread, and a pint of water every second day; that he should be allowed neither bed, pillow, nor coverlet. "Close up," said he, "this window in his room with lime and stone; stop up the holes of the door with double mats; let him have nothing that bears any likeness to comfort." The unfortunate Lithgow continued in this melancholy state without seeing any person, for several days, in which time the governor received an answer to a letter he had written, relative to the prisoner, from Madrid; and pursuant to the instructions given him, began to put in practice the cruelties devised, which they hastened, because Christmas holidays approached, it being then the 47th day since his confinement.

About three o'clock in the morning, he heard the noise of a coach in the street, and, some time after, heard the opening of the prison doors, not having had any sleep for two nights. Immediately after the prison doors were opened, and the nine serjeants, who had first seized him, with the notary, entered the place where he lay, and, without uttering a word, conducted him in his irons into the street, where a coach waited, and into

which they laid him at the bottom on his back, not being able to sit. Two of the serjeants rode with him, and the rest walked by the coach side, but all observed the most profound silence. They drove him to a vine-press house, about a league from the town, to which place a rack had been privately conveyed before; and here they shut him up for that night.

About day-break the next morning the governor and the alcade arrived, into whose presence Mr. Lithgow was immediately brought, to undergo another examination. The prisoner desired he might have an interpreter, but was refused; nor would they permit him to appeal to Madrid, the superior court of judicature. After a long examination, which lasted from morning till night, there appeared in all his answers so exact a conformity with what he had before said, that they declared he had learned them by heart, there not being the least prevarication. They, however, pressed him again to make a full discovery; that is, to accuse himself of crimes never committed; the governor adding, "You are still in my power; I can set you free if you comply: if not, I must deliver you to the alcade." Mr. Lithgow still persisting in his innocence, the governor ordered him to be tortured immediately.

He was then conducted to the end of a stone gallery, where the rack was placed. The encarouador, or executioner, immediately struck off his irons, which put him to very great pain, the bolts being so close rivetted, that the sledge-hammer tore away, above half an inch of his heel, in forcing off the bolt; the anguish of which, together with his weak condition, (not having the least sustenance for three days) occasioned him to groan bitterly; upon which the merciless alcade said, "Villain, traitor, this is but the beginning of what you shall endure."

As soon as his irons were off he fell on his knees, uttering a short prayer, that God would be pleased to enable him to be steadfast, and undergo courageously the trial he had to encounter. The alcade and notary having then placed themselves in chairs, he was stripped naked and fixed upon the rack.

It is impossible to describe all the various tortures inflicted upon him. He lay on the rack for above five hours, during which time he received above sixty different tortures of the most infernal nature: and, had they continued them a few minutes longer, he must have expired.

On being taken from the rack, and his irons being again put on, he was conducted to his former dungeon, having received no other nourishment than a little warm wine, which was given him rather to reserve him for future punishments, than from any principle of pity.

In this horrid situation he continued almost starved, till

Christmas-day, when he received some relief from Marianne, waiting-woman to the governor's lady. This woman, having obtained leave to visit him, carried with her some refreshments, consisting of honey, sugar, raisins, and other articles.

Mr. Lithgow was kept in this loathsome dungeon till he was almost devoured with vermin. They crawled about his beard, lips, eye-brows, &c. so that he could scarce open his eyes; and his mortification was increased, by not having the use of his hands or legs to defend himself.

Mr. Lithgow at length received information which gave him little hopes of ever being released. The substance of this information was, that an English seminary priest, and a Scotch cooper had been for some time employed by the governor, to translate from the English into the Spanish language, all his books and observations; and that it was commonly said in the governor's house, that he was an arch and dangerous heretic. About two days after he had received the above information, the governor, an inquisitor, and a canonical priest, accompanied by two Jesuits, entered his dungeon, and after several idle questions, the inquisitor asked Mr. Lithgow if he was a Roman catholic, and acknowledged the pope's supremacy? He answered, that he neither was the one, nor did the other. In the bitterness of his soul, he made use of some warm expressions not suited to his circumstances: "As you have almost murdered me," said he, "for pretended treason, so now you intend to make a martyr of me for my religion." He also expostulated with the governor of the ill return he made the king of England, whose subject he was, for the princely humanity exercised towards the Spaniards in 1588, when their armada was shipwrecked on the Scotch coast, and thousands of the Spaniards found relief, who must otherwise have perished in a miserable manner.

After some time the inquisitor addressed Mr. Lithgow in the following words: "You have been taken up as a spy, accused of treachery, and tortured, as we acknowledge, innocently; (which appears by the account, lately received from Madrid, of the intentions of the English) yet it was the divine power that brought those judgments upon you, for presumptuously treating the blessed miracle of Loretto with ridicule, and expressing yourself in your writings, irreverently of his holiness, the great agent and Christ's vicar upon earth; therefore you are justly fallen into our hands by their special appointment: thy books and papers are miraculously translated by the assistance of Providence influencing thy own countrymen."

When this harangue was ended, they gave the prisoner eight days to consider and resolve whether he would become a convert to their religion; during which time the inquisitor told him, he,

with other religious orders, would attend, to give him assistance. One of the Jesuits said, first making the sign of the cross upon his breast, "My son, behold, you deserve to be burnt alive; but by the grace of our lady of Loretto, whom you have blasphemed, we will both save your soul and body."

The inquisitors, with the three ecclesiastics, returned in the morning, when the former asked the prisoner what difficulties he he had on his conscience that retarded his conversion; to which he answered, "He had not any doubts in his mind, being confident in the promises of Christ, and assuredly believing his revealed will signified in the gospels, as professed in the reformed Catholic church, being confirmed by grace, and having infallible assurance thereby of the true christian faith." To these words the inquisitor replied, "Thou art no christian, but an absurd heretic, and, without conversion, a member of perdition." The prisoner then told him, it was not consistent with the nature of religion and charity, to convince by opprobrious speeches, racks, and torments, but by arguments deduced from the Scriptures; and that all other methods would with him be totally fruitless.

So enraged was the inquisitor at the replies made by the prisoner, that he struck him on the face, used many abusive speeches, and attempted to stab him, which he had certainly done, had he not been prevented by the Jesuits: and from this time he never visited the prisoner again. The two Jesuits returned the next day, and the superior asked him what resolution he had taken? To which Mr. Lithgow replied, that he was already resolved, unless he could shew substantial reasons to make him alter his opinion. The superior, after a pedantic display of their seven sacraments, the intercession of saints, transubstantiation, &c. boasted greatly of their church, her antiquity, universality, and uniformity; all which Mr. Lithgow denied; "For," said he, "the profession of the faith I hold hath been ever since the first days of the apostles, and Christ had ever his own church, however obscure, in the greatest time of your darkness."

The Jesuits, finding their arguments had not the desired effect, and that torments could not shake his constancy, after severe menaces, left him. On the eight day after, being the last of their inquisition, when sentence is pronounced, they returned again, but quite altered, both in their words and behaviour. After repeating much the same kind of arguments as before, they, with seeming tears in their eyes, pretended they were sorry from their hearts he must be obliged to undergo a terrible death; but above all, for the loss of his most precious soul; and, falling on their knees, cried out, "Convert, convert, O dear brother, for our blessed lady's sake, convert!" To which he answered, "I fear neither death nor fire, being prepared for both."

Lithgow received a sentence that night of eleven different tortures, and if he did not die in the execution of them, he was, after Easter holidays, to be carried to Grenada, and there burnt to ashes. The first part of the sentence was executed with great barbarity that night; and it pleased God to give him strength, both of body and mind, to adhere to the truth, and to survive the horrid punishments.

After these cruelties, they again put irons on, and conveyed him to his dungeon. The next morning he received some little comfort from a Turkish slave, who secretly brought him in his shirt sleeve some raisins and figs, which he licked up in the best manner his strength would permit with his tongue. It was to this slave Mr. Lithgow attributed his surviving so long in such a wretched situation; for he found means to convey some of these fruits to him twice every week. It is very extraordinary, and worthy of note, that this poor slave, bred up from his infancy, according to the maxims of his prophet, in the greatest detestation of christians, should be so affected at the situation of Mr. Lithgow, that he fell ill, and continued so for upwards of 40 days. During this period, Mr. Lithgow was attended by a negro woman, a slave, who found means to furnish him with refreshments still more amply than the Turk, being conversant in the house and family. She brought him some victuals, and with it some wine in a bottle, every day.

Mr. Lithgow now waited, with anxious expectation, for the day, which, by putting an end to his life, would also end his torments. But his melancholy expectations were, by the interposition of Providence, rendered abortive, and his deliverance obtained from the following circumstances.

A Spanish gentleman of quality came from Grenada to Malaga; who, being invited to an entertainment by the governor, he informed him of what had befallen Mr. Lithgow, from the time of his being apprehended as a spy, and described the various sufferings he had endured. He likewise told him, that after it was known the prisoner was innocent, it gave him great concern. That on this account he would gladly have released him, restored his money and papers, and made some atonement for the injuries he had received; but that, upon an inspection into his writings, several were found of a very blasphemous nature. That on his refusing to abjure these heretical opinions, he was turned over to the inquisition, who finally condemned him.

While the governor was relating this tale, a Flemish youth, servant to the Spanish gentleman, who waited at table, was struck with amazement and pity at the sufferings of the stranger described. On his return to his master's lodging, he began to revolve in his mind what he had heard, which made such an impression on him that he could not rest in his bed; and when the

morning came, without disclosing his intentions to any person whatever, he went into the town, and inquired for an English factor. He was directed to the house of one Mr. Wild, to whom he related the whole of what he had heard pass, the preceding evening, between his master and the governor; but could not tell Mr. Lithgow's name. Mr. Wild, however, conjectured it was he, by the servant remembering the circumstance of his being a traveller.

Mr. Wild, therefore, on the departure of the servant, immediately sent for the other English factors, to whom he related all the particulars relative to their unfortunate countryman. After a short consultation, it was agreed, that an information of the whole affair should be sent, by express, to Sir Walton Aston, the English ambassador to the king of Spain, then at Madrid. This was accordingly done, and the ambassador, having presented a memorial to the king and council of Spain, he obtained an order for Mr. Lithgow's enlargement, and his delivery to the English factory. This order was directed to the governor of Malaga; and was received by the whole assembly of the bloody inquisition with the greatest surprise.

Mr. Lithgow was released from his confinement on the eve of Easter-Sunday, when he was carried from his dungeon on the back of the slave that had attended him, to the house of one Mr. Busbich, where all comforts were given him. It fortunately happened, that there was at this time a squadron of English ships in the road, commanded by Sir Richard Hawkins, who being informed of the past sufferings, and present situation of Mr. Lithgow, came the next day ashore, with a proper guard, and received him from the merchants. He was instantly carried in blankets on board the Vanguard, and three days after was removed to another ship, by direction of the general, Sir Robert Mansel. The factory presented him with clothes, and all necessary provisions, besides which they gave him 200 reals in silver; and Sir Richard Hawkins sent him two double pistoles. Sir Richard also demanded the delivery of his papers, money, books, &c. before his departure from the Spanish coast, but could not obtain any satisfactory answer on that head. By such secondary means does Providence frequently interfere in behalf of the virtuous and oppressed.

Having lain twelve days in the road, the ship weighed anchor, and in about two months arrived safe at Deptford. The next morning Mr. Lithgow was carried on a feather bed to Theobalds, in Hertfordshire, where, at that time, were the king and royal family. Mr. Lithgow was presented to him, and related the particulars of his sufferings, and his happy delivery; which the king was so affected at, that he expressed the deepest concern,

and gave orders that he should be sent to Bath. By these means, under God, after some time, Mr. Lithgow was restored, from the most wretched spectacle, to a great share of health and strength; but he lost the use of his left arm, and several of the smaller bones were so crushed and broken, as to be rendered ever after unserviceable.

Notwithstanding every effort, Mr. Lithgow could never obtain any part of his money or effects, though his majesty, and the ministers interested themselves in his behalf. Gondamore, the Spanish ambassador, indeed, promised that all his effects should be restored, with the addition of 1000*l.* English money, as some atonement for the tortures he had undergone, which last was to be paid him by the governor of Malaga. These engagements, however, were never kept; and though the king was a kind of guarantee for the well performance of them, the cunning Spaniard found means to elude the order.

The observations of the late Mr. Beausobre on this subject are so much to the purpose in this place, that they ought not to be omitted. This learned and amiable critic, by following the Reformation up to its true springs, found that the ancient christians, called, in ecclesiastical history, heretics, had not held the monstrous errors, which ecclesiastics had imputed to them; but on the contrary had understood and practised christianity far better than their persecutors: but their persecutors were saints! On this subject, he says, "Some will tax me with speaking disrespectfully of the fathers. I grant, some expressions may have escaped me, which I might have softened: but relations notoriously false, or monstrously exaggerated; bad reasoning; a blind belief of every thing reported to disgrace heretics; a reigning passion to render their persons odious; all this irritates an equitable mind. But what provokes beyond all patience is to see that selfish abuse, which some writers make of the names and the testimonies of the fathers. A sort of false reasoning, which I call the sophism of authority, hath been long introduced, and now continues to be applied to the most pernicious purposes. Reason and religion are oppressed; and in order to defend opinions evidently false, and practices grossly superstitious, a sentence is quoted from an ancient writer, and puffed off with the vain title of A SAINT, and A GREAT SAINT. People, on hearing this superb title, are seduced into an imagination that they hear an oracle, and sincerely believe, that justness of thought, accuracy of expression, solidity of reasoning, and demonstrative evidence are necessarily connected with SAINTSHIP, and GREAT SAINTSHIP. They even fancy, that such men were under the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit, inseparably connected with their writings. Reason, abashed, and timid durst

not resist: or if it dare be so bold, admirers of antiquity will exclaim first at presumption and pride, and last at heresy. In vain Jesus Christ said, 'One is your master;' and Paul, 'Be ye not the servants of men:' such as these, pretend to shackle what is most at liberty in us, reason and faith; and this under pretence of a religious reverence for the fathers, while the true design is to maintain the credit of errors, and manifest abuses, and to domineer over the consciences of mankind. Never did Constantine VI. whom the miserable monks scandalized with the contemptible name of Copronymus, discover more prudence, than when he forbad the title SAINT to be given to any except the apostles. He saw the abuse, and endeavoured to correct it. I esteem and honour the fathers, but I do not think them infallible, either as evidences of a fact, or as just reasoners from facts allowed to be true. Even they, who incessantly plead for their authority, occasionally criticise them. They have done more. They have corrupted their writings in an infinite number of places, and this they call correcting them."

Probably, it was this ill-placed reverence for fashionable names, which misled Dr. Mosheim, who begins his accounts of the Spanish heretics by taxing them with frenzy, and continues it by saying over the old saw, the unhappy people gave much trouble to the clergy. The fact is, the clergy murdered these people. Do murderers claim an exemption from trouble? Where then is the moral governor of the world, and where is conscience? Had Zimri peace, who slew his master?

It is glorious te see how nature triumphs over art. "The artificial religion of creeds and rituals withers and dies in the hands of the most artful priests, and the most absolute and prosperous monarchs: while the artless practice of piety and virtue lives with the poor through successive ages. Penal statutes to suppress it resemble penal statutes to cleanse the world of violets; fashion may banish them from the burgomasters garden: but the heavens will unite to nourish them under the shade of a nettle, or at the foot of an oak."

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